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THE PEQUOT WAR.

*A paper read before the Society by Robert Dewey Benedict,
Esq., on December 19th, 1899.*

As I rode in the train from New York to New London on a bright, warm morning on the 26th of May, 1899, there was unrolled before my eyes that wonderful panorama which the State of Connecticut presents, the distant glimpses of the Sound, the inlets where the small boats wait peacefully for the order to spread their white sails for the larger waters, the low wooded hills, the well-cultivated fields and the thriving towns where everything proclaimed occupation, abundance, culture and peace. And, as I gazed, there was continually before my mind the contrast between what I saw, and what would have appeared to one who could have made that journey on the morning of May 26th, 1637, two hundred and sixty-two years ago. The blue waters of the Sound would have been the same, and the rivers would have flowed with the same currents to meet the tides, but the cultivated fields and comfortable homes would not have been found. And at the only English settlement which then existed on the Sound, viz., the fort at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut, there would have been found nothing of that sense of security and peace which was manifest everywhere to me, but great anxiety and fear as they were awaiting news from that little band of Englishmen which had left the fort a week before, and on that very morning destroyed the power of the Pequot tribe by one swift, terrible blow, which gave peace and security to the growing English colony for nearly forty years.

The offensive Pequot War lasted only two months. The General Court of the Connecticut Colonies on the 1st day of May, 1637, determined that "forces should forthwith be sent out against the Pequots." And by the 1st of July there was nothing left of the Pequot power, and the few scattered members of the once powerful tribe were being hunted from their hiding places, and their heads and hands, if they were

captured, were made trophies to show to the victorious English.

The numbers of the combatants in that war were very unequal. The English settlements of Connecticut were on the Connecticut River in the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, whither a company of settlers had come from Massachusetts Bay through the woods only the year before. In 1637 there were probably 160 or 170 families, making about 800 persons. There was also a garrison of 20 men in the fort at the mouth of the river. They were separated from their fellow colonists of Massachusetts Bay by more than a hundred miles of wilderness, which was controlled by three tribes of Indians, of which the Pequots, whose chief was Sassacus, were the fiercest, if not the largest. The Pequots occupied that part of Connecticut east of the Connecticut River. East of them to Narragansett Bay were the Narragansetts, whose chief was Miantonomo, and north of them were the Mohigans, under the leadership of Uncas.

The authorities do not agree as to the number of the Pequots. Dr. Holmes, in his *Annals of America*, says that the tribe could raise 4,000 men fit for war, a statement which appears to be based on Gookins' *Historical Collections*, in which that statement is made, as also is the statement that the Narragansetts were able to arm for war more than 5,000 men. No authority is there given for either statement, except the say-so of "ancient Indians," and the numbers are doubtless largely exaggerated. Bancroft, in his history, says the Pequots could muster about 700 warriors, and his statement may be taken as substantially correct. The Narragansetts were somewhat more numerous, and the Mohigans less numerous. But the Pequots were the most powerful of the three.

The names of the chiefs of these three tribes, Sassacus, Miantonomo and Uncas, are prominent in the history of that time. They were all able and powerful men. And Sassacus, the chief of the Pequots, was by no means the weakest of the

three. The Narragansetts said of him, "Sassacus all one, God. No man can kill him." There was not only a rivalry among the leaders, but a hostility among the three tribes, out of which hostility was to come the safety and growth of the English Colonies. If they had combined under the leadership of Sassacus, the Pequot War would have had a very different history.

It must have been plain to each of these three chiefs that the power of the English colonists around Massachusetts Bay was continually increasing, and it was natural, therefore, that each of them should seek their aid to help him and his people against their rivals. And each of them in his turn sent messengers desiring to make a treaty with the English.

In 1634 a Captain Stone, bound from Plymouth to Virginia in a pinnace, stopped in the Connecticut River, and was there set upon by the Pequots, and he and his men were all killed, and the vessel taken. Not long after this the Pequots sent messengers and gifts to the Massachusetts Colony, desiring friendship. And an agreement was made by which those Indians who were guilty of Stone's death were to be given up to the English, although the Pequot messengers defended themselves as to that, claiming that Stone had been killed in a just quarrel. It was also agreed that the English might settle in Connecticut if they wished, and that the English should mediate a peace between the Pequots and the Narragansetts. But the Pequots failed to comply with their agreements, and the next year, one John Oldham, trading in a small vessel at Block Island, was killed with his men, and his vessel plundered by the Indians there, who were under Pequot control, and were afterwards sheltered by the Pequots. Thereupon the Bay Colony sent an expedition of one hundred men under command of Captain Endicott, to obtain satisfaction. The Block Island Indians would not negotiate, whereupon the English landed, burned wigwams and destroyed corn, and killed some fourteen Indians. They then went over to Pequot River (now the Thames), where the Pequots sent

to them an ambassador, whom Underhill described as "a grave senior, a man of good understanding, portly carriage, grave and majestic in his expressions," who demanded what was the end of their coming. Endicott demanded the heads of the men who had killed Stone and his company, whom in the treaty the Pequots had agreed to give up. The ambassador endeavored to excuse the Pequots in that matter, on the ground that they had thought that Stone and his men were Dutch, with whom they had a just quarrel, but the English answered, "This excuse will not serve our turns, for we have sufficient testimony that you knew the English from the Dutch. We must have the heads of the persons that have slain ours, or else we will fight with you." The ambassador temporized, asked for time to confer with the sachems, and then reported that the sachems were not at home, but were gone to Long Island. Thereupon the English, seeing that they were thus put off and that the Pequots were preparing to disappear in the wilderness, would wait no longer, but landed on both sides of the river, burned wigwams and spoiled the corn. "No Indians," says Underhill, "would come near us, but ran from us, as the deer from the dogs. But having burnt and spoiled what we could light on, we embarked our men, and sailed for the Bay."

This expedition must be considered the beginning of the Pequot War. As is not uncommon, each side charged the other party with being aggressors. The English claimed that the murder of Stone by Pequots and the sheltering by them of the murderers of Oldham, justified them in Endicott's attack upon them. The Pequots claimed that they were not in fault in either case, and that the Endicott expedition was an unjustifiable act of war. It is not possible to determine which had the right. But it had become apparent that war must be the result. And no attempt to avoid it seems to have been made on either side.

Subsequent events showed that both Sassacus and the English leaders at once saw what was the best plan for each.

The English saw that it was important to divide the Indian tribes, and combine all the colonies for a heavy blow at the Pequots. Sassacus saw that the tribes ought to combine, and that the Connecticut colonies which were nearest and weakest were the best ground for his attack. He sent ambassadors to the Narragansetts, urging them to join the Pequots against the English. The arguments which they must have used are apparent. And it is probable that they would have been successful but for Roger Williams, who, having been expelled from Massachusetts Bay, had taken refuge with the Narragansetts, and settled at Providence, and had gained the friendship of Miantonomo, and who used the influence of that friendship, actively, at peril of his life, and with success, to induce the Narragansett chief to refuse to join the proposed Pequot alliance, and to make an alliance with the English instead. As Hutchinson in his History says, "The Narragansetts preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their mortal enemies, to the future happiness of themselves and their posterity." So Miantonomo and twenty of his attendants went to Boston, and there an agreement was made that there should be peace between the Narragansetts and the English; that neither should make peace with the Pequots without the consent of the other; that the Narragansetts should not harbor any Pequots, and last, but not least, that there should be free trade between the parties.

Uncas, the sachem of the Mohigans, also made an alliance with the English, so that the result of the negotiations was that instead of three Indian tribes being united against the English, the Pequots stood alone in the approaching contest.

The Pequot chief carried out his purpose of attacking the weak colonies on the Connecticut River. And during the fall and winter of 1636 the fort at Saybrook was practically besieged, so that the garrison hardly dared venture out for any purpose. And the three towns up the river were also made personally acquainted with the terrors of an Indian war.

The Connecticut colonists had urged the leaders of the

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other colonies to join them in an attack upon the Pequots, in the early spring, and Massachusetts Bay had agreed, but Plymouth had not agreed—did not agree till June, when help was no longer needed. And, before any help at all had arrived an attack by the Pequots upon Wethersfield, in which nine of the English were killed, and two young women were carried away captive, forced upon the Connecticut men the question whether it were wiser for them to wait still longer, leaving the Pequots free to waylay them as they should choose, or to protect their homes by carrying the war into the territory of their enemies. And so on May 1, 1637, a General Court of the three Connecticut towns was held at Hartford, at which, says Mason, they “seriously considered their condition, which did look very sad, for those Pequots were a great people, being strongly fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned, etc., and the English but a handful in comparison. But their outrageous violence against the English, having murdered about thirty of them, their great pride and insolency, constant pursuit in their malicious courses, with their engaging other Indians in their quarrel with the English, who had never offered them the least wrong; who had in all likelihood espoused all the Indians in the country in their quarrel, had not God by more than an ordinary Providence prevented; these things being duly considered, with the eminent hazard and great peril they were in; it pleased God so to stir up the hearts of all men in general and the Court in special, that they concluded some forces should forthwith be sent out against the Pequots, their grounds being just and necessity enforcing them to engage in an offensive and defensive war.”

It is the expedition of these forces against the Pequots which is generally in the minds of men, when they speak of the Pequot War. We have the story of it written by two of the actors, Captain John Underhill, who led the 20 Massachusetts men, who formed part of the expedition, wrote an account of it, which was published in London in 1638. Captain John Mason, who commanded the expedition, also wrote

an account of it at the request of the General Court of Connecticut. His preface addressed to the Judicious Reader, was signed at Norwich, and as he did not move to Norwich till 1659, it would appear that his narrative was not written till at least twenty-two years after the occurrence.

Another account by one P. Vincent, was also published in London, in 1638. He does not seem to have been in the expedition itself, but no doubt wrote from what he had heard from those who were in it. We have also the account of it in Winthrop's Journal, which is also doubtless the result of the statements of those who had personal knowledge. And in 1660, Lion Gardiner, who was in command of the fort at Saybrook, wrote an account, which is information at first hand of the occurrences at the fort, and at second hand only, of the other proceedings. We have, also, written during that century, but later, Hubbard's and Mather's Relations of the Indian Wars, Gookin's Historical Collections, and other works, all of which should be read by one who desires full historical knowledge of this important event. But the narrations of these three men, Gardiner, Underhill and Mason, are, of course, most to be relied on. They are all published in the Historical Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mason's Narrative is prefaced by an introduction prepared in 1735 by Thomas Prince, the author of Prince's Annals, who begins by speaking of it as a special favor of Divine Providence that there should have come over with the first settlers "two brave soldiers bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz., Captain Miles Standish, of Plymouth, and Captain John Mason, of Connecticut.

Captain John Mason was born in England about 1600. He served in the Low Countries as a lieutenant under Lord Fairfax, who afterwards remembered him, and sent an urgent but fruitless request to him in Massachusetts, to return to England and become a major-general in the army of the Parliament. He came to Massachusetts in 1631, or 1632, and

settled in Dorchester, whence in 1635 or 1636 he betook himself to the valley of the Connecticut.

The Connecticut Colonists were bold men that they thus determined alone, without waiting for their fellows, to attack the Pequots on their own ground. Even if we take Bancroft's estimate as correct, that the tribe could muster about 700 warriors, the odds were heavy against them, for they could send on the expedition only ninety men, and though the muskets of the English were far more powerful weapons than the bows and arrows of the Indians, yet they learned that the Pequots had sixteen guns, and their bows and arrows were not to be despised. Gardiner, in his narrative, says that the arrow which had killed one of his men, had struck on the right side, "the head sticking fast half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleaned it, and presumed to send it to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force."

The force which they determined to send out against the Pequots consisted of ninety men under the command of John Mason, whose experience in the wars of the Netherlands, and whose character, easily pointed him out to be the leader. Of these ninety Hartford furnished forty-two, Windsor thirty, and Wethersfield eighteen. And ten days after the determination to send out the expedition was made, Mason and his eighty-nine soldiers started down the river, on board of a pink, a shallop and a pinnace. We might be sure that the clergy would not be left out in such a company of Puritan colonists, and they were not. The Rev. Mr. Stone, one of the two ministers who had led the colonists from Massachusetts Bay in 1636, accompanied the expedition as its chaplain, and the other, Rev. Mr. Hooker, preached a sermon to them on their going aboard. Johnson, in his book called *Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Savior in New England*, says that the soldiers arriving at Hartford "were encouraged by the reverend ministers there with some such speech as follows," and proceeds to set forth a long discourse, for which

I think he drew upon his imagination. It does not contain the one sentence for which we have Mason's authority, who says, "I still remember a speech of Mr. Hooker at our going aboard, 'That the Pequots should be bread for us.'" That speech was enough to have given Mr. Hooker a good reputation for being a prophet, as well as for being, as he was called, "the light of the Western Churches."

The ninety Englishmen who sailed from Hartford that tenth of May were accompanied by Uncas, the Mohigan chief, and eighty or one hundred of his Indians. They had fifty miles to sail to reach the fort at Saybrook, where they were to determine upon the plan of the campaign. The river was low, and they were five days going down the river. The Indians growing weary of the delay, requested to be put on shore, and they reached the fort two days before the vessels did.

The fort was commanded by Captain Lion Gardiner, who became the owner of Gardiner's Island, and from whom it received its name. With him was Captain John Underhill, who had been sent forward with twenty men from Massachusetts Bay to strengthen the garrison. Both of them had had experience in the wars in the Netherlands and also with the Indians. As soon as they learned the small force of the Englishmen they at once said it was not fitted for such an expedition as was proposed. And the presence of Uncas and his Indians, instead of being, in their opinion, any addition to the force, was only another danger. Says Gardiner, "I asked them how they durst trust the Mohigans, who had but that year come from the Pequots. They said they would trust them, for they could not well go without them, for want of guides. 'Yes,' said I, 'but I will try them before a man of ours shall go with you or them;' and I called Uncas, and said unto him, 'You say you will help Major Mason, but I will first see it. Therefore, send you now twenty men to the Bass River, for there went yesternight six Indians in a canoe

thither. Fetch them now, dead or alive, and then you shall go with Major Mason; else not.’”

Uncas accepted the proposed test, and proposed to set out at once for the Bass River. “But,” says Underhill, “it being the Lord’s Day, order was given to the contrary, and wished them to forbear until the next day. Giving them liberty they fell out early in the morning, and brought home five Pequeats’ heads, one prisoner, and mortally wounded the seventh. This mightily encouraged the hearts of all, and we took this as a pledge of their further fidelity.” Underhill adds, that he rowed up the river to meet the vessels as they came, and that when he reached them, Rev. Mr. Stone “was in prayer solemnly before God, in the midst of the soldiers.” “The hearts of all in general being much perplexed, fearing the infidelity of these Indians, having not heard what an exploit they had wrought, it pleased God to put into the heart of Master Stone this passage in prayer, while myself lay under the vessel and heard it, himself not knowing that God had sent him a messenger to tell him his prayer was granted. Oh, Lord God! If it be Thy blessed will, vouchsafe so much favor to Thy poor distressed servants, as to manifest one pledge of Thy love, that may confirm us of the fidelity of these Indians towards us, that now pretend friendship and service towards us, that our hearts may be encouraged the more in this work of Thine! Immediately myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news that those Indians had brought in five Pequeats’ heads, and one prisoner; which did much encourage the hearts of all, and replenish them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God.”

The capture of this one prisoner has led to a terrible accusation against the English. Drake, in his *Book of the Indians*, published in 1845, says, “One being taken alive, to their everlasting disgrace it will be remembered that the English *caused him to be tortured.*”

I think it worth while to examine the evidence, to see if

this accusation is well founded. It is not without authority to support it.

Drake cites two authorities for his statement, Mason's Narrative and Winthrop's Journal.

Winthrop, in the entry in his Journal of May 24, writes, "By letters from Mr. Williams, we were certified, which the next day was confirmed by some who came from Saybrook, that the Indians had gone out and met with seven Pequots. Five they killed. One they took alive, whom the English *put to torture*, and set all their heads up on the fort. The reason was because they had tortured such of our men as they had taken alive."

The Narrative which Mason wrote himself says nothing about it. The narrative which Hubbard sets forth in his History of the Indian Wars, as coming from Mason, says the prisoner was "executed by Captain Underhill."

Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, says that "Uncas and his men insisted upon executing their prisoner according to the manner of their ancestors, and the English, in the circumstances in which they then were, did not judge it prudent to interfere. The Indians, kindling a large fire, violently tore him limb from limb." And Henry Trumbull, in his Wars of the Indians, also describes the torture of the prisoner by the Indians.

Vincent's narrative says, "They tied one of his legs to a post, and twenty men, with a rope tied to the other, pulled him to pieces, Captain Underhill shooting a pistol through him to despatch him."

I have not found any other direct authority on the question. That the prisoner was tortured there is no doubt, but torturing was a habit of the Indians, not of the English. Underhill's shooting the unfortunate victim to despatch him, seems an act of pity, rather than cruelty, and that would account for the statement that he was *executed* by Underhill. Winthrop's statement is, on its face, only hearsay. And the positive statements of Trumbull, who says he had thoroughly examined

the ancient records, that the deed was that of the Indians, seem to me worthy of acceptance. I think that all that the English can be charged with in this matter, is that they did not interfere to prevent Uncas's cruelty. And for that their need of the assistance of the Mohigans is at least some palliation.

On Wednesday, May 16th, the vessels arrived at the fort, where they delayed wind-bound till Friday, the 18th. This delay gave the leaders time to agree upon their plan of attack, as to which there was at first a great difference of opinion. For their orders were to attack the Indians in the Pequot River, while Mason's judgment told him that it would be better to land in Narragansett Bay, in the hope of coming upon the enemy unawares. Mason, in his Narrative, tells this part of the story, as follows:

"Upon a Wednesday we arrived at Saybrook, where we lay Wind-bound until Friday; often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprise; being altogether ignorant of the Country. At length we concluded, God assisting us, for Narragansett, and so to March through their Country, which Bordered upon the Enemy; where lived a great People, it being about fifteen Leagues beyond Pequot; the Grounds and Reasons of our so Acting you shall presently understand:

"First, the Pequots, our Enemies, kept a continual Guard upon the River Night and Day.

"Secondly, their Numbers far exceeded ours; having sixteen Guns with Powder and Shot, as we were informed by the two Captives who were taken by the Dutch and restored to us at Saybrook; which, indeed, was a friendly Office, and not to be forgotten.

"Thirdly, They were on Land, and being swift on Foot, might much impede our Landing, and possibly dishearten our Men; we being expected only by land, there being no other Place to go on Shoar, but in that River, nearer than Narragansett.

"Fourthly, By Narragansett we should come upon their Backs, and possibly might surprise them unawares, at worst we should be on firm Land, as well as they.' All which proved very successful, as the Sequel may evidently demonstrate.

"But yet for this our Council, all of them except the Captain, were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to Narragansett: And, indeed, there was a very strong Ground for it: our Commission limiting us to land our Men in Pequot River: we had also the same order by a Letter of instruction sent us to Saybrook.

"But Captain Mason, apprehending an exceeding great Hazard in so doing, for the Reasons forementioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. Stone that he would commend our Condition to the Lord, that Night, to direct how and in what manner we should demean ourselves in that Respect: He being our Chaplain and lying a board our Pink, the Captain on Shoar. In the Morning very early Mr. Stone came ashoar to the Captain's Chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for Narragansett. Our Council was then called, and the several Reasons alledged. In fine we all agreed with one accord to sail for Narragansett, which the next Morning we put in Execution.

"I declare not this," adds Mason, "to encourage any Soldiers to Act beyond their Commission, or contrary to it; for in so doing they run a double Hazard. There was a great Commander in Belgia who did the States great Service in taking a City; but by going beyond his Commission lost his life: His name was Grubbendunk. But if a War be Managed duly by Judgment and Discretion as is requisite, the Shews are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue: Whereof the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more facil to put in Execution; as the Proverb, The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home. I shall make bold to present this as my present Thoughts in this Case: In Matters of War, those who are both able and faithful should be

improved; and then bind them not up into too narrow a Compass: For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest Senator to foresee all Accidents and Occurrents that fall out in the Management and pursuit of a War; Nay, although possibly he Might be trained up in Military Affairs; and truly much less can he have any great Knowledge who hath had but little Experience therein. What shall I say? God led his People through many Difficulties and Turnings; yet by more than an ordinary Hand of Providence he brought them to Canaan at last."

I have taken the liberty of quoting from Mason's Narrative, his account of the doubts, and the determination, and the way it was arrived at, and his comments upon the whole affair. They show him to have been a man of excellent judgment, and yet bold to take upon himself necessary risks. If the event had proved different, even the support which he derived from the prayers of Mr. Stone, might not have saved him from severe criticism. He might even have met the fate of General Grubbendunk, the details of whose mishap I have not been able to find out.

Captain Underhill, who, with some Massachusetts men, formed part of the garrison of the fort, volunteered to accompany the Connecticut men, with nineteen of his men. The offer was accepted, but the number of the little force was not thereby increased, for Mason sent twenty of his men back up the river, "to strengthen our plantations," he says.

So on Friday morning the little company set sail for Narragansett Bay.

I should have supposed that, inasmuch as Captain Mason had determined to land in Narragansett Bay, instead of in the Pequot River, in the hope of surprising the Pequots, he would have so sailed from Saybrook as to have passed the mouth of the Pequot River at night, unknown to the Pequots. But he says himself, that he sailed on Friday morning. And the 15 or 20 miles from the mouth of the Connecticut to the mouth of the Thames could hardly have taken all day. And he adds

that he learned afterwards that the Pequots had seen the vessels sail by them, had concluded that the English were afraid of them, and durst not come near them, and were giving themselves up to rejoicing on that account. If this was so, the surprise of the fort was the more remarkable.

The expedition went up Narragansett Bay, Bancroft tells us, as far as Wickford. I do not know on what authority this statement is made. It is probable that if they did go up so far, it was because they wished to be as near as possible to the dwelling place of Canonicus, one of the Narragansett Chiefs, with whom they wished to confer. They reached their desired port, Mason says, on Saturday, towards afternoon. And "there," he adds, "we kept the Sabbath."

Speed was manifestly most important for them, but they were apparently as unwilling to enter upon the business of negotiating with the Narragansetts on the Sabbath, as they had been to allow Uncas to enter upon the business of killing the Pequots on the Sabbath. On Monday the wind blew so hard from the northwest that they could not land, but on Tuesday, at sunset, Captain Mason landed and conferred with the sachem of the Narragansetts, telling him his purpose of attacking the Pequots and desiring free passage through the country of the Narragansetts. The Narragansett chief thought that their numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, they being, as he said, very great captains and men skilled in war.

But on the next day Mason had an interview with Miantonomo, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, the result of which was that the chiefs not only allowed the English to pass through their lands to attack the Pequots, but gave permission to the Narragansetts to join the expedition, which several hundred of them did.

While these negotiations were going on, a runner came to Mason from Roger Williams, telling him of the arrival at Providence of forty Massachusetts men, under Captain Patrick, who wanted him to wait for them. But Mason concluded

not to wait, considering that the chances that his approach would be made known to the Pequots would be much increased by delay, and that a surprise of the enemy would be more advantageous than a reinforcement of forty men, even though he was compelled to further diminish his small force by leaving thirteen men to navigate the vessels. For, knowing that the Pequot forts were but a few miles from the Thames River, he saw that it would be wise in any event to have the vessels near by for refuge, and he gave orders that after waiting two days they should make sail for Pequot River, for by that time he hoped their assault upon the Indians would have been delivered.

So these seventy-seven Englishmen, accompanied by Uncas, and his Mohigans and several hundred of the Narragansetts, set out upon their march, of forty odd miles through the wilderness, from Narragansett Bay, to strike Sassacus in his fortifications. They were informed that there were two Indian forts, one of them, the larger, where Sassacus himself lived, on what is now called Fort Hill, about four miles east of the Thames River, and the other upon another hill, two or three miles farther from the Thames and about three-quarters of a mile from the Mystic River. The latter was the one which they finally determined to assault. It was composed of palisades enclosing about an acre, or perhaps two, of ground. The palisades were driven into the ground some three or four feet, and were ten or twelve feet high, not standing quite close together. There were two entrances, one on the northeast, and the other on the southwest side, which were closed by a bar and some bushes. Within this palisade were about seventy wigwams. The number of the Indians occupying them is variously estimated at from 500 to 800. On the night before the Englishmen's attack, a force of 150 Indians from the other fort had entered the palisade and remained there, intending to set out on that very morning to attack some English settlement.

The Englishmen marched, accompanied by their Indian

allies, some fifteen or twenty miles on the first day, to a fort of the Narragansetts, which the Narragansett Chief who held it refused to allow them to enter. Fearing lest information of their approach should be carried to the Pequots by some one from this fortification, Mason informed the Indians that none of them must stir out of the fort that night on peril of their lives; that, as they would not suffer the Englishmen to come in, so the English would not suffer any of them to come out, and he stationed sentinels all around it.

In the morning a still larger company of Narragansetts were encouraged to assist the expedition and announced their purpose with the usual protestations of their own bravery and the number of Pequots that they would individually kill.

About eight o'clock on Thursday morning the English took up their march again, the Indian contingent having risen by this time to about 500. They marched about twelve miles to a fjord of the Pawcatuck River where they halted. The day was very hot. Their provisions were scanty, and some of their men had fainted from heat and toil.

By this time the courage of the Indians had begun to ooze out. Many of them turned back, so that Mason says that he inquired of Uncas what he thought the Indians would do. Uncas answered that the Narragansetts would all leave them, but for himself, he would never leave them. "For which expressions," says Mason, "and some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed, he was a great friend, and did great service."

After refreshing themselves with rest and with their "mean Commons," as Mason calls it, they marched on through the afternoon, and until the middle of the night. They must have crossed the Mystic River near its source, so that they came down from the northeast towards the Pequot fort, which they had determined to assault. And when within about two miles of the fort, they pitched their little camp between two hillocks, which are now known as Porter's Rocks. Mason says, "We were much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence,

supposing we were very near the Fort, as our Indians informed us, which proved otherwise; the Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant; the Night proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light. We appointed out Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance, who heard the Enemy Singing at the Fort, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed."

I have thought it better, gentlemen, to read to you Mason's account of the attack on the fort, than to attempt to tell it myself. Even if I were able to put it before you in finer and more flowery language, it would lack the flavor of that time, the turns of speech which are appropriate to the mouth of a stern Puritan such as Captain Mason was.

"In the Morning," he says, "we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowsed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. We held on our March about two Miles, wondering that we came not to the Fort, and fearing we might be deluded: But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a great Hill, supposing the Fort was not far off, a Champion Country being round about us; then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the Indians to come up: At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared; We demanded of them, Where was the Fort? They answered, On the Top of that Hill: Then we demanded, Where were the Rest of the Indians? They answered, Behind, exceedingly afraid: We wished them to tell the rest of their Fellows, that they should by no means Fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether English Men would now Fight or not. Then Captain Underhill came up, who Marched to the Rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once. Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side; who approaching

within one Rod, heard a dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the Indians being in a dead indeed their last Sleep. Then we, wheeling off, fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes, and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

“Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entred a Wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds. The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The captain facing about, Marched at a slow Pace up the Lane as he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground. The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner. The Captain also said, We must Burn them; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up, and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

“And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty Let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

“The Fire was kindled on the North East Side to windward; which did swiftly over-run the Fort, to the extreme Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Pallizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows; and we repayed them with our small Shot. Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of Forty, who perished by the Sword.

“What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowledge, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular. But in reference to Captain Underhill and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of them immediately after the Fight. Thus They Marching up to the Entrance on the South West Side, there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the Gate, saying. If we may not Enter, wherefore came we here; and immediately endeavored to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his Entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge Entered the Fort with some others; but the Fort being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the Fort.

“Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatening and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances; But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the

Enemies of His People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

“And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed, as some of themselves reported, to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them, where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one Hour’s space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

“Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded. Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, and the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our Chyrurgeon was much wanting, whom we left with the Barks in Narragansett Bay, who had Order there to remain until the Night before our intended Assault.

“And thereupon grew many Difficulties: Our Provision and Muniton near spent; we in the enemies’ Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much enraged; all our Indians except Onkos, deserting us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

“But as we were consulting what Course to take, it pleased God to discover our Vessels to us before a fair Gale of Wind, sailing into Pequot Harbor, to our great Rejoycing.

“We had no sooner discovered our Vessels, but immediately came up the Enemy from the other Fort; Three Hundred or more as we conceived. The Captain led out a file or two of

Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what temper they were of, who put them to a stand; we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels; Four or Five of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of twenty or more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one Man, with the Arms of the rest, that were wounded, to others; so that we had not above forty Men free; at length we hired several Indians, who eased us of that Burthen, in carrying of our Wounded Men. And Marching about one quarter of a Mile; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over-run us. But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them. Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the Foot of the Hill a small Brook, where we rested and refreshed ourselves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

"We then Marched on towards Pequot Harbor; and falling upon several Wigwams, burnt them. The Enemy still following us in the Rear, which was to windward, though to little purpose; yet some of them lay in Ambush behind Rocks and Trees, often shooting at us, yet through Mercy touched not one of us. And as we came to any Swamp or Thicket, we made some Shot to clear the Passage. Some of them fell with our Shot; and probably more might, but for the want of Munition. But when any of them fell, our Indians would give a great Shout, and then would they take so much Courage as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within two miles of Pequot Harbor; where the Enemy gathered together and left us; we Marching on to the Top of an Hill adjoining to the Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the Night before: We seeing our Vessels there Riding at Anchor, to our

great Rejoycing, and came to the Water Side, we there sat down in Quiet."

Underhill's account is substantially the same, though differing in some particulars. He says that he also set fire with a train of powder to the wigwams near the other entrance. He repels with indignation a statement made by Vincent in his narrative, that when his company came to the entrance he raised the question whether they should go in, and was answered by Hedge, "What come we for else?" for he says it is well known that it was never his practice to consult with a private soldier, and he entreats the worthy reader to have a more charitable opinion of him than that. But Mason, as you remember, says that he was informed that Underhill's party did make some pause before entering, until Hedge said, "If we may not enter, wherefore came we here," and rushed in, killing an Indian at the entrance. Underhill's party, were, however, very soon driven out by the smoke and flame, which came down, the wind upon them.

Annexed to Captain Underhill's narrative, printed in London is a print, picturing the attack on the fort. It represents the stockade as forming a perfect circle. Around it at regular spaces stands a circle of Englishmen from whose guns issues the smoke of a discharge, and behind that circle stands another circle of Indians, with bows and arrows drawn to the head. The exact regularity of the three circles would indicate that it was a work of some one's imagination, rather than a work of "our artist on the spot." The English might have surrounded the fort, as Underhill says they did, for as it would have been only 1,200 or 1,500 feet in circumference, they could have done so, standing 25 or 30 feet apart. And the volley in the picture is certainly authentic, for Underhill says, "We could not but admire at the Providence of God in it that soldiers so inexpert in the use of their arms should give so complete a volley as though the finger of God had touched match and flint." "Which volley," he adds, "being given at break of day, and themselves fast asleep for the most part,

bred in them such a terror that they broke forth into a most doleful cry." The panic of the Indians on that awakening, of course, facilitated the triumph of the English, and increased the advantage of their defensive armor, their swords and arquebuses. But both Mason and Underhill agree that the Indians made a stout resistance, and that the firing of the wigwams was a necessity to success.

With the vessels had come Captain Patrick and his 40 Massachusetts men. But the three leaders could not agree upon any attack upon the other fort. So Mason and his men marched overland back to Saybrook, where they arrived about sunset on Saturday, "being nobly entertained by Lieutenant Gardiner, with many great guns." And thereafter, he says, "We repaired to the place of our abode, where we were entertained with great triumph and Rejoycing, and praised God for his goodness to us, in succeeding our weak endeavors in crowning us with success and restoring of us with so little loss." The loss of the English was, in fact, only two killed, and some twenty wounded.

The triumph and rejoicing which the three towns felt over the victory found solid expression in a vote of the General Court, passed on November 14.

"That every common souldier that went to the late designe against our enemies, the Pequots, shall have 1s 3d pr day for their service at sixe dayes to the week * * * and that the said payment shall be for a month, although in strictness there was but three weeks and three dayes due."

So we find, by reason of the regard of the General Court for the due observance of the Sabbath on the one hand, so that the men should not be paid for the day when they would not go ashore to confer with the Narragansett chiefs, or the other two Sabbaths, and on the other by reason of the gratitude and consequent liberality which gave the men a full month's pay for twenty-four days' work, that the common soldiers were paid nearly ten dollars apiece for the whole

expedition, a recompense which we must in fairness concede was larger then than it would be now.

I have not been able to find that Hartford erected a triumphal arch for their reception. The town did, however, make allotments of land to the soldiers, amounting to sixty or seventy acres, which were afterwards called the Soldiers Field.

The destruction of the fort in Mystic crushed the power of the Pequot tribe. The survivors gathered at the other fort, where Sassacus was. Their grief and rage was at first directed against him, as being the cause of the calamity which had befallen them, so that it was with difficulty that he saved himself from becoming an additional victim.

The spirit of the tribe was so broken that they thought of nothing but flight to some region where they could be safe from an enemy whose power they had found to be so terrible. They burned their other fort, their wigwams, and what stores they could not carry with them, and betook themselves to the wild woods west of the Connecticut. About a month after the Mystic fight, one hundred and twenty men of the Massachusetts force which had been raised for the war, under Captain Stoughton, reached the Saybrook fort, and it was then resolved to pursue the remains of the tribe, till its utter destruction should be a permanent warning to all the Indian tribes. Mason and forty Connecticut men were again on foot, and the Englishmen marched westward, finding here and there some scattering Pequots, and finally traced the main body of the fugitives into a swamp in the town of Fairfield. Their first attack was repulsed by the Pequots, whereupon the English surrounded the swamp. A parly was had. The English, as Mason says, "being loth to destroy women and children," offered to spare all who had not shed English blood, and about two hundred old men, women and children came out and surrendered. The warriors in the swamp made a brave fight. Some 60 or 70 broke through the English lines in the morning fog and made their escape. The rest were killed or taken prisoners. Underhill says that the English had in the space

of two months slain the Pequots by the sword to the number of 1,500 souls. But his estimate is too large. His imagination is too vivid. Vincent says the slain and prisoners were not less than 700. That, also, was Winthrop's estimate. And this is the number as stated by Trumbull in his History of Connecticut. Sassacus, with some of his men, escaped to the country of the Mohawks, but met with no better fortune there, for the Mohawks killed them, and sent their heads to the English as a present. Those who had not thus escaped were so harried and hunted by their Indian enemies, that at last the feeble remnant of about 200 sent some of their chiefs to mediate, offering an unconditional surrender if only their lives were spared. Their surrender was accepted, and the few survivors of the powerful tribe were divided among the Mohigans and the Narragansetts, never more to be called the Pequots. So that Niles, whose History of the Indian Wars was written about seventy years afterwards, wrote that "The name of a Pequot, or Pequots, is long since wholly extinct." The name of Pequot was soon taken away from the river around which they lived, in 1658, after which date it was called the Thames.

It was a pleasant summer afternoon when I drove over from New London to see the battleground. I drove by Fort Hill, on which Sassacus had his principal fort, and two or three miles further on came to the monument which ten years ago was erected by the State of Connecticut, as the inscription on it says, "To commemorate the heroic achievement of Major John Mason and his comrades, who near this spot in 1637 overthrow the Pequot Indians and preserved the settlements from destruction." It is a block of granite, on which stands a fine bronze statue of a Puritan soldier drawing his sword. From the neighborhood of the battleground I drove on to Porter's Rocks, which I climbed through the woods which have overgrown them, so that not much idea can be gained of the country surrounding them, and I drank of a fine spring flowing from the rocks at the foot, which is said to have given refreshment to Mason and his weary men. I was surprised

to find that neither the exact spot where they lay that night, nor the exact spot on which the Pequot fort had stood, has been kept in memory. The monument was placed in the roadway, which leads along the slope of the hill, and the inscription says the fort was "near this spot." The hill is not a sharply steep rise, but rather a long wide slope of open fields. To the east lay the valley of the Mystic River. To the north-east, towards Porter's Rocks, the ground easily descended till the view was shut off by a line of woods, in which it was easy to imagine the intrepid band of Englishmen, silently approaching, followed at a distance by their more faint-hearted Indian allies.

But it was only imagination which could speak of that terrible morning, 260 years ago. There was no sign of war in all the beautiful valley of the Mystic. Its white dwellings appearing here and there, and its church spires spoke only of peace, and instead of the roar of the flame and the shrieks of the despairing, there was no sound but the tapping of the hammers of some workmen who were building a little house whose inmates would never be disturbed in their slumbers by the Indian warwhoop.

Who could help moralizing? Who could avoid thinking of that scene, not only from the English, but from the Pequot side? We speak of the horrors of an Indian war. In such a war any Indian success is very apt to be called a massacre. We hear of the Massacre of Deerfield, in which that village was burned and twenty-eight of the colonists were murdered, and of the massacre of Schenectady, in which some sixty perished. But the Pequots, as they fled that day, might well have thought of the horrors of an English war, and dwelt on the massacre at the Mystic fort. For in the space of one hour on that morning 600, probably 700, Indians perished by fire and sword. Mr. Bromley, in his address, delivered at the unveiling of the Mason Statue, says, "It is not probable that any women or children were in the stockade. No mention is made

of them in either Mason's or Underhill's story of the fight. The only occupants of the fort were Pequot warriors."

How he could have made such a statement is incomprehensible. If it was in the idea of lessening the horror of the destruction, it was indefensible.

Winthrop, in his Journal, says, "They slew therein two chiefs sachems and 150 fighting men, and about 150 old men, women and children." Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, speaks of "the shrieks and yellings of the men, women and children in the fort." and says, "Thus parents and children, the sannup and the squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin."

Bancroft says, "About 600 Indians, men, women and children perished, most of them in the hideous conflagration."

And even Underhill, in whose story of the fight Mr. Bromley says no mention is made of women and children, says, "Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women and children. Others forced out and came in troops to the Indian, 20 and 30 at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword. Down fell men, women and children; those that escaped us fell into the hands of the Indians that were in the rear of us." And Underhill justifies it. He says, "It may be demanded, 'Why should you be so furious? Should not Christians have more compassion? But I would refer you to David's war. When a people is grown to such a height of blood and sin against God and man and all confederates in the action, there He hath no respect to persons, but harrows them and saws them, and puts them to the sword, and the most terriblest death that may be. Sometimes the Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents. Sometimes the case alters. But we will not dispute it now. We have sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.'"

Why should we seek to minimize the horrors of that dreadful scene? It was war. General Sherman well said that war is

"hell upon earth." And the Pequot fort that morning furnished a very perfect sample of the original article.

The men of that time, though they rejoiced over the victory, did not minimize the horror. Governor Bradford writes, "Those that scaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewn to pieces, others run through with their rapiers, so as they were very quickly despatched, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400 of them at this time. It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same and horrible was the stink and scent thereof. But the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy." 1401620

When the Connecticut men determined upon an offensive war against the Pequots, they were defending themselves and their families against enemies who fought not only in open warfare, but who had tortured and were sure to torture with the extremest cruelty their English prisoners. The Englishmen's choice of war was a choice between their own lives and the lives of a pack as savage as wild wolves. They made their secret march with express and set purpose to destroy. And when to that set determination was added the fire in the blood which came from contest, slaughter and triumph, it is no marvel that there was found no discrimination between strength and weakness, for which, moreover, there must have been small opportunity. The result was what was aimed at from the beginning. But how can we fail to justify the beginning, unless we are prepared to say that not even a war for self-preservation is ever to be justified?

As we consider the conduct of the expedition, how can we fail to admire the high-hearted courage with which the few Colonists on the Connecticut River determined to despatch so large a portion of their available force to attack so powerful a foe in his own stronghold! Who can fail to admire the in-

trepidity of each one of the little band who entered upon that expedition, who made no hesitation by reason of the smallness of their numbers, and made no delay in the hopes of increasing them? Who can fail to admire the wise judgment of Mason in his plan to make his attack upon the eastern and unexpected side, the wise dealing, whereby he was able to secure free passage and assistance for his little force, the high-heartedness with which he and his 76 comrades held on to their purpose, unaffected by the terror which fell upon their volunteer allies, as they approached the enemy, whose power they knew so much better than the English? Who can fail to admire the judgment which selected the time and place of the attack to which the final success was so largely due? Who can fail to marvel at the immense destruction and the little loss by which it was effected? Who can help but wonder at the many favorable circumstances which all combined to accomplish the success? Who can fail to rejoice at the result of long years of peace which this terrible destruction procured for all the New England Colonists?

Have we not in later days seen an exhibition of similar qualities crowned with similar results? Can we not well join in our thoughts the 26th of May, 1637, and the 1st of May, 1898? Can we not see, and rejoice in, the same qualities exhibited on two such different occasions? And can we not well join together in gratitude and admiration the names of George Dewey and John Mason?

Gentlemen of the Society of Colonial Wars, this day is the anniversary of the Great Swamp Fight. Well it is for us on this day to carry our thoughts back to that earlier conflict which was the precursor of and largely conduced to the success of which this day is the anniversary. Whether the details of the story have been familiar to all of you or not, I am sure you will all agree with me that on such a day it is well for us to carry our thoughts backwards, and, while we rejoice in the "flowery ease" of the inherited peace and prosperity which are around us, to bear in memory and to recognize with

THE PEQUOT WAR

our admiration and gratitude the services rendered, the dangers met, the courage, the patriotism, of those ancestors of ours who so fearlessly "fought to win the prize and sailed through bloody seas."

TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT.

*A paper read before the Society by William G. Davies, Esq.,
on November 19th, 1900.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY:

To properly appreciate the strategic value of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the underlying cause of the numerous battles which have been fought for their possession, it is necessary to consider the physical geography of that section of the country. In the days before railroads or even long communicating roads were thought of, when the path from one of the scattered settlements to another was usually only an Indian trail through the woods, the rivers and other water ways were necessarily the most usual and convenient routes for travel and commerce, and for that reason, as an Irishman is said to have remarked, Providence placed all the large rivers near the great cities of the world. The advantages of the route of which Ticonderoga forms a link were early recognized. Thomas Pownall, the English Governor of New Jersey in 1753, tells us in his "Reminiscences" that the Indian name of Lake Champlain signifies "the lake that is the gate of the country." Cadwallader Colden, then Surveyor General of the Province, in a report addressed to the Honorable George Clarke, the Lieutenant Governor under date of February 14th, 1737-8 says "The Province of New York has for the conveniency of commerce advantages by its situation (sic.) beyond any other colony in North America. For Hudson's River, running through the whole extent of this Province, affords the inhabitants an easy transportation of all their commodities to and from the City of New York. From the Eastern Branch there is only land carriage of sixteen miles to Wood Creek, or to Lake St. Sacrament, both of which fall into Lake Champlain from whence goods are transported by water to Quebec." The name of Lake St. Sacrament, or Horicon as it was called by the Indians, was changed by Sir William Johnson who writes to the Board of

Trade in London under the date of September 3rd, 1755, in the beginning of the French and English Wars, "I am building a fort at this Lake where no house was ever before built, nor a rod of land cleared, which the French call Lake St. Sacrament, but I have given it the name of Lake George, not only in honor to his Majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted Dominion here. When the Battoes (certain small boats so called) are brought from the last Fort I caused to be built at the Great Carrying Place about 17 miles from hence, I propose to go down this lake with a part of the army, and take post at the end of it about 50 miles from hence at a pass called Ticonderouge (sic.) about 15 miles from Crown Point, and there wait the coming of the rest of the Army and then attack Crown Point." The Richelieu River connecting Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence is about 80 miles long. Lake Champlain, varying in width from 40 rods to 14 miles is 126 miles in length, Lake George from three-quarters of a mile to 4 miles in width, 36 miles in length, and the Hudson River from Glens Falls to its mouth about 190 miles. A magnificent and unrivalled water way of more than 400 miles, broken only by the carry from Glens Falls to Lake George, was thus provided from north to south, and the importance of cutting this road in time of war, and preventing the passage of hostile forces was apparent even to the savage mind. The narrow channel connecting the two lakes at Ticonderoga at once suggested itself as a spot to be fortified and it was so utilized by the Indians, but the requirements of more civilized warfare and weapons of greater power than bows and slings demanded the occupation of an outpost in the vicinity, where a fortress well protected from an enemy's fire could be erected, and such a place was found at Crown Point on a bluff at the end of a long peninsula projecting into the lake easily defensible at its narrow land end, and where permanent works would form a valuable adjunct to the position at the junction of the Lakes. The French erected a fort called Frederick at

this point as early as 1731, and in every war in this part of the country since that time, the fate of these two positions has been involved. It would test your patience too severely to recite all the conflicts which have there taken place so I shall leave for our brethren of the Sons of the Revolution the consideration of the events which concern them, and confine myself to the history of the three occurrences commemorated by the tablet erected by this Society on the Battlefield near the old French lines on the 14th of June last.

The battle of July 30th, 1609, between Champlain, the Hurons and the Algonquins on one side, and the Iroquois on the other is described by Champlain himself in his *Voyages de la Nouvelle France* published in Paris in 1632, extracts from which are contained in the Documentary History of New York. On the 2nd of July in that year he started up the rapids of the Chambly, now the Richelieu, accompanied by a total force of sixty men in twenty-four canoes; how many of these were savages and how many of his own people he does not state, but there were evidently several of the latter. On the 4th he entered the Lake which bears his name, where he was impressed by the beautiful islands near its southern end, formerly inhabited by the Iroquois but abandoned on account of the state of war then existing between the different tribes, and the abundance of trees and vines. They moved slowly up the Lake without the occurrence of any special incident until the 29th, when about ten o'clock at night, near, if not at, Ticonderoga they encountered a war party of Iroquois. Both companies began to shout, the strangers withdrawing to the shore, and the explorers backing into the Lake, and tying their canoes together to avoid the risk of separation. With quite the courtesy of mediæval knights, messages were exchanged, an agreement made to defer the combat until the next morning, as it was then too late and too dark to fight satisfactorily, and the opposing forces spent the rest of the night in exchanging insults and taunts with each other "such as, the

little courage they had; how powerless their resistance against their arms, and that when day would break they would experience this to their ruin." The confusion of pronouns is the Sieur de Champlain's, not mine, "Ours likewise did not fail in repartee; telling them that they should witness the effects of arms they had never seen before; and a multitude of other speeches such as is usual at a siege of a town." This last statement suggests some curious reflections as to what a siege must have been in the good old days.

After daybreak the invaders landed and the Iroquois, some two hundred strong, left their barricade led by three chiefs and marched with slow and dignified steps to meet them, doubtless expecting from the disparity of numbers to win an easy victory. Up to this point the entire proceedings seemed to have been conducted with the utmost propriety and decorum and quite in accordance with the rules of chivalry. But here we must hesitate to praise. The allies of Champlain pointed out to him the three chiefs bearing lofty plumes and urged him to kill them if possible, advice with which he willingly complied, for, as he states, he was very glad to encourage his friends and manifest to them his good will. The two forces paused about fifty paces from each other, Champlain being some twenty paces in advance of his party armed with an arquebus into which he had put four balls. With this somewhat unfair advantage in his favor, he waited until the enemy prepared to shoot their arrows, and then fired at the chiefs, killing two and wounding one of their companions fatally. Flights of arrows from both sides followed, but the Iroquois were already greatly alarmed at the sudden and incomprehensible death of the two chiefs, for they doubtless saw and heard fire-arms for the first time, and as while Champlain was reloading, one of his companions fired a shot, the battle was ended. The astonished Iroquois fled in dismay, abandoning their field and fort and throwing away the weapons which only impeded their flight, which were afterwards collected by the conquerors. Several others

were killed, and ten or twelve prisoners taken, but no wounded as these were carried off by their friends. Of Champlain's party fifteen or sixteen were wounded by arrows but all recovered. The victory was complete, and was followed by the proceedings usual on such occasions among warriors whether savage or civilized, the plundering of the deserted camp, and the celebration of the event by feasting, dancing and singing. "The place where this battle was fought" says Champlain "is in 43 degrees some minutes latitude and I named it Lake Champlain."

A very different spectacle was presented in the same month, nearly one hundred and fifty years later, when British Regulars and Colonial Provincials assembled at the head of Lake George in "all the pomp and panoply of war" for an attack upon the French position at Ticonderoga. The war between the French and the English had so far resulted decidedly in favor of the former, who were extending their lines and encroaching upon the British territory in every direction. The inhabitants of the colonies were deeply incensed at what they considered the indifference and carelessness of the home authorities in failing to give them proper protection, and the Government had at last been aroused to the necessity of taking some active measures.

A plan of campaign was formed of which the capture of the French position at Ticonderoga and a descent upon Montreal were the leading features, and General James Abercrombie who had succeeded the Earl of Loudon as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America upon the return of Pitt to power, determined to lead the expedition in person. Not, apparently, having full faith in his capacity, Pitt, in the hope of providing against failure, selected for second in command Lord Howe who was given the rank of Brigadier-General, and became the active controlling spirit of the undertaking. He has been described as Lord George Augustus Howe—the leading Englishman in America at that time—the grandson of King George I—the

special favorite of William Pitt, Prime Minister of England—the idol of the army and beloved in England and America.”

Abercombie was a far different character. Vain of his authority and anxious to show his contempt for the Provincials, his first act was to promote discord among the troops by announcing that all the regular officers would outrank those in the Provincial service of the same grade. The natural result was that animosities arose, many of the men deserted, and some officers were on the point of resigning their commissions and retiring from the service. Abercombie was compelled to yield the point, and agreed that the regulars should remain and do duty in the forts, while the Provincials, under their own officers, advanced against the enemy. The bitter jealousies and enmities then created had a strong influence a few years later in the strife which began at Lexington and ended at Yorktown.

Before describing the expedition against Ticonderoga, let us see the character of the place to be attacked. Du Quesne advised the construction of works at that point in the summer of 1755, and the duty was entrusted to Lotbinière, an engineer of the Province. The original fort was square, with four bastions built of earth and timber, and was the foundation of Fort Carillon. It is not known at what time the stone works, whose ruins still remain, were erected, but in the year 1758 the French were energetically engaged in enlarging and strengthening the fort, as at that time, Crown Point, on account of its less favorable position, and the dilapidation of Fort Frederick, seemed to them of secondary importance. The position held by Montcalm, who was in command of the French forces, “was a narrow and elevated peninsula, washed on three sides by deep waters, with its base on the western and only accessible side. On the north of this base the access was obstructed by a wet meadow, and on the southern extremity it was rendered impracticable to the advance of an army by a steep slope, extending from the hill to the outlet. The summit between these two points was rounded and sinu-

ous with ledges and elevations at intervals. Here, and about half a mile in advance of the fort, Montcalm traced the line of his projected intrenchment. It followed the sinuosities of the land, the sections of the work reciprocally flanking each other." At the time of the battle these intrenchments were from eight to ten feet in height, constructed of logs, and in front of them, for a distance of one hundred yards, trees were felled and laid with their branches outward.

On the morning of the 5th of July, 1758, the head of Lake George presented a magnificent spectacle. Around the ruins of Fort William Henry were assembled seven thousand British troops of the line, and about ten thousand Provincials, including the best and bravest of both, with the attendant hundreds of non-combatants, forming the finest army up to that time assembled on the Western Continent. For their transportation to Ticonderoga a flotilla was organized, consisting of nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, together with a number of rafts to carry the heavy stores, ammunition and artillery. On a beautiful clear day, this imposing pageant swept down the lovely lake, with the sound of cheerful voices, the rolling of the drums, the exhilarating blare of the trumpets, and the weird screech of the bagpipes of Lord John Murray's Highlanders. The landing was effected at noon of the following day in a cove on the west side of the lake. Here the troops formed in four columns, and began the advance, without, however, their artillery and heavy baggage, which had to be left behind until the bridges, which had been burned by the advance guard of the enemy, in their retreat, could be rebuilt. Abercombie's intention was to hurry forward and carry Ticonderoga by storm, before the arrival of reinforcements, which were supposed to be hastening to Montcalm's relief. But the dense woods and tangled underbrush rendered progress slow and uncertain, and in the general confusion the advance guard encountered a body of the enemy under De Trepèze, who had lost their way. In the skirmish which followed, Howe fell at the head

of his men, and the utter route of the French party was but small compensation for the loss of the brilliant leader. A solitary barge, in striking contrast with the brilliant display of the preceding day, is said to have borne his corpse back to Fort William Henry, whence it was taken to Albany for interment in St. Peter's Church, while it is also stated with equal persistency that his body was buried on the field of battle, where his remains are said to have been discovered a few years ago. "The death of Howe paralyzed the army. With him expired its spirit, its confidence and hope, all afterwards was prompted by imbecility, indecision and folly." Abercombie withdrew his army the next morning to the landing place, but while he was hesitating, Col. Bradstreet, with Rogers and some four hundred rangers pushed forward, rebuilt the bridges, and took possession of some saw mills which the French had erected at the lower rapids about two miles from Ticonderoga. Thus encouraged, Abercombie moved his army to the saw mills and sent forward his engineer Clerk, and John Stark, who was with the Provincial troops, to examine the enemy's works. The party returned at dusk, and Clerk reported that the works would offer only feeble resistance to a charge of the British bayonet, but the more experienced Stark was of a very different opinion. His advice was rejected by the General as that of an ignorant Provincial, unacquainted with British prowess, and orders were issued, early on the morning of the eighth, to advance without artillery and carry the enemy's works at the point of the bayonet.

It is asserted that it was Montcalm's intention to evacuate Ticonderoga without awaiting an attack, as he thought it untenable, and that he did not decide upon a vigorous defense until the morning of the battle. His entire force of fighting men was two thousand nine hundred and ninety-two, and of these four hundred and fifty were irregular troops, who occupied the abattis in front of the works. De Levis was placed on the right with three regiments—De Boulamarque held the

left with an equal force, while Montcalm occupied the centre with the battalions. The declivity towards the outlet was guarded by two companies. Behind each battalion was stationed in reserve a company of grenadiers. Work on the entrenchments was resumed at daybreak, but at the preconcerted signal (an alarm gun), the troops left their labors and assumed their respective stations under arms. Montcalm threw off his coat, and, forbidding his men to fire a musket until he should give the word, calmly awaited the approach of the enemy.

It was not a battle, but a massacre. Entangled in the trees, confronted by lines of works too high to climb, subjected to a withering and murderous fire from swivels and muskets, the troops held their ground with determined valor. "But," says Mr. Smith, in his history of Essex County, "they heard no command to retreat,—they had received their orders to advance, and, although they could not surmount the works, they could die in front of them. * * * The assault was hopeless from the beginning, and while its bloody scenes were being enacted under the watchful eye of the brilliant French general, Abercombie looked after the welfare of his noble person amid the security of the saw mills two miles from the battlefield." After enduring the enemy's fire without flinching for five hours, the troops retreated in the utmost disorder, having lost in killed and wounded nineteen hundred and sixty-seven men.

The British had still some twelve thousand men, with plenty of artillery, but their general was thoroughly alarmed, and retreated during the night to the landing, leaving orders for the army to follow him there. On their arrival the next morning, this army of lions, led by a stag, was seized with a sudden panic, and would have rushed into the bateaux and sunk many of them had not Col. Bradstreet, by his coolness and presence of mind, prevented such a disaster. Abercombie, it is said, did not breathe freely until Lake George was between himself and the enemy, and his artillery and ammuni-

tion fairly on the way to Albany. That pursuit did not follow was due to the feebleness of the enemy, and the impracticability of traversing the forest without Indian guides, which Montcalm did not have. De Levis went over the track of Abercombie's army on the morning of the 10th, and found only the vestiges of a routed host.

"Abercombie returned to England," says Bancroft, "evaded censure; was gladdened by promotion, and lived to vote as a member of Parliament for the taxation of a country which his imbecility might have lost, and which was always the object of his malignant aspirations."

The decisive blow was struck the next year by a very different man. General Amherst, who had captured Louisbourg on July 16th, 1758, learning of the fatal issue of Abercombie's campaign, with an unwonted ardor, without waiting for orders, embarked four or five regiments, and sailed with them to Boston. On his arrival he at once commenced a march through the forest to Lake George, which he reached in person in October. In November he assumed command, Abercombie having been recalled, and himself appointed Commander-in-Chief.

Of him, Watson, in his history of Essex County, says, "Amherst, without any claim to brilliancy or genius, was calculated to command success by the excellence of his judgment, his prudent circumspection and persevering firmness. His character and policy had secured to him the respect and confidence of the colonies. His measures were not stimulated by the arrogance of Braddock, nor trammelled by the feebleness and indecision of Abercombie, nor dishonored by the pusillanimity of Webb."

As the season was too far advanced for active operations when Amherst received his promotion, it was not until in May of 1759 that he began his preparations at Albany by obtaining boats, gathering stores and drilling the new recruits. He reached Lake George with an army of about eleven thousand men in June, and late in July it moved down the lake in four

columns in a fleet of whale-boats, bateaux and artillery rafts, and left the boats nearly opposite the former landing place. The army advanced rapidly on the road to the falls, meeting and scattering after a short skirmish a force of French and Indians, and the main body took a position at the saw mills. From prisoners captured it was learned that Montcalm was at Quebec, where that gallant officer met a soldier's death on the 13th of September following, and that Boullamarque commanded at Ticonderoga with thirty-four hundred men. The French withdrew into the fort, and made a show of resistance for several days, while they completed their preparations for evacuating the position. During the night of the 25th of July an explosion took place, and the light of the burning works showed the retreat of the French. Col. Haviland pursued them down the lake with a few troops and took sixteen prisoners, together with some boats laden with powder. Amherst slowly prepared to attack Crown Point, and sent Rogers with his rangers to reconnoitre. But, on the 1st of August, they learned that the French had abandoned that fort, and on the 16th, that Boullamarque with his troops was encamped at the Isle au Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, commanding the entrance to the Richelieu. The final conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was achieved with only the loss of Amherst's Adjutant-General, Townsend, a brilliant officer, and about eighty men.

The long struggle was ended. The fall of Quebec the next month left the French in possession only of Montreal and Detroit and a few scattered posts along the frontier, and these last traces of dominion vanished the next year, with Amherst in Montreal and Rogers in Detroit. From the bay where Hendrik Hudson moored the little Half Moon throughout the length of the lordly river to which he gave his name, across the carry to the lovely lake which testifies to Sir William Johnson's loyalty to his royal master, passing the gateway of Ticonderoga into the great inland sea which Champlain discovered and explored, through the winding channel of the

Richelieu to the St. Lawrence, and down its broad pathway to the sea, the lilies of France were forever submerged beneath the waters, and the crosses of Great Britain everywhere floated in triumph.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND.

*A paper read before the Society by Dermot W. Keegan, Esq.,
on March 16th, 1903.*

What is the philosophy of human history?

According to *inspired* wisdom, it is a record of the ways and will of the Almighty, working through *human* instruments. in Biblical phrase: "we live, and move, and have our being in God."—(Ac. 17-28).

The interpretation of human events as God's dealings with man, invests history with the dignity of a divine majesty. This is a matter of vital importance, and on it rests the strength and sense of my argument. The course of events in America, as in Palestine, with the Colonists, as with the Israelites, was a *revelation* of the ways of the Infinite—necessarily beyond the comprehension of the finite, mysterious, except in the retrospect. It has been said that Providences, like Hebrew letters, must be read *backwards*.

Interpreting events in the light of such vantage ground, we see clearly that it was preordained that the American Colonies should become an independent nation, establishing, as Lafayette prophetically said to Napoleon, "one of the greatest epochs in the history of the world." We *also* see that the ideals of the fathers were divinely ordained to be the germinal force of American Democracy—the strongest, the most stable, and the most beneficent government that the world has ever seen, though the *fathers themselves*—paradoxical as it may seem—were aristocrats and monarchists.

These results were brought about by Infinite Wisdom, operating through finite agents, building, not only better than they knew, but *other* than they knew.

Prior to 1783, these purposes were *hidden* in the secret councils of Omniscience. The fathers of the eighteenth century did *not* enter upon the war of the Revolution to secure separation from England. Simply a redress of grievances was desired, or even thought of—at all events, in any serious way.

Franklyn said to Chatham: "I have never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for separation."

October 9th, 1774, Washington wrote, in a letter to Captain MacKenzie, "I am well satisfied that no such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in all North America." Jefferson said, "Before the Battle of Lexington, I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain." In March, 1775, John Adams published in Boston, "That there are any who pant after independence, is the greatest slander on the Province."

The colonists did not want independence, but were *pushed* on, from one step to another, by the momentum of events.

The propelling power, shaping events, and veiled *in* them, was the Omnipotent Ruler in human affairs, moving men to will and to do, according to His Infinite wisdom.

After the utter discomfiture of the British at Lexington—though the Province was ablaze with enthusiasm—the Massachusetts Congress sent by a fast vessel a conciliatory petition to England, professing the highest degree of *loyalty*.

In quotation from the petition—"We profess to be loyal and dutiful subjects, and are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the person, family, crown and dignity of our royal sovereign."

After the battle of Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress sent to the king an exceedingly *loyal* petition.

While America was still on her knees in supplication, the king scornfully declared that he would subdue her into submission with Hessian mercenaries. It was *this* brutality that extirpated the deeply rooted attachment to the mother-country, and roused the Colonies to a *delirium* of wrath and resentment, under the impulse of which—*fifteen months after the commencement of the war*—Congress formally—but tremblingly—declared independence of that monarchy.

This was Providence's mysterious way of leading America—wedded, as she *was*, to a monarchial predilection—to a more beneficent form of government than monarchy.

April 30th, 1789, Washington, in an address to Congress, said, "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency."

These words, uttered in reference to the Colonists battling for freedom, apply, with equal fitness, to the Colonists struggling for existence.

Let us go back 150 years farther, to the time when Massachusetts was an unexplored and inhospitable wilderness. Of the Thirteen American Colonies, only Virginia and Massachusetts, with her offshoots New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, forming New England, were of pure Anglo-Saxon stock, of one religion, and of one language.

All the others were, more or less, a mixture of languages, nationalities and religions. Pennsylvania was a conglomerate of five different languages, and fourteen distinct religions. Rev. Mr. Burnaby, of England, who visited the New York Colony in 1759, said, "It is impossible to give the New York Colony any definite or precise character, *because* of the different languages, nationalities and religions." About one-half were Dutch.

In 1650, a traveler reported that there were eighteen languages spoken on Manhattan Island.

New York, and all the other Colonies, except Massachusetts, were founded solely for commercial benefits. But Massachusetts, and her offshoots forming New England, were founded purely for religious purposes. In *that* respect, New England was distinctly "a peculiar people."

From 1620 to 1640, there came from England to Massachusetts about 21,000 victims of religious persecution—representing the highest intelligence, and the most advanced culture of their age, and the sublimest aggregation of self-abnegation and religious earnestness the world has ever seen.

Stoughton wrote, in 1660, "The Lord *sifted* a whole nation, to send choice wheat into the wilderness."

Of the Pilgrims was William Brewster, who had been a student at Cambridge, though not a graduate.

Of the Puritans was Francis Higginson, graduate of Cambridge.

One of the most able, devout, and popular ministers in England. When he was taking his last look of the English Coast, assembling his children and the other passengers on the deck of the vessel, he said to them, "We will not say as the Separatists—the Pilgrims, were wont to say, farewell Babylon, farewell Rome, but we will say, farewell dear England, farewell the Church of God in England, and all Christian friends there. We separate not from the Church of England, but from its papal corruptions. We go to practice the positive part of Church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America."

That was the rationale, and the service of the Exodus—in the words of one of the foremost among them.

There was John Winthrop, educated at Cambridge, an accomplished scholar, and a type of the highest refinement of his day—a character of ideal grandeur, who sank the whole of his large fortune in the support of the Colony, and died in poverty, leaving his infant son dependent on charity.

There was John Cotton, graduate of Cambridge, and at one time a tutor of the University, of pre-eminent ability and learning. Rector of the most magnificent church in England. He was informed against for refusing to kneel at the Lord's Supper.

Cotton said, "When the Bishop of Lincoln diocese offered me liberty upon *once* kneeling at the Sacrament with him the next Lord's day, I did not dare accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling, as it was a vestige of the idolatrous sacrifice of Mass.

The Puritans protested against everything suggestive of

Catholicism, and for *that* reason, their attitude of prayer was standing up.

The Earl of Dorset interceded vainly in his behalf, and told him, "If you had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, I could have obtained your pardon, but as you are guilty of Puritanism, and non-conformity, your crime is unpardonable, and therefore I advise you to flee for your life."

There was Governor Haynes, a man of high moral qualities and accomplishments, a gentleman of fortune, who had a magnificent residence in Essex. But an untrammelled right, though in a wilderness, to his own religious convictions, was more highly prized than all the advantages of wealth and refined environments at home.

There was Governor Hopkins, possessed of a large fortune, who founded the grammar schools of Hartford, and a professorship of Divinity at Harvard.

There was Thomas Hooker, a distinguished graduate and fellow of Cambridge, called the "Luther of New England"—a preacher of wonderful eloquence.

There was John Davenport, graduate of Cambridge, an incumbent of St. Stephen's in London, of great influence and power with the clergy of England, because of his talents and learning.

There was John Elliot, graduate of Cambridge, whose soul was a live coal flaming with the intensest devotion, one of the most devout, and most beloved of men, devoting a large part of his life to missionary effort among the Indians.

There was Chas. Chauncy, graduate of Cambridge, one of the greatest scholars and theologians of his age, professor of Greek and Hebrew at Cambridge, who turned his back on the allurements of wealth, comfort, and distinction in England, and endured the privations and obscurity of the wilderness, for conscience' sake.

There was Henry Dunster, graduate of Cambridge, an exceedingly attractive man, and one of the foremost scholars of

his day. President of Harvard from 1640-1654, and, all things considered, Harvard has never had his superior since.

An eminent scholar has written that "Bulkly, Chauncy, Hooker, Norton and Davenport, were equal to the first characters in theology in all Christendom, and in any age." These men were types of over a hundred graduates of Cambridge and Oxford, who fled to Massachusetts to escape prisons and scaffolds, to which Christians were continually condemned, for opposing the popish corruptions of the Angelican Church.

Such were the men, whose lofty ideals, divinely inspired, were the germinal life of American Democracy, which, faulty and partial in its development, as it *is*—is still the greatest achievement of human history, and at which the nations of the world still rub their eyes in skeptical amazement.

The Reformation had its Luther, but American institutions had a hundred Luthers, any one who was the peer of the heroic Saxon.

It is affirmed that Cromwell and Hampden had embarked for Massachusetts, but were detained by King Charles.

Providence had a home mission for Cromwell.

Anna Bradstreet, wife of the Governor, of rare mental endowments, reared in the home of an Earl, wrote that when she went into the wilderness, at Andover, her heart sank within her, but when she reflected that it was *God's* will, there came upon her that peace which passeth all understanding.

That disposition was a characteristic of the Colony. Their will power was never enervated by immediate results, however adverse, for they had an unfaltering trust in the Omnipotent Wisdom that *determined* those results. *That* attitude of mind was the secret of their fortitude under privations and sufferings, which, otherwise, would have utterly disheartened them, and was the *backbone* of the Revolution. It is a fact, based on official statistics of the War Department, (report of General Knox, 1st Sect. of War to Congress, 1790), that New England contributed to the Revolutionary Army of 1775, 80

per cent. Massachusetts, alone, furnished 58 6-10 per cent., New York, 7 4-10 per cent.

In 1776, when the scene of action was outside of New England, as it continued to be to the end of the war, New England furnished 47 1-10 per cent. of the entire army. Massachusetts, alone, 23 8-10 per cent.; New York, 7 3-10 per cent.

That there may be an adequate appreciation of the formidable difficulties encountered in the Revolutionary Struggle, and of the indomitable spirit with which they were met, let us briefly take a surveying glance at the general situation.

The assertion made by some historians of the Revolution, and generally credited, that the colonies relaxed their patriotic efforts, and that the army rapidly dwindled, because of the expected assistance from the French Alliance, is unwarranted.

Does a drowning man relax his efforts for self-preservation, at the sight of compassionate succor?

It was not in consequence of, but despite the energizing effect of the French Alliance, that evidences of a collapse developed. The premonitory symptoms *antedated* the French Alliance.

The general disposition throughout the Country was one of despondency bordering on despair, because of the paralyzing severity of the situation. The resources of the Colonies had been *drained*. A paper dollar was worth 16 cents in 1778. In 1780, ten paper dollars had the purchasing power of one cent. In the army was nakedness and starvation.

In reference to this matter, Washington, Greene and Steuben are final authorities.

December 23d, 1777, General Steuben wrote at Valley Forge, "I have lost 2,000 men during the last three weeks from exposure and hardship. Three thousand are unfit for duty, because barefoot, and otherwise naked."

January, 1778, General Steuben wrote, "My force is literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word. As to their military discipline, I can safely say, no such thing exists. I saw officers, at a grand parade, mounting guard in a

dressing gown made of an old blanket. Their condition is truly pitiable, and their courage and perseverance is beyond all praise."

February, 1778, at Valley Forge, Washington wrote, "One of two things must be done—to starve, or disperse to obtain food. Total army, 17,000; fit for duty, 5,000; 4,000 without clothing; consequences, desertions, mutinies, fever and sickness sweeping hundreds away. The army could not make long marches, as the troops are barefooted, and would run away."

Such was the condition of the army *prior* to the French Alliance, with which Washington was to *defeat* the thoroughly equipped and splendidly disciplined troops of the most powerful and aggressive of all the nations of the world.

When the news of the French Alliance reached the camp at Valley Forge—May 4th, 1778—it was written by one present, "Washington's face shone like that of Moses, when he descended from the Mount." So, also, the exhausted energies of the Colonists were thrilled to a supreme effort. But the point of exhaustion had been reached.

December 30th, 1778, Washington wrote, "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war."

January 11th, 1780, General Greene reported, "We have been alternately without bread and meat for eight or nine days and without either for three or four days."

Washington wrote to Congress, "As things are going on, our cause is *lost*." From the *natural* standpoint, had it not been for the French Alliance, the Revolutionary Cause would have utterly collapsed.

In the army of 1780, New England furnished 53 2-10 per cent. Massachusetts alone, 29 4-10 per cent.; New York, 10 6-10 per cent.

January 15th, 1781, General Greene wrote as to the condition of the Southern Army, "More than half of our force is in a manner naked, unfit for the least duty. Indeed, there is

a large number that have not a rag of clothing on them, except a little piece of blanket round the waist, after the Indian style."

April 9th, 1781, Washington wrote to Colonel Lawrens, at Paris, "You may rely upon it as a *fact*, that we cannot transport the provisions from the States in which they are assessed to the army, because we cannot pay the teamsters. Our troops are fast approaching to nakedness, and we have nothing to clothe them with. In short, we are at the *end of our tether*."

April, 1781, Washington wrote to Colonel Lawrens, "If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the critical posture of our affairs, it will avail us nothing, should she attempt it hereafter. I give it decisively as my opinion, that without a foreign loan, our present force (which is but the remnant of an army), cannot be kept together this campaign—much less will it be in readiness for another." February 20th, 1781, Washington wrote to Congress, "Our affairs are brought to an awful crisis."

Truly, we *were* in the position of a drowning man, and France saved us, as by the hair of the head.

Lafayette, in a letter to his wife, wrote, "Human nature has its limits. No European army would suffer one-tenth part of what the Americans suffer. They are the hardest and most patient in the world."

A military authority has said, "*Physical* courage is a very cheap commodity. The market is always overstocked at \$15.00 a month." In that respect, neither side could claim superiority. What differentiated the American Soldier was *moral* courage—patience and long suffering.

To Steuben, with his twenty years' service under Frederick the Great, the fortitude of the American army was a revelation of possible human endurance.

As the blazing torch of enthusiasm waned feebler and feebler—as the apathy of despair gradually settled down upon the colonies—as the ascendancy of moral forces grew more and more imperative as the sustaining power—so the percentage of New

England in the struggle for independence grew, until in 1783 it was 53 5-10 per cent. of the entire army. Massachusetts alone, furnished 32 4-10 per cent. Connecticut came second in contributive importance—12 9-10 per cent.

The average percentage in the *entire* army (Continental and militia), 1775-1783 inclusive, from New England, was 50 7-10 per cent; Massachusetts alone, 28 5-10 per cent; New York, 7 2-10 per cent. In the *regular* army (exclusive of militia), 1775-1783 inclusive, the New England contingent averaged 50 9-10 per cent; Massachusetts alone, 29 2-10 per cent; New York, 7 6-10 per cent.

	1775.	Per Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....	28,027	89.
New England Contingent	24,968	89.
Continental		
Massachusetts	16,444	58.6
Connecticut	4,507	16.
New Hampshire	2,824	10.
Rhode Island.....	1,193	4.2
New York	2,075	7.4
Pennsylvania	656	2.3
Maryland	164	0.5
Virginia	164	0.5
New England furnished to the Army.....		89.
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....		58.6
New York furnished to the Army.....		7.4

The Revolutionary figures were copied from the compact report of Gen. Knox, first Secretary of War, to Congress, 1790.

The calculation of percentages, specific and average, was made by the writer to enable the reader to form a comparative appreciation at a glance.

In the War Dept's report there was an error as to the Army of '75—crediting Pennsylvania with only 400, and Virginia and Maryland with nothing.

In the "Writings of George Washington" (Vol. 3, page 140) it is written. "The Continental Congress resolved on the 14th of June, '75, that six companies of expert riflemen should be raised in Penn., 2 in Maryland, and 2 in Virginia. On the 22nd it was again resolved that two more companies should be raised in Penn. The above 12 companies were filled with surprising celerity, and marched from four to seven hundred miles to Camp at Cambridge in 3 weeks. Congress had fixed the number of each company at 82."

Penn., 8 companies of 82.....	656	Penn.	400
Maryland, 2 companies of 82.....	164	Virginia	
Virginia, 2 companies of 82.....	164	Maryland	

War Dept's Report.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

1776.				Per
				Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....			72,961	
New England Contingent.....			34,418	47.1
	Total	Continental	Militia	
Massachusetts	17,372	13,372	4,000	23.8
Connecticut	12,127	6,390	5,737	16.6
New Hampshire	3,019	3,019		4.1
Rhode Island	1,900	798	1,102	2.6
Pennsylvania	10,395	5,519	4,876	14.2
New Jersey	9,086	3,193	5,893	12.4
Virginia	6,181	6,181		8.4
New York	5,344	3,629	1,715	7.3
Maryland	3,229	637	2,592	4.
South Carolina	2,069	2,069		2.8
North Carolina	1,134	1,134		1.5
Delaware	754	609	145	1.
Georgia	351	351		.4
New England furnished to the Army.....				47.
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....				23.8
New York furnished to the Army.....				7.3
1777.				Per
				Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....			44,920	
New England Contingent.....			17,985	40.
	Total	Continental	Militia	
Massachusetts	10,591	7,816	2,775	23.6
Connecticut	4,563	4,563		10.1
New Hampshire	2,283	1,172	1,111	5.
Rhode Island	548	548		1.2
Pennsylvania	7,464	4,983	2,481	16.6
Virginia	7,013	5,744	1,269	15.6
Maryland	3,565	2,030	1,535	7.9
New York.....	2,832	1,903	929	6.3
New Jersey	1,408	1,408		3.1
Georgia	1,423	1,423		3.1
North Carolina	1,281	1,281		2.8
Delaware	299	299		.6
South Carolina	1,650	1,650		3.6
New England furnished to the Army.....				40.
Massachusetts alone, furnished to the Army.....				23.6
New York Furnished to the Army.....				6.3

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

				1778.	Per
					Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....				37,252	
New England Contingent				17,286	46.4
	Total	Continental	Militia		
Massachusetts	8,937	7,010	1,927		23.9
Connecticut	4,010	4,010			10.7
Rhode Island	3,056	630	2,426		8.2
New Hampshire	1,283	1,283			3.4
Virginia	5,236	5,236			14.
Pennsylvania	3,684	3,684			9.8
Maryland	3,307	3,307			9.
New York	2,194	2,194			5.8
South Carolina	1,650	1,650			4.4
New Jersey	1,586	1,586			4.2
North Carolina	1,287	1,287			3.4
Georgia	673	673			1.8
Delaware	349	349			.9
New England furnished to the Army.....					46.4
Massachusetts alone, furnished to the Army.....					23.9
New York furnished to the Army.....					5.8
				1779.	Per
					Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....				32,834	
New England Contingent				13,764	41.9
	Total	Continental	Militia		
Massachusetts	7,738	6,287	1,451		23.6
Connecticut	3,544	3,544			10.8
Rhode Island	1,257	501	756		3.8
New Hampshire	1,226	1,004	222		3.7
Virginia	3,973	3,973			12.1
Pennsylvania	3,476	3,476			10.8
North Carolina	3,920	1,214	2,706		10.9
Maryland	2,849	2,849			8.8
New York	2,256	2,256			7.
New Jersey	1,276	1,276			3.9
South Carolina	909	909			2.8
Delaware	317	317			.9
Georgia	87	87			.2
New England furnished to the Army.....					41.9
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....					23.6
New York furnished to the Army.....					7.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

				1780.	Per Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....				26,826	
New England Contingent				14,268	53.2
	Total	Continental	Militia		
Massachusetts	7,889	4,453	3,436		29.4
Connecticut	3,687	3,133	554		13.7
New Hampshire	1,777	1,017	760		6.6
Rhode Island	915	915			3.4
Pennsylvania	3,337	3,337			12.4
New York	2,847	2,179	668		10.6
Virginia	2,486	2,486			9.2
Maryland	2,065	2,065			7.7
New Jersey	1,267	1,105	162		4.7
Delaware	556	325	231		2.
North Carolina					
South Carolina					
Georgia					
New England furnished					53.2
Massachusetts alone furnished					29.4
New York furnished					10.6
				1781.	Per Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....				20,590	
New England Contingent				10,383	50.4
	Total	Continental	Militia		
Massachusetts	5,298	3,732	1,566		25.7
Connecticut	3,921	2,420	1,501		19.
New Hampshire	700	700			3.3
Rhode Island	464	464			2.2
Virginia	5,456	1,225	4,231		26.5
Pennsylvania	1,346	1,346			6.5
New York	1,178	1,178			6.5
New Jersey	823	823			3.9
Maryland	770	770			3.7
North Carolina	545	545			2.6
Delaware	89	89			.4
South Carolina					
Georgia					
New England furnished to the Army.....					50.4
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....					25.7
New York furnished to the Army.....					5.7

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

1782.		Per Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....	14,256	
New England Contingent	7,380	51.7
Continental		
Massachusetts	4,423	31.
Connecticut	1,732	12.1
New Hampshire	744	5.2
Rhode Island	481	3.3
Maryland	1,280	8.9
Pennsylvania	1,265	8.8
Virginia	1,204	8.4
New York	1,198	8.3
North Carolina	1,105	7.7
New Jersey	660	4.6
Delaware	164	1.1
South Carolina	None	
Georgia	None	
New England furnished to the Army.....		51.7
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....		31.
New York furnished to the Army.....		8.3

1783.		Per Cent.
Total Rev. Army on the rolls.....	13,476	
New England Contingent	7,215	53.5
Continental		
Massachusetts	4,370	32.4
Connecticut	1,740	12.9
New Hampshire	733	5.4
Rhode Island	372	2.7
Pennsylvania	1,598	11.8
New York	1,169	8.6
Maryland	974	7.2
North Carolina	697	5.
New Jersey	675	5.
Virginia	629	4.6
Delaware	235	1.7
South Carolina	139	1.
Georgia	145	1.
New England furnished to the Army.....		53.5
Massachusetts alone furnished to the Army.....		32.4
New York alone furnished to the Army.....		8.6

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

GENERAL AVERAGE.

REGULAR ARMY ALONE.

1775-1783 Inclusive.

		Per Cent.
Total Army rolls of Continentals, alone aggregated...	232,379	
New England furnished	118,344	50.9
	Continental	
Massachusetts	67,907	29.2
Connecticut	32,039	13.7
New Hampshire	12,496	5.3
Rhode Island	5,902	2.5
Virginia	26,842	11.5
Pennsylvania	25,864	11.1
New York	17,781	7.6
Maryland	14,076	6.
New Jersey ..	10,726	4.6
South Carolina	6,417	2.3
North Carolina	7,263	3.1
Delaware	2,387	1.
Georgia	2,679	1.1
Average New England percentage in the Continental Army..		50.9
Massachusetts alone		29.2
New York		7.6

General Average 1775-1783 inclusive.

MILITIA ALONE.

		Per Cent.
Total Army rolls of Militia alone aggregated.....	58,763	
New England supplied	29,330	49.9
Massachusetts	15,161	25.8
Connecticut	7,792	13.2
New Hampshire	2,093	3.5
Rhode Island	4,284	7.2
Pennsylvania	7,351	12.4
New Jersey	6,055	10.3
Virginia	5,500	9.3
New York	3,312	5.6
Maryland	4,127	7.
South Carolina		
North Carolina	2,706	4.6
Delaware	376	.6
Georgia		
Average New England percentage of the Militia alone.....		49.9
Massachusetts		25.8
New York		5.6

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

GENERAL AVERAGE.

CONTINENTAL AND MILITIA.

Entire Army—1775-1783 inclusive

		Per Cent.
Total Army rolls, Continental and Militia aggregated.	291,142	
New England furnished	147,674	50.7
Massachusetts	83,068	28.5
Connecticut	39,831	13.6
New Hampshire	14,589	5.
Rhode Island	10,186	3.4
Pennsylvania	33,221	11.4
Virginia	32,342	11.1
New York	21,093	7.2
Maryland	18,203	6.2
New Jersey	16,781	5.7
North Carolina	9,969	3.4
South Carolina	6,417	2.2
Delaware	2,763	.9
Georgia	2,679	.9
Average New England percentage in the <i>Entire Army</i> .		50.7
Massachusetts alone		28.5
New York		7.2

The foregoing exhibits show the contributive importance of New England, in the entire army of the Revolution, 1775-1783 inclusive, viz., New England, 50 7-10 per cent; Massachusetts alone, 28 5-10 per cent.; the remaining Colonies, 49 3-10 per cent. But the question arises, how did New England acquit herself, relative to her *capacity*, and the demands made upon her for troops by *Congress*, and how did the other Colonies respond to their respective quotas.

In 1775 and 1776 the enlistments were *purely voluntary*. In 1777, Congress assigned quotas to the Colonies, on the basis of an estimate of their respective populations, made in 1774, by the first Continental Congress, the delegates from each Colony submitting the data, excepting Georgia, which was not represented in the first Congress.

John Adams (V. 7, page 302), wrote that Pennsylvania was

undoubtedly set too low, but that as a whole the list was about right. Massachusetts and New Hampshire set at 400,000 and 150,000 respectively, were manifestly set too high, as, according to the United States Census of 1790, Massachusetts ranked No. 4 in the Union (378,787); New Hampshire, No. 10 (141,885); Virginia was No. 1 (747,610); Pennsylvania, No. 2 (434,373); North Carolina, No. 3 (393,751). In 1775, Massachusetts numbered not more than 362,000.

THE THIRTEEN STATES RANKED.

According to the United States census of 1790, and the Congressional estimate of 1774.

	U. S Census	Congress' Esti- mate, 1774
Virginia, No. 1.....	747,610	640,000 No. 1
Pennsylvania, No. 2.....	434,373	320,000 No. 3
North Carolina, No. 3.....	393,751	300,000 No. 4
Massachusetts, No. 4.....	378,787	400,000 No. 2
New York, No. 5.....	340,120	250,000 No. 5
Maryland, No. 6.....	319,728	320,000 No. 3
South Carolina, No. 7.....	249,073	225,000 No. 6
Connecticut, No. 8.....	237,946	192,000 No. 7
New Jersey, No. 9.....	184,139	130,000 No. 9
New Hampshire, No. 10.....	141,885	150,000 No. 8
Georgia, No. 11.....	82,548	50,000 No. 11
Rhode Island, No. 12.....	68,825	59,678 No. 10
Delaware, No. 13.....	59,096	30,000 No. 12
Vermont	85,425	
Maine	96,500	
Totals, in 1790.....3,929,214		3,066,678 in 1774

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

QUOTAS—1777.

Quotas assigned to the colonies for the Army of 1777. Six hundred and eighty men to a battalion, on the basis of Congress' estimate of their respective populations in 1774.

	Population	Battalions	Quotas ordered	Per ct. of population	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	400,000	15	10,200	2.5	10,591	103.
Connecticut	192,000	8	5,440	2.8	4,563	83.8
New Hampshire	150,000	3	2,040	1.3	2,283	111.
Rhode Island	59,678	2	1,360	2.2	548	40.
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New England	801,678	28	19,040	2.3	17,985	94.
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Virginia	640,000	15	10,200	1.6	7,013	68.7
Pennsylvania	320,000	12	8,160	2.5	7,464	91.4
North Carolina	300,000	9	6,120	2.	1,281	20.9
Maryland	320,000	8	5,440	1.7	3,565	65.5
South Carolina	225,000	6	4,080	1.8	1,650	40.4
New York	250,000	4	2,720	1.	2,832	104.1
New Jersey	130,000	4	2,720	2.	1,408	51.7
Delaware	30,000	1	680	2.	299	43.9
Georgia	50,000	1	680	1.2	1,423	223.9
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Nine states	2,265,000	60	40,800	1.8	26,935	66.
Total	3,066,678	88	59,840		44,920	75.

New England furnished 94 per cent. of the aggregated quotas. Massachusetts alone, 103 per cent. of her quota. The remaining nine colonies 66 per cent. of their aggregated quotas.

QUOTAS—1778.

February 26, 1778, Congress resolved to have the following number of men furnished by each State, 522 men to a battalion.

	Battalion	Ordered	Per ct. of popu.	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	15	7,830	1.9	8,937	114.
Connecticut	8	4,176	2.1	4,010	96.
New Hampshire	3	1,566	1.	1,283	81.9
Rhode Island	1	522	.8	3,056	585.4
	—	—	—	—	—
New England	27	14,094	1.7	17,286	122.6
Virginia	15	7,830	1.2	5,236	66.8
Pennsylvania	10	5,220	1.6	3,684	70.5
North Carolina	9	4,698	1.5	1,287	23.3
Maryland	8	4,176	1.3	3,307	78.9
South Carolina	6	3,132	1.4	1,650	52.6
New York	5	2,610	1.	2,194	83.6
New Jersey	4	2,088	1.6	1,586	75.9
Delaware	1	522	1.7	349	66.8
Georgia	1	522	1.	673	128.9
	—	—	—	—	—
Nine colonies	59	30,798	1.3	19,966	64.7
Total Army ordered	86	44,892		37,252	82.0

New England furnished 122.6 per cent. of her quotas aggregated. Massachusetts alone, 114 per cent. The remaining nine colonies, 64.7 per cent. of their quotas.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

QUOTAS—1779.

March 9th, 1779, Congress resolved that the army be composed of 80 battalions, 522 men to a battalion. Quotas assigned as follows:

	Battalion	Ordered	Per ct. of popu.	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	15	7,830	1.9	7,738	98.8
Connecticut	8	4,176	2.1	3,544	84.8
New Hampshire	3	1,566	1.	1,236	78.9
Rhode Island	2	1,044	1.7	1,263	120.9
	—	—	—	—	—
New England	28	14,616	1.8	13,781	94.2
Virginia	11	5,742	.9	3,973	69.1
Pennsylvania	11	5,742	1.7	3,476	60.5
Maryland	8	4,176	1.3	2,849	68.2
North Carolina	6	3,132	1.	3,920	125.1
South Carolina	6	3,132	1.4	909	28.7
New York	5	2,610	1.	2,256	86.4
New Jersey	3	1,566	1.2	1,276	81.4
Delaware	1	522	1.7	317	60.7
Georgia	1	522	1.	87	16.6
	—	—	—	—	—
The nine colonies	52	27,144	1.2	19,063	70.
Total Army ordered.....	80	41,760		32,844	75.5

New England furnished 94.2 per cent. of her quotas aggregated. Massachusetts alone, 98.8 per cent. of her quota aggregated. The remaining nine colonies, 70 per cent. of their quota aggregated.

QUOTAS—1780.

January 24th, 1780, Congress resolved that the States furnish by draughts, or otherwise, the deficiencies of their respective quotas of 80 battalions, apportioned by a resolution of Congress on March 9th, 1779.

	Battalion	Ordered	Per ct. of popu.	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	15	7,830	1.9	7,889	100.7
Connecticut	8	4,176	2.1	3,687	88.2
New Hampshire	3	1,566	1.	1,777	113.4
Rhode Island	2	1,044	1.7	915	87.6
	—	—	—	—	—
New England	28	14,616	1.8	14,268	97.6
Pennsylvania	11	5,742	0.9	3,337	58.1
Virginia	11	5,742	1.7	2,486	43.4
Maryland	8	4,176	1.3	2,065	49.4
New York	5	2,610	1.	2,847	109.
North Carolina	6	3,132	1.		
South Carolina	6	3,132	1.4		
New Jersey	3	1,566	1.2	1,267	80.9
Delaware	1	522	1.7	556	106.5
Georgia	1	522	1.		
	—	—	—	—	—
The nine colonies	52	27,144	1.2	12,558	46.2
Total Army	80	41,760		26,826	64.2

New England furnished 97.6 per cent. of her quotas aggregated. Massachusetts alone, furnished 100.7 per cent. of her quota. The remaining nine colonies, 46.2 per cent. of their quotas aggregated.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

QUOTAS—1781.

Congress resolved October 3d, 1780, that the Army of 1781 should be 58 battalions, 576 men to a battalion, apportioned as follows:

	Battalion	Ordered	Per ct. of popu.	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	11	6,336	1.6	5,298	83.6
Connecticut	6	3,456	1.8	3,921	113.4
New Hampshire	2	1,152	.7	700	60.7
Rhode Island	1	576	.9	464	80.5
	—	—	—	—	—
New England	20	11,520	1.4	10,383	90.1
*Virginia	11	6,336	1.	5,456	86.1
Pennsylvania	9	5,184	1.6	1,346	25.9
Maryland	5	2,880	.9	770	26.7
North Carolina	4	2,304	.7	545	23.6
New York	2	1,728	.7	1,178	68.1
South Carolina	2	1,152	.5		
New Jersey	2	1,152	.8	823	71.4
Delaware	1	576	1.8	89	15.4
Georgia	1	576	1.1		
	—	—	—	—	—
The nine colonies	38	21,888	.9	10,207	46.6
Total Army ordered	58	33,408		20,590	61.

*Under Gen. Greene at Yorktown 4,231 Militia.

New England furnished 90.1 per cent. of her quotas aggregated. Massachusetts alone, 83.6 per cent. of her quota. The remaining nine colonies, 46.6 per cent. of their quotas aggregated.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

QUOTAS—1782.

Quotas 576 men to a battalion, assigned as follows: Percentage of population same as in 1781.

	Battalions	Ordered	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	11	6,336	4,423	69.8
Connecticut	6	3,456	1,732	50.1
New Hampshire	2	1,152	744	64.5
Rhode Island	1	576	481	83.5
	—	—	—	—
New England	20	11,520	7,380	64.6
Virginia	11	6,336	1,204	19.
Pennsylvania	9	5,184	1,265	24.4
Maryland	5	2,880	1,280	44.4
North Carolina	4	2,304	1,105	47.9
New York	3	1,728	1,198	69.3
South Carolina	2	1,152		
New Jersey	2	1,152	660	57.2
Delaware	1	576	164	28.4
Georgia	1	576		
	—	—	—	—
The nine colonies	38	21,888	6,876	31.4
Total Army ordered	58	33,408	14,256	42.6

New England furnished 64.6 per cent. of her quotas aggregated. Massachusetts alone, 69.8 per cent. of her quota. The remaining nine colonies, 31.4 per cent. of their quotas aggregated.

COLONIAL IDEALS OF NEW ENGLAND

QUOTAS—1783.

Fifty-eight battalions, 576 men to a battalion. Percentage of population same as in 1781.

	Battalions	Ordered	Furnished	Per ct. of quota
Massachusetts	11	6,336	4,370	68.9
Connecticut	6	3,456	1,740	50.3
New Hampshire	2	1,152	733	63.6
Rhode Island	1	576	372	64.6
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New England	20	11,520	7,215	62.6
Virginia	11	6,336	629	9.9
Pennsylvania	9	5,184	1,598	30.8
Maryland	5	2,880	974	33.8
North Carolina	4	2,304	697	30.2
New York	3	1,728	1,169	67.6
South Carolina	2	1,152	139	12.
New Jersey	2	1,152	675	58.5
Delaware	1	576	235	40.8
Georgia	1	576	145	25.6
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The nine colonies	38	21,888	6,261	28.6
Total Army ordered	58	33,408	13,476	40.3

New England furnished 62.6 per cent. of her aggregated quotas. Massachusetts alone, furnished 68.9 per cent. of her quota. The remaining nine colonies, 28.6 per cent. of their aggregated quotas.

1777-1783 INCLUSIVE.

The average response of the colonies to the aggregated demands made upon them for troops from 1777-1783 inclusive, based upon *Congress estimate of their respective populations*. Percentage of Massachusetts population, 13 per cent. Massachusetts aggregated quotas, 52,698; furnished, 49,246; percentage of quota, 93.4. Connecticut, aggregated quotas, 28,330; furnished, 23,197; percentage of quota, 81.8. New Hampshire, aggregated quotas, 10,194; furnished, 8,756; percentage of quota, 85.9. Rhode Island, aggregated quotas, 5,698; furnished, 7,099; percentage of quota, 124.3. New England, aggregated quotas, 96,926, 12 per cent., 88,298; percentage of quota, 91.1. Virginia, aggregated quotas, 48,522; furnished, 25,997; percentage of quota, 53.5. Pennsylvania, aggregated quotas, 40,716; furnished, 22,170; percentage of quota, 54.5. North Carolina, aggregated quotas, 23,994; furnished, 8,835; percentage of quota, 36.7. Maryland, aggregated quotas, 26,608; furnished, 14,810; percentage of quota, 55.6. South Carolina, aggregated quotas, 17,132; furnished, 4,348; percentage of quota, 25.3. New York, aggregated quotas, 15,734; furnished, 13,674; percentage of quota, 86.8. New Jersey, aggregated quotas, 11,396; furnished, 7,695; percentage of quota, 67.5. Delaware, aggregated quotas, 3,974; furnished, 2,009; percentage of quota, 45.2. Georgia, aggregated quotas, 3,974; furnished, 2,328; percentage of quota, 58.6. The nine colonies aggregated quotas, 192,050, 8 per cent., 101,866; percentage of quota, 53. Total demands for troops, 1777-1783, 288,976; furnished, 189,894; 65.7 per cent. New England furnished of her aggregated quotas (1777-1783) 91.1 per cent. Massachusetts alone furnished of her aggregated quotas (1777-1783), 93.4 per cent. The remaining nine colonies furnished of their aggregated quotas (1777-1783), 53 per cent.

1777-1783 INCLUSIVE, YEARS OF *Assigned Quotas*.

Thus we see that from 1777-1783 inclusive, New England

was called upon for 96,926 men—12 per cent. of her estimated population (801,678). She responded with 88,298—11 per cent of her population—91.1 per cent. of her aggregated quotas.

Massachusetts alone was called upon for 52,698 men—13 per cent of her population (400,000). She responded with 49,246—12.3 per cent of her population—93.4 per cent of her aggregated quotas.

The remaining nine colonies were called upon for 192,050 men—8 per cent of their aggregate population (2,265,000)—(4 per cent. less than the demands on New England). They responded with 101,866—4.4 per cent. of her population—53 per cent. of their aggregated quotas.

1775-1776 INCLUSIVE, YEARS OF *Voluntary Enlistment*.

New England furnished 59,386, 7.4 per cent. of her population (801,678). Massachusetts furnished 33,816—8.4 per cent. of her population (400,000), the remaining nine colonies furnished 41,602—1.7 per cent. of their population (2,265,000).

RESPONSE OF THE COLONIES RELATIVE TO THEIR *Population*,
1775-1783 INCLUSIVE.

New England furnished 147,675—18.4 per cent. of her population of 801,678. Massachusetts alone furnished 83,068—20.7 per cent. of her population of 400,000. The remaining nine colonies furnished 143,468—6.3 per cent of their population of 2,265,000.

Relative to *population*, New England did *three* times as much for the Revolutionary cause as the *remaining nine colonies combined*. Massachusetts alone 3.3 per cent. as much.

Absolutely, New England contributed to the Revolutionary army 1.4 per cent. more than *all* the other colonies *combined*.

Average New England percentage in the entire army 1775-1783 inclusive, 50.7 per cent. The remaining nine colonies, 49.3 per cent. Massachusetts alone, 28.5 per cent.

It is a fact, based on official statistics of the Treasury De-

partment, that the contributions of Massachusetts to the Revolutionary cause exceeded those of Virginia (the most wealthy of the colonies) by \$438,353—and (less \$1,100)—equalled those of the eight colonies—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia *combined*.

U. S. TREASURY'S REPORT, 1790.

	Advanced for the Rev. Cause (reduced to specie)	Reimbursed	Contributions
Massachusetts	\$3,167,020	\$1,245,737	\$1,921,283
Connecticut	1,607,259	1,016,273	590,986
New Hampshire	466,554	440,974	25,580
Rhode Island	310,395	1,028,511	
Virginia	1,965,811	482,881	1,482,930
New York	1,545,889	822,803	723,086
Pennsylvania	2,629,410	2,087,276	542,134
Maryland	945,537	609,617	335,920
New Jersey	512,916	336,729	176,187
Delaware	208,878	63,817	145,061
North Carolina	219,835	788,031	
South Carolina	499,325	1,014,808	
Georgia	122,744	679,412	

What is the explanation of such surpassing, self-sacrificing zeal, taking possession of the hearts and the wills of New England?

Puritanism.

Of all *Colonial* agencies, America owes her existence as an Independent Nation to Puritanism—as the foremost determining factor.

The *immediate* cause of the successful issue of the Revolution was the French Alliance. But it was Puritan Stamina, despite wretched equipment, hunger and nakedness, that made the undisciplined American Army formidable to the invaders, in the three years warfare prior to the Alliance (New York averaging 53 per cent., Massachusetts alone, 30 per cent.; remaining nine Colonies *combined*, 47 per cent.), and so

justified France's confident, but cold-blooded, calculations of America's ultimate triumph, with her co-operation. Thus Puritanism made the alliance possible—the most impressive manifestation of Divine Agency in American history. For America was no *Hecuba* to France, that she should weep over her.

France detested us, and was detested by us. But France was providentially led to believe that the loss of the American Colonies would be a death blow to England's prestige, and to effect *that* revengeful purpose, she was willing to bleed, and she *did* bleed until she was white.⁽¹⁾

It would be idle to say, absolutely, that there would have been no national independence for America without the French Alliance. The Infinite could have established American Independence in an infinite number of ways. There are no limitations on Omnipotence. Suffice it to say, He saw fit to bring it about in that particular way, thus making the wrath of man, as well as the steadfastness of Puritan faith, to praise Him.

"The firmest thing in this inferior world is a believing soul," said Wilberforce. A more adamant phase of human character, in its highest exhibitions, than Puritanism, the world has never seen.

Jefferson said, Massachusetts, by sheer weight of character, overruled all the other colonies, and shaped the destiny of the Confederation.

As Harvard College, by giving a scholastic initiative and stimulus to all the other colonies, has been called the parent of all the other colleges, so Massachusetts, through her collective moral excellence, sanctity and scholarship—beyond any parallel in human history, in proportion to the numbers—creating an influence so intense as to penetrate and pervade all the other colonies, enlightening, energizing, moulding—was the parent of the nation.

⁽¹⁾Prince de Joinville states that in her six years war with England (1778-83)—in her operations in Hindustan, in European Waters, in the West Indies and in America, France lost 25 Battleships, and, through casualties and sickness, 35,000 men. Napoleon said she expended one and a half billions francs. Simon states France spent not less than two billions francs to secure America freedom.

Never, in all the annals of time, did any nation have so much ground for justified pride in national parentage as the American people.

Illustrative of the Divine declaration, "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways," the fathers builded *other* than they knew.

They had no more thought of the Divine plan for America, though zealously executing that plan, than the bee has of geometry, though building on lines that are the very perfection of geometric principles.

THE FATHERS WERE ARISTOCRATS.

When John Robinson was told, on one occasion, that the Pilgrim Covenant was democratic, he resentfully declared that such a statement was a slander—and contended that it was distinctly aristocratic. Such was *his* prejudice against democracy. The social distinctions of England's hereditary aristocracy were held in high respect by the Colonists, and the family arms were displayed with manifest pride, though the only titles adopted by the country were "Mr. and Mrs." and they were reserved scrupulously for those of high degree—about one in fourteen of the population. For the common people, "Goodman" and "Good Woman," abbreviated to "Goodie," were the designations. The congregations in the churches were seated according to their social prominence, the gradation of rank for the pews being definitely fixed at a town meeting. Respect for rank was inculcated as an indication of piety, a prerequisite of good order, and a Scriptural injunction.

As late as 1773, at Harvard, and 1768 at Yale, the students in each class were ranked, not according to scholarship, but by the social standing of their parents, were so catalogued, and so took their places at Chapel, recitations, and commons.

"THE FATHERS WERE MONARCHISTS."

Said John Cotton, "I do not conceive that God did ever ordain democracy as a fit government for church or common-

wealth." His argument was, "If the people be the governors, who shall be governed?"

But as for monarchy and aristocracy, he said, "They are both clearly approved and directed in Scripture, yet so as refereth the sovereignty to God, and setteth up *theocracy* as the best form of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church."

Thus it is clear that the theocracy which the fathers established, was not their wisdom, but God's, as they interpreted the Divine Word.

The manifesto of the Mayflower band, known as the "Social Compact," enjoining equal laws and equal rights, for the general good—which Bancroft characterized as "the birth of popular constitutional government"—and revered as the "corner stone of the civil and religious liberties of the United States"—was distinctly a monarchical document, as the preamble avows, viz.: "We, the undersigned, *loyal* subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, *King* James, having undertaken for the glory of God, and the honor of our *King* and country to plant a colony, do solemnly and mutually covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, to execute just and equal laws for the general good, etc., unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

While the outward form of this document is the form of monarchy, still, the voice is the voice of democracy—the spirit of Leviticus, 18-19, "Thou shalt love thy fellow man as thyself."

That the spirit *was* democratic, they would have denied as a slander, because of *their* prejudice against democracy. Where did they get this "Social Compact?" regarded as "one of the most remarkable documents of modern history," whereby "humanity recovered its rights in the cabin of the Mayflower," and reverently throned as "the *birth* of popular Constitutional government?" Was it a spontaneous impulse from some abstract principles—some hypothesis of human rights, independent of any external constraining force? By no means. It

was substantially a *copy* of their "Church Covenant," and its efficient cause was in an imperative necessity. The spirit of "equal laws and equal rights for the general good," was a basic, distinctive feature of their "Church Covenant"—viz.—"We are knit together as a body, in a more strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof, we do hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole, by every one, and so mutually," etc.

The "Social Compact," *because* it was a copy of their "Church Covenant"—(so far as it could possibly be, so that non-church members could subscribe to it.)—would have been altogether unnecessary, and would never have been thought of, had it not been for a special exigency—regarding which Governor Bradford's memoirs are the only source of information. The Pilgrims' patent was for Manhattan—the mouth of the Hudson. Yet they were forced by the brutal Captain of the *Mayflower*, despite their pathetic remonstrance, to land on the Massachusetts Coast, where they had no chartered rights, consequently no legal authority. The church members, because of their "Church Covenant," had nothing to fear from one another, but they did have positive grounds for fearing those who were not church members. Therefore, in self-protection, they obliged every one before landing, to sign a pledge of good behavior, which has been subsequently styled the "Social Compact," but which Bradford called "a combination," answering the double purpose of being "as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." In spite of this precaution, "there was mutinous conduct amongst some, but the better part clave faithfully together in ye maine."

Bradford records the fact, that "the strangers they took on board at Southampton—not being bound by their "Church Covenant, or by any legal tie—mutinously declared that on landing, they would use their own liberty." To preclude any development of this incipient anarchy, they framed this "combination," obliging everyone to sign it, including servants and

sailors—a democratic constitution in monarchial dress—to meet an exigency. God was in the exigency. The Pilgrims' objective was Manhattan, but the Divine plan was Massachusetts. The cruel perfidy of the Mayflower's Captain was as much His instrumentality as the pit and the dungeon in the drama of Joseph's life.

Where did they get the "Church Covenant," of which the "Social Compact" was a copy?

John Robinson, in his farewell to the Pilgrims, said, "Remember now your Church Covenant is God's ordinances for your good, and that you thereby engage with God, and one another, to walk together in all His ways—whatsoever it may cost you, the Lord our God assisting you. The executive is the *image* of God's power and authority." Avowedly, the "Church Covenant" was a copy of Jehovah's covenant with the Israelites, as given in the Old Testament—taking the Lord as their God, and cleaving to one another, as fellow members of the same body, equal laws, and equal rights, for the general good.

As the "Social Compact" was substantially a copy of the "Church Covenant," which, in turn, was a copy of Jehovah's Covenant with his chosen people, it is clear that in the *Bible*, (the Divine, original character of human rights), replete, as it *is*, with injunctions as to man's obligations to his fellow men, and to himself, just as much as to his Maker—is the genesis of American Democracy.

Israel's jurisprudence was the spring and prototype of America's jurisprudence—an illumination to the human race from the Father of lights, not from any *human* philosophy.

The Mayflower manifesto was not the "birth," but the *resurrection* of popular constitutional government. Three thousand years back, on the horizon of history in Palestine, was the *birth* of American Democracy—the handiwork of Infinite Wisdom.

To a chosen people was given a government of equal laws and equal rights.

There were no aristocratic distinctions, such as nobility, and reigning royalty. It was a government of pure abstractions, based on loyalty to the Invisible Jehovah, of whose fathomless love they had numberless demonstrations.

Jehovah, in His omniscience, foreseeing that the Divine gift of liberty would be rejected by the Israelites, said to Moses, (Deut. 31-16), "My people will forsake me, and break my covenant which I have made with them, and my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them."

Jehovah's regime was so far above the development and aspirations of their minds and hearts, that their souls hungered for the pomp of nobility, and the royal pageants of Egypt.

Their discontent was a Divine object lesson to mankind, that if a people would be as free as the Israelites were, and had the option of continuing to be, they must have hearts and minds elevated to a fitness for freedom, otherwise, though one of Heaven's choicest blessings, it will be as pearls before unappreciative swine.

The Divine conditions of freedom were, first, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart;" second, "Thou shalt love thy fellow men as thyself." (Lev. 18-19).

Locke says, "To love our neighbors as ourselves is such a fundamental truth for regulating human society, that by *that alone* one might determine all the cases in social morality." But that disposition is an impossible attainment, except through the first Commandment, and from *that* it necessarily springs, as daylight from the rising sun.

These two injunctions are the great fundamentals of an Ideal Democracy, are inclusive of every other prerequisite, and they are the *measure* of all the vitality of American Democracy.

The Israelites had no enthusiasm over these conditions, scorned them, and under a pretext clamored for a king, as a more agreeable adaptation to their self-satisfied perversity.

The Searcher of Hearts said to Samuel, "Ever since I led them out of Egypt, they have secretly in their hearts worshiped

false gods. Their *alienation* from Me is the real source of their discontent." (I Sam., 8-7-8). Samuel, commanded by Jehovah to unfold to them the evils of monarchy, warned the people that monarchy meant oppression. "If you insist upon a King, God will give you one, but it will be a terrible judgment upon you."

"He will grind your faces, and devour your substance, and ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, whom ye have chosen; and the Lord will not hear you in that day."

(I Sam. 10-18) "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel." "I brought up Israel out of Egypt, and out of the hand of all kingdoms, and of them that oppressed you, and ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulations, and ye have said unto Him—nay—but set a *King* over us."

This apostasy of the chosen people, was the decline and fall of government, of the people, by the people, for the people, to use a memorable phrase—and with occasional, partial, temporary resuscitations, it remained—through the waste of ages—in suspended animation and arrested development, until the landing of the fathers on the Massachusetts Coast, where it pleased the giver of every good and perfect gift to touch the *corpse* of popular government, and it sprang upon its feet.

The fathers, chartered with the Divine promises, adopted the Divine statutes for salvation, ethics and economics, as their ideals. The ideals of the fathers were lights flashed from the very throne of God.

The introductory at the head of their code of laws says, "whosoever shall worship any other God than the Lord, shall surely be put to death." (Judges 6-31.)

"Whosoever resisteth the established power, resisteth the ordinances of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." (Rom. 13-2.)

Then followed twelve statutes copied verbatim from Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

Narrow? Yes, narrow as the cutting edge of a sword.

Intolerant? Yes, intolerant as Infinite Wisdom.

They were the very words of Jehovah.

The Puritans had no laws that were not Mosaic, and such as the inspired writings plainly ordained. Even their sumptuary laws were scriptural. It was a sin for the common people to dress above their social degree, for, according to Scripture (Matt. 11-18) "They that wear soft clothing are in King's houses."

The growing custom, especially at Harvard, of wearing long hair was condemned, as arguing a pride hostile to their spiritual welfare. In 1675, it was declared a penal offense, on Scriptural grounds. (I Cor. 11-14). "If a man wear long hair, it is a shame unto him."

The motto of their daily lives they made the motto of Harvard College—"Veritas"—inscribed over three open books, symbolizing the Triune God, on the field of an heraldic shield. A reverential homage to the Divine declaration, that for *truth* you must search the Scriptures, and not look to any words of man's conceit. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but *My* words shall not pass away."

Democratus, impersonating pagan philosophy, said, "Truth lies at the bottom of a well." A cynical declaration that the goddess is of infinite variety, and charms every investigator with the reflected image of himself.

With the Puritans, truth was not a Narcissus of human wisdom. Look into the Scriptures—*they* are the Divine Charter of man's rights as well as of man's hopes—of man in esse, and of man in posse—of which the loftiest human conceptions are nothing but feeble *echoes*, conceited philosophical *variations*.

It is a fact, remarkable as well as significant, that in this brilliant galaxy of pre-eminent talent, profound learning and sublime spiritual elevation, which, in proportion to the population, has never been equaled in the history of mankind, there was not one professional lawyer, and they were perfectly con-

tent that it should be so. They were prejudiced against them on scriptural grounds. (Luke 11-45) "Turning from the Scribes and Pharisees, the Master said unto the lawyers: 'Woe unto you, also, ye lawyers, for ye load men with burdens grievous to be born, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.'"

Later on, owing to the many transfers of real estate, they did send "for an honest lawyer, if it be possible to find one."

Their law on witchcraft was a copy of those two Divine prohibitions, "Thou shalt not allow a witch to live," (Exodus 22-18) "There shall not be found among you a witch." (Deut. 18-19).

Because of these injunctions, they believed it was possible to enter into a covenant with Satan.

But all Christendom held the same belief. In *all* Colonies it was a capital offense. The Salem executions for witchcraft, numbering twenty, took place in 1692. A special court, appointed by the first provincial governor, ordained by the crown, tried the cases. It *was* a terrible exhibition of delusion, but not a circumstance in comparison with its ferocity in foreign countries. It is a fact, that over 30,000 in England and Scotland, and unknown hundreds of thousands on the continent of Europe, had been put to death on that charge. The prevalence of the belief was universal throughout the world, and through the ages.

It was a maxim of Roman law, that "a contract with a demon was not binding" (in *daemonem manere non potest obligatio.*) Dr. Sprenger, professor in Bonn, states that "the entire number of persons put to death in Christendom for witchcraft is not less than nine millions."

Sir William Blackstone, in his commentaries, (Vol. 4, page 60), wrote (seventy-five years after the last trial of a witch in New England, and in this intervening time executions still continued in England)—"to deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once to flatly contra-

dict the revealed word of God in various passages in both the Old and New Testament.”

Coke, Bacon and Hale, were firm believers in the reality of witchcraft, and in its capital punishment. To charge that executions for witchcraft were an atrocity of *Puritanism* is an egregious error. * * * In the time of Moses, there were those who falsely claimed to have a compact with Satan, professing to be thereby able to operate supernaturally, thus usurping Divine prerogatives. They were imposters and blasphemers, and *because* of their blasphemy were objects of Divine wrath. But Blackstone interpreted the Mosaic Statute not as *simply* condemning a blasphemous *imposture*, but as *asserting* the “possibility and actual existence” of contracts with Satan, which is as absurd as would be the contention, that the criminality of selling “gold bricks” implied and attested the reality of a *bona fide* transaction, not *malafide*.

Witchcraft, when it was not a conscious imposture, was lunacy. But the fact, that in every country, and in every age, witches have been known to confess the commission of impossibilities, and even impossibilities too loathsome to be mentioned, gave a confirming strength to the superstition.

In Salem there were such confessions. These admissions of guilt were simply phenomena of mental pathology, which was very imperfectly understood in that age. Ignorance of mental pathology was the life, and the terror of witchcraft. Then, there has always been an unknown number who were victims of false charges, for revengeful purposes, as was the fact in Salem. Diabolical cunning could devise no cloak, giving such perfect concealment to a bloodthirsty resentment, as was afforded by a false accusation of witchcraft. It was a sight draft on an universal horror of demoniac power. Accusation meant conviction, almost always, for the inevitable torture, to extort a confession of guilt, was sure to wring out evidence enough for condemnation, as the victims, in their agony, would plead guilty to anything to escape from the excruciating pain.

As to Blackstone’s misunderstanding of the Mosaic law, as

well as the Puritans, it must not be forgotten, that at that time Biblical exegesis was in its inition. Even in the sixteenth century the Bible was not adopted for popular reading. In fact, says Sechendorf, "it was not permitted to be read." It was almost universally a sealed book. The world was under the dominion of popery, the security of which was in universal ignorance, especially of the Bible. Martin Luther wrote: "I was twenty years old before I had even seen a Bible, or suspected that there was such a book, although at that time a Monk."

"By accident I came across a copy in the Convent at Erfurt, was reading it with increasing wonder, when my preceptor, an Augustine Monk, said to me, 'Ah, Brother Martin, why trouble yourself with the Bible, rather read the Ancient Doctors, who have collected all its marrow and honey.'"

"The Bible itself is the cause of all our troubles."

The most distressing feature regarding this harrowing subject, is not the hanging of witches—blasphemous pretenders of supernatural power—that they were Scripturally enjoined to do—but because the law was executed without any adequate proof that the accused were, or professed to be, witches, *consciously* and *responsibly*.

The prosecution rested on hysteria and perjured testimony.

They were panic stricken, and common sense went under a total eclipse. Later on, in penitential sack cloth and ashes, they paid compensatory damages to the representatives, absurdly inadequate, but it was all they could do, and *that* they did do.

The only explanatory hypothesis, from the *natural* standpoint, is that of panic terror, akin to madness, to which men collectively as well as individually are subject, urging them to frenzied outbursts, at which they would afterwards shudder. Emerson says, "No permanent benefit ever came to the world except through inspiration—leaning on the secret augury." Why not the converse? Every age in history has had its despotic craze, at which the common sense of mankind stands aghast.

But the Puritans, with their spiritual insight, recognized the visitation as a retributive judgment on the people for their shortcomings.

Strictly analogous to the tragic frenzy in Salem, though with manifold aggravation, was the delirium in New York, over the alleged conspiracy of slaves to burn the city in 1712. Twenty-one victims were executed. "Some were burned at the stake, one was broken on the wheel, and one was hung in chains, to die of starvation."

Again, in 1741, "the Supreme Court and jury, as well as the people, from April to October, were panic stricken. One hundred and fifty negroes were imprisoned; fourteen were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, two were gibbeted, and seventy-one were exported. Four white men were executed, of whom one was a clergyman—All perfectly innocent." In New York, as in Salem, hysterical women started the panic, and perjured testimony was its sole support.

Puritanism has been *stigmatized* as intolerant. Intolerant of what? Of blasphemy, and all forms of evil? Yes, as intolerant as the Bible, the source of all their wisdom. But of things tending to elevate and dignify human nature, their enthusiasm knew no bounds.—What is intolerance? It is an extreme impatience of what reason—in its varying degrees of enlightenment—condemns, and is not, *per se*, an evil.

Intolerance is a virtue, or a vice, according as the object of its exercise is evil or good, from an enlightened standpoint. For America to be intolerant of Mormonism is a virtue, because Christianized reason condemns it as a pestilent heresy. But intolerance of education, and of things ennobling to man, would be a vice, for enlightened reason declares *them* to be good. Of that the Puritans were never guilty.

For intolerance distinctly vicious, and oppressively hostile to human progress, you must go outside of Puritanism—to the Catholic and Angelican denominations. For a colossal exhibition of vicious intolerance, consider Angelican Virginia. It is a fact, that in 1671, Sir William Berkely, governor of Vir-

ginia—twenty-four years after the Puritans had made popular education compulsory—wrote to England: “I thank God that there are no schools nor printing in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years, for learning has brought heresy, disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.”

There is nothing surprising in this authoritative statement of the governor of Virginia, because he was an exponent of his age, regarding the education of the people. The universal argument was, “If you would make the people subservient, you *must* keep them in ignorance.” This spirit had grown to be an instinct, having its spring in Popery and despotism.

Take another exhibition of stupendously vicious intolerance. It is a fact, that not until 1832—185 years after the Puritans had made popular education compulsory, did England make *any* effort to educate the common people, and not till 1870 did she enter upon a national system of popular education.

The intolerance of the Puritans was always self-protective, never malicious. Their position was analogous to the head of a family, in his own house, denying—with an incontestable right—admission to advocates of doctrines which the Bible condemned, according to his interpretation.

To have received with open arms of toleration every ism that drifted their way, would have thwarted their purpose in coming to America, which was to promote the cause of religion, according to their interpretation of revealed truth, and that, too, at an expense of sufferings of which we can have no adequate realization.

THEY BOUGHT THE LAND.

Vattel, in his “Law of Nations,” Vol. I, Chap. 18, eulogizes the Puritans for their conscientious dealings with the Indians. They spent over \$1,000,000 in making the wilderness habitable, an enormous sum in those days, equivalent to at least fifteen times that amount in the present time.

THEY HAD *Proprietary* RIGHTS.

The interlopers, with their transcendental nonsense, Roger Williams & Co., with their dialectic contentions, the Quakers, with their insane indecencies, had *no* proprietary rights. Under the peculiar circumstances of their formative situation, they very properly banished them. England would have executed them. As to the Quakers, they were far from being the meek and lowly characters which they subsequently became. Many of them were not only not clothed in their right minds, but were not clothed at all. They had a penchant for parading the streets of Salem, stark naked, men and women, and walking down the broad aisle of crowded churches, crying out: "Behold the nakedness of your souls." To the Puritan mind, such symbolical exhibitions did not tend to edification. Fox, their historian, himself a Quaker, testifies: "Many of the Quakers were insane." The Puritans, not being alienists, regarded them not as insane, but as insanely wicked.

Of course, the Puritans erred, at times, despite their zeal for righteousness. It is impossible to eliminate error. It is an inevitable consequence of the limitations of human nature. When they erred at all, it was always on the positive side. The present age, in a spirit of reaction, and of diminished religious zeal, errs on the negative side. In which direction is the greater safety? What is anarchy—the greatest affliction that can befall a people—but the fruition of error on the negative side.

As to the alleged cruelties of the Puritan laws, they were God's statutes. To the offender they said, "Not against us, but against God, you are rebellious." "He imposed the penalty, not we."

In the Puritan Code there were ten capital offenses.

Blackstone, writing sixty years after the Puritan Theocracy, stated, that "in the English code there were 160 offenses, liable under the law to capital punishment," and even in the

first year of the nineteenth century, petty offenses, such as sheep stealing, pilfering small sums, such as 6d., were punished with death.

As ten capital offenses in the Puritan code were to 160 in the English, so was the clemency and charity of the Puritans to the spirit of their age.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the world had just emerged from an eclipse by papal thralldom, and the superstition and ignorance implied therein. Relative to the present age, it *was* an age of vicious intolerance.

In 1628, Dr. Primrose said jeeringly to Harvey, in condemnation of his discovery of the circulation of the blood: "Would you have us believe that you know something that Aristotle did not know?"

In 1678, the medical faculty of Paris petitioned the king "to prohibit the teaching of Harvey's theory as a physiological heresy, because it was contrary to the authority of Aristotle." Even Lord Bacon frowned him down.

Bondage to tradition was the spirit of the age, and more or less is a characteristic of every age. It is as impossible to rise altogether above the spirit of one's age, as to fly from one's shadow.

In the exaggeration of self-love, pardonable because so natural, the present age fancies, not avowedly, but secretly, that *its* civilization has about reached the meridian of human progress, when in reality it is but "the cock crow, and the morning star."

The highest development of the present age—the twentieth century—will be crude, narrow and grotesque enough in the light of the twenty-third century, and the satirist of that period will find abundant material in the ephemera of to-day, to convulse his hearers with laughter, and move them to patronizing sympathy.

If there is to be an indictment on *any* point, in which the Puritans are subject to criticism, it must, in common justice and in common sense, be drawn against the age in which they

lived, not against the Puritans, who were the highest moral, spiritual, and intellectual development of their age, and by far the least faulty.

To be just and sensible, we must do by the fathers as *we* would be done by, three centuries hence—judge them relative to their age.

The fathers were chosen vessels, containing a heavenly boon for America—popular self-government—the insolvable problem of the ages. How happened it to be the unsolved problem of the ages? For two reasons: First, because the conditions of freedom from brute force are *spiritual*.

What is law? Law is simply a rule of conduct, with no inherent authority to enforce obedience, deriving all its restraining power either from fear of the concrete force visibly behind it, and that means monarchy and despotism, or from a spiritual perception of the Omnipotent Wisdom behind it, giving it Divine authority and majesty as the Will of the Deity, and *that* is freedom—the *degree* of freedom from brute force being in direct proportion to the spiritual realization of the fact that *Deity* is behind the law. Thus it is clear, to a demonstration, that the conditions of freedom from brute force *are* spiritual.

Second. Because of human perversity. The Roman conception of human nature was embodied in a Latin maxim, "One man is a wolf to another." (*Lupus est homo homini.*) Where selfishness is the supreme object of the individual units—where every man is a wolf to his neighbor—there can be no government but force.

A people educated only in their heads, can never be free.

Mental culture, alone, never made men righteous, and without righteousness there can be no freedom from brute force.

They may adopt a constitution embodying lofty conceptions of man's inalienable rights, etc., but they will certainly gravitate into a confusion of selfish factions, equalling the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel—resulting in anarchy and despotism.

In 1783, Frederick the Great—with the example of all history before him—said, “As for the boasted liberty of the Americans, she was but a deceitful syren.”

To Frederick’s mind, the *historical* sequence of liberty—*anarchy*, followed by *despotism*—was the *inevitable* sequence. To qualify a people for self-government, the heart must be educated as well as the head, for it is the foremost, determining factor, in all human events.

Although men reason from their heads, still, however sublime may be their mental endowments, they invariably act from their hearts. Said Richter, “Actions, actions, are the tongue of a man’s heart.” (Die that, die that, ist die Zunge des herzens.) Fielding said, “Nothing can differ more widely than wise men and fools in their *estimation* of things; but both often act *alike*, because both *act* from their uppermost *passion*.”

“Out of the heart are the issues of life.” The genesis of freedom is divine, and it can never thrive, unless rooted in Biblical Statutes, assimilated in the principles and feelings of the individual units.

Bacon says: “They who deny a God, destroy man’s nobility. For certainly man is akin to the beast by his body, and if he is not akin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys man’s magnanimity, and the raising of human nature.”

Washington, in his farewell address, said, “There can be no national prosperity without morality, and there can be no morality without religion. It is the *spring* of popular government.” Then, having in mind Jefferson & Co., he said, “What ever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of a *peculiar* structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.”

How happened it that America solved this insolvable problem of the ages?

Was it an accident of geographical position, or of some hypothesis of abstract jurisprudence?

There is no chapter of accidents in any national or individual life. Everything, from the fall of a leaf to the fall of an empire, is divinely ordained, so is of infinite *deliberation*. Impressively, and distinctly, it was God's beneficent work, restoring to the world democracy—the pearl of jurisprudence—vouchsafed in Palestine, but rejected because of swinish inappreciation.

The fathers—although wedded to monarchy by an inherited bias, and by a mistaken belief that it was divinely ordained as the best form of government for realizing their ideals—"love to God, and love to their fellow-men"—were chosen as His agents, and were so honored, *because* they were men whose supreme purpose was to glorify Him—thus fulfilling the promise, "Them who honor Me, I will honor." (I Sam. 2-30). The fathers were as much in the dark as to the destined twentieth century development of their ideals, as is the present age blindfold regarding the specific form of American jurisprudence three centuries hence. Whether it will be an ideal democracy—a regime of the spiritual—or some intermediate progressive approach—or whether our civilization shall become Babylonish, and be visited with retributive judgments—retrograding into monarchy—is one of the hidden things of Omniscience.

American democracy was germinally latent in Puritan ideals, as the oak is with Divine intent hidden in the acorn. Puritan ideals were Jehovah's ideas for His chosen people—His conditions of liberty—but the Israelites, in their semi-barbarous perversity, would not adopt them. The Puritans *did* adopt them, with a self-consecration which has secured Divine favor for America.

That is the secret of our possession of the inestimable boon, and ground for reverential gratitude to the fathers.

LET US CONSIDER PURITAN IDEALS IN RELIGION.

They were Calvinists—a religion of individualism—every

man directly accountable to God, and God accessible to every man, with no priestly mediation.

Never, in the history of man, was there ever such an aggregation of men in proportion to the population, who felt so vitally the solemnity of that greatest abstraction conceivable—the constant, immediate presence, and the absolute sovereignty of the Invisible God—and they were bound by a *solemn duty*, to see that others realized it also.

As all their laws were God's enactments—every law having its Scriptural textual reference—the people were consciously governed by the Lord of Hosts, accepting with unquestioning faith the Infinite Wisdom of their abstract laws, *because* of the Infinite Wisdom behind them—the germinal power, and firm foundation of American democracy. The Puritan theocracy was no mistake. It was *God's* way of educating the people to a vital assimilation of the most solemn and momentous of all abstractions—His invisible control over human affairs, an ever present reality, none the less omnipotent because invisible.

The inspired declaration that the Invisible Creator rules absolutely in the affairs of men—by *determining the current of their thoughts*—making known His will by the will of the majority, as though He were visibly present and spoke in audible tones; *this* had been the stumbling block of the ages, because God rules with judgments as well as with benefits. Jehovah was none the less the God of Israel during the 300 years of Egyptian bondage, under His agents, the Pharaohs, than He was in the triumphal passage of the Red Sea, and in their subsequent exaltation.

The immediate sequence betwixt visible causes and visible effects blinds a feeble spiritual sense, as to the real cause. Jehovah declared to the Israelites, *all* visible causes are absolutely secondary. They are nothing but My human and material *agencies*. I am the Primary Cause, though invisible. "The heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water. He turneth it whithersoever He will." (Prov. 21-1.) Blind

self-conceit said, and continues to say—nay—what can be comprehended by human reason—idiotic as it is, relative to the Infinite—*that* is the only reality. For *that* reason, the only restraining power of law has been fear of the brute force visibly behind the law.

Law was the will of the concrete despot, and nothing more.

To recognize law as of Divine majesty, and worthy of reverential fealty, because of the invisible *Deity* behind it—and that is one of the conditions of freedom from brute force—was an abstraction so lofty, that only a Theocracy could make it a conscious, vital reality.

The fathers recognized this fact as it was never realized before in the history of the human race, and so public opinion, the sentiment of the majority, law—all essentially one and the same thing—were vitally revered by the individual units as His human instrumentalities, in *judgments* as well as in benefits, generation after generation. Thus this attitude of mind became a *transmitted* disposition, operative with the unconscious impulse of *instinct*, swaying even minds of no religious sensibility *subconsciously*; and the extent to which that character of mind prevails to-day, is the measure of the *present* veneration for law, and is the measure of the *stability* of American Democracy.

It has been an oft expressed wonder of foreign nations, that no protective exhibition of armed force was necessary, to secure good order in times of great political excitement—the law-abiding *instinct* of the people proving sufficient. This *instinct* of obedience to law, so feeble in other countries, yet so conspicuous in America as to be a differential distinction of American Jurisprudence, has its spring in Puritan reverence for law, *because of its Divine origin*, permeating the whole body politic, because of its intensity. It became a *reigning* instinct, because of generations of observance, controlling the partially assimilated foreign element, through the contagious power of sympathy. In view of these facts, America owes the stability of her government to Puritanism.

PURITAN IDEALS IN EDUCATION.

Calvanism made it a supreme duty to read the Bible, thus making compulsory education a *necessity*. Had the fathers not been Calvinists, they would have regarded *popular* education as an *evil*, as did *all* the educated men of the Angelican and Catholic denominations. Had the governor of Virginia been a Calvinist, he never would have written to England, "I thank God that there are no schools nor printing in Virginia, and trust we will not have them for hundreds of years."

So it was decreed—as a sacred obligation, that every child should be taught to read and understand the Bible. This was the *genesis* of popular education in America. Never in the history of mankind was the Bible so reverentially valued, necessarily making every home a seat of elementary instruction. In fact, education commenced with the settlement of the Colony.

Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia Christi Americana,"—a work of standard authority, published in 1702, records the fact that a general court, held in Boston, September 30th, 1630, advanced \$2,000, equivalent to \$30,000 at the present time, for educational purposes.

The population of the Colony at that time was about 2,000. That so small a number, living in a wilderness, in tents, wigwams, and log cabins, should have advanced for the cause of education a sum equal to \$30,000 to-day, is almost beyond belief. But such was Puritanism. It stood for the enlightenment and elevation of human nature as resolutely, as for the inviolability of the Divine Statutes.

In 1635 was founded the Boston Latin School; in 1636, Harvard College; in 1645, the Roxbury Latin School; in 1647, the common school system was made compulsory. Compulsory popular education was an *exigency* of Calvinism. God was *in* the exigency.

The standard of classical culture at Harvard was so high in Latin, that no graduate of any institution in this country

has attainments high enough in that language, to have qualified one for admission to the freshmen class at Harvard in 1640.

A prerequisite was an ability to read any Latin author at sight, and to carry on an ordinary conversation in good Latin. No language but Latin was allowed within the college yard, even in social intercourse. President Dunster preached in Latin, and was famous for the polished Latinity of his sermons.

Of the college rules in 1640, written in Latin, *this* was one of the most inviolable—"Scholares vernacula lingua, intra collegii limites, nullo pretextu utentur." (The students shall not, on any pretext, use their mother tongue within the college precincts).

The studies of the first year were Latin and Greek literature, mathematics, logic, physics and rhetoric. Second year, mathematics, politics, ethics, physics, metaphysics, dialectics and Chaldee.

Third and fourth years, the above, together with astronomy, exercises in style, composition in prose and poetry, Hebrew and Syriac.

A high authority says: "As good instruction was given at Harvard in 1640, as at Oxford and Cambridge, and because of the advantages in morals and religion, young men were sometimes sent to Harvard from England for an education." In 1685, a book published in Holland was dedicated to "Harvard College, that illustrious seat of learning at Boston, Mass."

PURITAN IDEALS IN POLITICS.

The townships established from time to time in the wilderness, were called congregations. Separated from the parent congregation in Boston by a waste of intervening forest, they were of *necessity* self-governing. Self-government was an *exigency* of the situation. God was *in* the exigency.

Puritanism meant individualism and congregationalism in politics, just *as* much as in religion, because politics was sim-

ply religion *applied* to the duties of secular life, and for *that* reason was a sacred obligation.

Town meetings were called meetings of the *congregation* for secular business. For absence the fine was three shillings; for leaving before adjournment, nine pence. To the Puritan mind, political apathy was a sin, as well as a crime. Their duties to one another, and to themselves, just as much as their duties to their Creator, were determined by specific Divine Statutes, as if in the visible presence of the Invisible God.

Township democracy was the spring and prototype of national democracy, and town federation—the sending of delegates to the General Court in Boston—was the spring and prototype of national federation.

Thus we see, that in the adoption of those two factors of American Democracy, first, education of the individual units in their heads as well as in their hearts, that self-government might be intelligent; second, self-government of the individual congregations or townships—our monarchical and aristocratic fathers were led by God, acting through *exigencies*, the democratic tendency of which they did *not* apprehend.

Veiled *in* those exigencies was the Divine purpose of American Democracy.

John Cotton said, in reference to the great mortality of the early fathers, "They simply took in New England on their way to Heaven."

Their avowedly supreme purpose in this world, was to fit themselves for the *next*. They labored to have everything contributed to *that*, as the paramount object of the individual units—the best possible education for popular self-government. Milton, with the incisive insight of genius, said, "the grounds and causes of happiness to one man, are exactly the same as to a whole state." The Puritans were of the same mind.

As is the spiritual development of the individual units, so in direct proportion is the stability and strength of our government, and it is the strongest, most stable and most benef-

icent government the world has ever seen, *because* the people are the most religious.

America owes her freedom from monarchy, as well as her freedom from England, to Puritanism, as His human agency.

Puritanism is the psychological key to America's greatness. To contend that nothing but Puritanism could have brought about this amazing result, would be putting limitations on Omnipotence—for it was *His* work—Suffice it to say, that Puritanism *was* His human instrumentality

What is Theocracy?

It is a form of government, where the Invisible Jehovah is explicitly and formally recognized as the absolute Ruler of secular affairs, in as real a sense as He is the Creator. "The executive is the *image* of God's power and authority," said John Robinson to the Pilgrims.

What is American Democracy?

It is a form of government, where the majority rules, as endowed with the whole power of the community.

What is the difference between the two? Relative to Omnipotence, there is absolutely no difference. Whether the fact is recognized or not, Jehovah is just as much in the voice of the majority, in law, in public opinion, as He is in the Decalogue, emphasized, as that was, with the awful phenomena of Mt. Sinai, *because* He is just as much in the *current of our thoughts*, as in our breath from one moment to another.

Should the majority be corrupt, the administration and the laws will be oppressive.

But Jehovah will be in the oppression, as a *judgment* on the people for forsaking Him, just as He was in the vicissitudes of the chosen people.

Vox populi is vox Dei—beneficent, when there is conformity to the Divine Statutes, maleficent and retributive, when there is defiance.

"I rule in the affairs of men, as in the hosts of heaven," saith the Lord of Hosts.

It is as sure as the reality of Divine Sovereignty itself, that America will continue to be free, just *so* long as she observes the conditions of freedom as given to the Israelites by Jehovah, and *no* longer.

The possession of freedom from brute force, is distinctly conditional.

This is not wisdom beyond, but *within* what is written,
Thus saith the Lord God of Israel *to* Israel:

If ye will not harken unto Me,

If ye shall despise My Statutes, or abhor My Judgments,
this will I do unto you:

I will break the pride of your power;

I will make your cities waste;

I will bring your land into desolation;

I will cut down your images, and

Cast your carcasses upon the carcasses of your idols."

What Jehovah was to Israel, that He is *still*, and that He ever shall be."

"I am Jehovah. I change not."

What is an Ideal Democracy?

As an ideal character is one who worships the Lord with all his heart, and loves his fellow man as himself, so an ideal nation is an aggregation of individual units, who have reached that sublime spiritual development, and the government elected by such a people would be an Ideal Democracy—a regime of the Spiritual, as described in the Apostles Apocalyptic vision—were the Divine Spirit and principles of God are the energizing and regulating force; as far beyond American Democracy, in its present partial development, as the towering oak with its wide spreading branches is beyond its incipient, although potential, sapling.

America's progressive approach to the Ideal Democracy, will keep pace with her progressive *conformity* to the Divine conditions of freedom from brute force.

These were the ideals of the fathers, and they are the *healing* of the nation.

THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT.

A Paper read before the Society by Hamilton B. Tompkins, Esq., on December 19th, 1903.

"Of all the single incidents," says John Fiske, "in what is known as King Philip's War, the most bloody and disastrous to the forces and in the numbers engaged on each side, and most important in its results, is what has been designated as the Great Swamp Fight."

King Philip's War, as such, commenced by the attack of the Indians upon the inhabitants of Swanzy, Massachusetts, as they were returning from church on the 20th of June, 1675, which was followed by attacks upon the towns of Dartmouth, Taunton and Middleborough. On the 15th of July of the same year, the Commissioners of Massachusetts and Connecticut, attended by a strong military force, were sent to the Narragansetts to obtain new guarantees of friendship. They succeeded in negotiating a treaty by which the chiefs of that powerful tribe agreed, for a stipulated price, to deliver to the English, living or dead, whatever subjects of Philip should come within their country, and to resist any invasion by Philip of their own lands or those of the English, and gave hostages for their fulfillment of these engagements. The Indian War continued, and you are familiar with the attacks upon Brookfield and the Connecticut River towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, and others.

In September, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, which formed the confederacy, met at Boston, and decided to raise a thousand men for a defensive war; that of this force Massachusetts was to furnish 527, Connecticut 315, and Plymouth 158. In October, the attitude of the formidable Narragansetts was regarded with anxiety, as it was known that so far from keeping their compact, made in July, they had harbored many of Philip's dispersed allies. Canonchet and other chiefs came to Boston while the Commissioners were in session, and promised that

the hostile Indians, whom they admitted were under their protection, should be surrendered within ten days. The time arrived, but no Indians appeared. The Commissioners became alarmed; if the strongest and most numerous of the New England tribes, the Narragansetts, were to prove faithless, and should commence active hostilities, great, indeed, would be the peril of the colonists. The fifth day after the breach of the treaty, the Commissioners reassembled, and determined that, besides the number of soldiers formerly agreed upon to be raised, one thousand more should be provided and forwarded for service in the Narragansett country. Governor Winslow was appointed Chief, and the Colony of Connecticut was to furnish the second in command. Major Robert Treat was subsequently chosen for this place. The commander was to put himself at the head of his forces within six weeks, and in the meantime "a solemn day of humiliation and prayer" was kept throughout the confederacy.

In giving notice of their action to the several General Courts or Colonies, the Commissioners commended "that care be taken that the soldiers sent on the expedition be men of courage, strength and activity, their arms well fixed and fit for service; that their clothing be in all respects strong and warm, suitable for the season; that they have provisions in their knapsacks for a week's march from their rendezvous; and also that there be a meet number of ministers and surgeons provided and appointed for the expedition."

The Narragansetts were given time to make their peace by performing their covenants with the Commissioners, and also for making reparations for all damages sustained by their neglect; but they made no attempt to fulfill the provisions of their treaty, emboldened, partly, as Palfrey thinks, by the successes of the Indians on the Connecticut River, and also, as Mather says in his *Brief History*, "that in the Spring, when having the leaves of the trees and swamps to befriend them, they could destroy the English;" and there is little reason to

doubt but that in this conclusion they were largely influenced by Philip and his emissaries.

Early in December the Colonial troops commenced to gather. There were six companies from Massachusetts, under the command of Major Appleton and Captains Moseley, Gardner, Davenport, Oliver and Johnson; from Connecticut, five companies, under Major Treat and Captains Seeley, Gallup, Mason, Watts and Marshall; two companies from Plymouth, under Major Bradford and Captain Gorham. Captain Benjamin Church was invited by Governor Winslow to command a company; he declined taking a commission, but promised to accompany the expedition as a volunteer. Attached to the levy from Connecticut were some Mohegan Indians; but they did not render any substantial aid in the fight which followed.

On the 12th of December, most of the army arrived at Mr. Smith's, in Wickford, the place intended for their headquarters. "Captain Moseley on his way thither," says Hubbard, "had happily surprised thirty Indians, one of whom he took along with him as a guide, Peter by name, who, under some disgust with his countrymen, or his Sachem, which made him prove the more real friend to our forces, wherein he faithfully performed what he promised; and without his assistance our men would have been much at a loss to have found the enemy until it had been too late to have fought them." Hubbard, later in his narrative, mentions the services of this Peter as the first of the remarkable circumstances in the victory which ensued; and Mather and other historians give him due credit for his aid. One writer has said: "No Englishman was acquainted with the situation of the fort, and but for their pilot, Peter, there is very little probability they would have found it, much less have effected anything against it."

On the 15th, Bull's Garrison House, in South Kingstown, at what is now known as Tower Hill, intended for a place of shelter, had been attacked by the Indians and demolished. At Pettaquamscutt, where shelter was also expected, it was found

that the Indians had destroyed the buildings and butchered the inhabitants.

Some of the troops were a little late, but on the 18th the various forces were united, and the whole army encamped in the open air, the weather being cold and snowy. The next day, upon setting out, Captains Moseley and Davenport led the van; Major Appleton and Captain Oliver followed; General Winslow and the Plymouth forces held the centre; and the Connecticut contingent brought up the rear. Captain Oliver, in his account, says: "In the morning, December 19th, Lord's Day, at five o'clock, we marched; snow two or three feet deep, and withal an extreme hard frost, so that some of our men were frozen in their hands and feet, and thereby disabled from service." Cotton Mather says in his work: "The whole army marched away through cold and snow and very amazing difficulties enough to have damned any ordinary fortitude." The cold, severe as it was upon the men, proved, however, of this advantage: that it froze the surroundings of the fort and made its capture more feasible.

The stronghold of the Narragansetts, fifteen miles away, was reached at one o'clock. This fort, which the Indians had fortified to the best of their ability, was on a solid piece of upland, encompassed by a swamp. In it were gathered, according to the best authorities, about thirty-five hundred Indians. On the inner side of this natural defence they had driven rows of palisades, encircled about with a hedge nearly a rod in thickness; and the only entrance to the enclosure was by a fallen tree or log, four or five feet from the ground, this bridge being protected by a block house right over "against it, from which," says Hubbard, "they sorely galled our men that first went in."

In spite of the fact that the English were wearied by their long march through the snow, scarcely halting to refresh themselves with food, immediately upon arriving they commenced the onset. The colonists had been so long in making their preparations that the Indians were well apprised of their

THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT

approach, and had made the best arrangements in their power to withstand them. The beginning was most disastrous to the officers. Captain Johnson, of Roxbury, was shot dead on the bridge as he was rushing over at the head of his company. Captain Davenport, of Boston, had succeeded in penetrating within the enclosure, when he met the same fate. Captain Gardner, of Salem, and two of the Connecticut captains, Gallup, of New London, and Marshall, of Windsor, were also killed outright, while Lieutenant Upham, of Boston, and Captain Seeley, of Stratford, received wounds which afterwards proved fatal. Major Bradford, of Plymouth, was sorely wounded, as well as Captain John Mason, of Norwich, and Captain Benjamin Church.

Notwithstanding the fall of their leaders, the rank and file pressed on, and, although the entrance was choked by the bodies of the slain, yet, over the mangled corpses of their comrades the assailants climbed the logs and breastworks in their efforts to penetrate the fort. Once they were beaten out, but they soon rallied and regained their ground. The conflict raged with varying success for nearly three hours. "The struggle," says Arnold, "on either side was one for life." "Whichever party," he adds, "should triumph, there was no hope for the vanquished; Christian and savage fought alike with the fury of fiends, and the sanctity of the New England Sabbath was broken by the yells of the savages, the roar of musketry, the clash of steel, and all the demoniac passions which make a battle ground an earthly hell." The carnage was fearful; the result was yet doubtful; until an entrance to the fort was effected in the rear by the reserve guard of the Connecticut troops. The Indians, who were all engaged at the first point of attack, were surprised and confused by a heavy fire behind them; their powder was nearly consumed; but their arrows continued to rain a deadly shower upon the charging foe. The wigwams were set on fire within the fort, contrary to the earnest entreaty of Captain Church, who, with his knowledge of military matters and

the condition of the assailants, realized the importance of shelter and food to the exhausted conquerors. He says, in his narrative, that "he begged them to forbear and spare the wigwams in the fort from fire, for," he adds, "they were all lined with baskets and tubbs of grain and other provisions sufficient to supply the whole army until spring, and every wounded man might have a good warm house to lodge in, which otherways would necessarily perish with the storm and cold, and, moreover, that the army had no other provisions to trust unto or depend upon; that he knew the Plymouth forces had not so much as a biscake left, for he had seen their last dealt out." "Humanity and policy alike," continues Arnold, "sustained the advice of the gallant Church, but it was too late. The infuriated colonists had already commenced the work of destruction; in a few minutes the frail material of five hundred Indian dwellings furnished the funeral pyre of the wounded and dying; the blazing homes of the Narragansetts lighted their path to death."

More than a thousand of the enemy perished. The English lost in killed and wounded, according to Hubbard, over two hundred; and other accounts place the numbers still higher. A large proportion of these might have been saved if the advice of Church had been followed. When night fell there was no shelter or provisions for the conquerors or conquered. The Indians escaped to an open cedar swamp in the neighborhood, where many perished for want of food or covering. "The fate of the English," says Rhode Island's historian, "was no better. They had taken a weary march of fifteen miles since daybreak, without halting for food, and had spent the remainder of the day in desperate combat. They had now to retrace their steps in the dark, through a dense forest, with a deep snow beneath their feet and a December storm howling about their heads. By the glare of the burning wigwams they formed their line of march back to Wickford, bearing with them their dead and wounded," a march, says Cotton Mather, "made through hardships than an whole age

could not parallel." It was two o'clock before they reached the camping ground. The cold was severe; many died on the way; the limbs of the wounded were stiffened; and fatigue had disabled most of the remainder. There was no shelter or provisions of any sort, and when morning dawned it was found that death had done a melancholy work. The heavy storm during the night had wrapped many a brave soldier in his winding sheet, and the depth of the new fallen snow made it difficult for the survivors, in their weak condition, even to move. Captain Church truthfully says in his narrative: "Having burned up all the houses and provisions in the fort, the army returned the same night in the storm and cold, and I suppose that every one that is acquainted with that night most deeply laments the miseries that attended them, especially the wounded and dying men. But it mercifully came to pass that Captain Andrew Belcher arrived at Mr. Smith's from Boston with a vessel laden with provisions for the army, who must otherwise have perished for want."

After the Great Swamp Fight the sick and wounded were carried to the Island of Rhode Island, where they were cared for by the people of Portsmouth and Newport.

The propriety of a winter campaign on the part of the colonists might be questioned; but, by delay, opportunity would have been given to the Indians to make greater preparations, and this was to be considered. Cotton Mather, who saw the Providence of God in every undertaking, says: "Had the assault been deferred one day longer, there fell such a storm of snow, that for divers weeks it must have been impracticable, and at the end of those weeks there came so violent and unusual a thaw as to have made the way to the fort impassible. Just now," he says, "was the time for the work, and the work was accomplished."

This virtually ended the expedition, and the "Great Swamp Fight," most memorable in New England history and the annals of the early colonists. The power of the Narragansetts was irretrievably broken; the survivors returned the next day

to their smouldering and ruined fort, and found some provisions to ameliorate their starving condition. It was fortunate that the Indians had been too dazed by their defeat to pursue their retreating foes, or the remnant of the English army would have been destroyed; and this course, says Mather, had been advised by some of the leaders of the Narragansetts.

Although fought upon her own soil, and a great sufferer, yet Rhode Island, as such, took no part in the expedition. The enterprise was undertaken by the so-called confederacy, of which Rhode Island was not a member. The religious freedom of that colony caused her to be regarded with suspicion by the other governments, and she was left out of their union. Neither was the consent of Rhode Island asked to invade her territory for the purpose in hand, which was a violation of her Charter, and a disregard of the rights of a sister colony. The Commissioners of the confederacy averred that the Narragansetts had proved treacherous, but the General Assembly of Rhode Island believed the war unnecessary. In a letter to the Connecticut authorities the following year, they claimed "that the Narragansetts were subjects of His Majesty the King, and put under the government of Rhode Island, and that there had been no manifestation of war against us from them till by the United Colonies they were forced to war, or to such submission as it seems they could not subject themselves to, thereby involving us in such hazards, charges and losses which have fallen upon us in our plantations that no colony has received the like, considering our numbers and people." But, notwithstanding this assertion on the part of the General Assembly, it can hardly be conceived that the Narragansetts would have remained quiet under the circumstances, stirred up, as they were, by the machinations and persuasions of King Philip; and if they had not been subdued at this time, still greater must have been the sufferings of Rhode Island.

In view of the murders and depredations which had been

committed, it is quite probable that many recruits from Rhode Island joined in the expedition; but as they did not go as an organized force, it is impossible to ascertain the exact number.

After their disastrous defeat, we hear of but little more of the Narragansetts. The remainder submitted the following year, and gradually diminishing in numbers, they never again became formidable as a race, or offered any organized resistance to the colonists.

WHY WE ARE WHAT WE ARE.

*An address delivered before the Society by Prof. James H. Canfield on December 19th, 1904.**

Your Excellency and Fellow-members of this Society:

Something over a year ago, having become thoroughly acquainted with the character of an officer of this association whom I will not name, but who bores not with a gimlet, but with a two-inch auger, and bores until he strikes water every time, I gave careful instructions to my secretary not to permit him to come to my office under any circumstances whatever. Some excuse was to be found by which I was to be busy, or out. He then found that very convenient way of approach which modern improvement and invention have given to all of us, and of which we are all the victims—the telephone.

Somehow, a man who cannot possibly reach you in any other way, and who would not dare to come into your room without special invitation, breaks into the midst of a conference or bit of work that you are doing, without the slightest compunction whatever; and for some reason, in this hurried day we feel that we are obliged to drop everything and speak to him. We do not know who it is—it is like opening a telegram, it may be very important and may be nothing whatever.

So I opened the telephone, and once having opened the telephone, of course, I was lost. Any man who gets within talking distance of Dr.— I beg pardon, I did not mean to do that—is lost, he must yield sooner or later. Therefore, I agreed to come.

He asked me immediately, before he let go of the telephone, to name my subject. I have never been able to photograph a child before it is born. Some people, perhaps, can do that—I do not know what processes modern science may yet bring about, or may have brought about already, in the hands of an expert. But I answered him, thinking of a theme upon which I would like to speak to you this evening—that he might say

*Stenographic report.

I would speak to you quite briefly on "Why we are what we are."

I knew, or I thought I knew, what I meant by that. I also knew, or thought I knew, that you would not have the slightest idea what I meant by it. Probably, the matter of sheer curiosity, if nothing else, would hold some of you until I got fairly under way, if no longer.

What I had in mind to say, gentlemen, briefly, is this: I believe, as you all believe, evidently, by your membership in this Association—that blood counts, that ancestry does mean something. It does not mean everything, as a matter of course. If it did, some of us would go to the bad in a hurry. The very fact that it does not mean everything is a source of hopefulness and good cheer to some men. And we are glad that that may be so; otherwise, as a matter of course, the world would be perpetually divided along lines that are predestined.

We believe—I am sure you will agree with me in this—we believe that environment counts as well as heredity; and we believe far and away beyond that, that which is better for us and more stimulating than anything else, that a man may master both if it is necessary that he should do it, and that there is no hopeless task before him, in this country at least, because he happens to be limited by either. We know that it is a hard, up-hill fight, we know that progress is infinitely more difficult, we know that men must push themselves up and break through a very hard crust if they master both, but we believe that they can do it.

Now, understanding this, it seems to me that it is only proper at times that we hark back along the line of our ancestry and see if we cannot determine the peculiar conditions under which we became just the people that we are to-day.

We are a peculiar people in every sense of the word. We have taken hold of life in a peculiar way, we have made a peculiar record, and we propose, I think all of us, with perfectly laudable ambition personally and collectively, as citi-

zens and as individuals, to continue that record and to make it even more laudable and more peculiarly our own in times to come.

We have entered into a large field, a new field, and we have entered into it with great zest, with great determination, with large purposes, broad between the eyes, and with a large and expanding horizon. We are taking us the task in no selfish way by any manner of means—but with a very large unselfishness, with a desire for large and generous service.

I believe it is more true of the American people to-day than it has been true of any other people in the past or is true of any other people to-day, that with a very large and exalted idea—some times, perhaps, too exalted—of the place that has been assigned to us in the world, we are striving definitely to make good our calling.

That is a peculiar spirit, and I would like to see whether I can give you in a few moments to-night some idea, from my own standpoint at least, as to where that spirit originated.

We are obliged to look to the past—Mr. Holmes said, in that well-known remark of his, that to tell anything about the child or what he is going to be, you want to examine his grandfather, we have to look to the past for everything worth while in the present, because the present has its roots in the past. The deeper they are in the past, and the more extensively and completely they take hold of all the elements of the past the richer is the life and growth of to-day. There cannot be any question at all about that.

We need every confluent stream that has united from out that past to make the majestic flood which is bearing the civilization of to-day on into the great and majestic future. We cannot afford to lose a single stream, the smallest flow, anywhere. It becomes us at times, because it is encouraging, because it fills us with hope and because some times it is full of warning, to look back and see where the streams have originated and how they have come together.

The period of conflict is not in itself a very good time for

development. The period of conflict, however, brings with it a peculiar thought and a peculiar temper and a peculiar spirit, and while the period of conflict is not the period for the unfolding of institutions and the development of ideas, I am very far from saying that it is not a period very remarkable in its fertility, in its resources, and in its growth.

Go back with me to the century out of which came the home-building of this country. I speak of that because it seems to me by far the more important century in the history of this country, and I speak of it as a century in this country because it is part of the history of this country although it is so far in the past and although it is a century of creative thoughts and acts upon the continent rather than here.

If I were to divide the history of this country into epochs, I would not follow the school-books of the day. I would call it, for instance, "the unknown land," down to 1001, when Lief Erickson landed on these shores; then I would say "how we found it," from 1001 down to 1620; then "how we settled it," from 1620 down to about 1755 or 1760; then "how we fought for it," from 1755 or 1760 down to 1783 or 1785. Then, instead of speaking of the "National Period," as I notice some of the histories do, from that time on, I think I would say "how we stumbled and blundered along," from 1789 to 1861; and "how we became a nation," in 1861, and from that time on.

The century to which I refer is the century out of which came the home-builders, and the men who are peculiarly the ancestors of the members of this Association, the men who were created by that century and for that century, who were brought into the field here, ready for the sharp strife which was to follow.

Suppose you take as the last date of that century, say 1664, which, if I remember rightly, was the date on which Peter Stuyvesant was obliged by his weak fortifications and his weaker counsellors to surrender his territory. The entire eastern coast went into the hands of the English, I believe, at

about that time. Then hark back from there to about 1545 or 1548, the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. Let us take that century and see what it meant to the world.

It is a little difficult to differentiate between centuries in history in their importance, because each of them has an importance so peculiarly its own. But there is a century which makes good the words of Brougham, when he said that there are some centuries which seem to stagger under a load of events which formerly made a century only bend.

That century began in England with the great queen, the queen who was great in her ungovernable passion and great in her absolute forgetfulness of her most loyal subjects, and great in administrative power as well, and marvellous in her hold upon her people after all; that century saw that queen's reign, with its brilliancy in letters and the marvellous visions which came to the mind of man. It saw her followed by the first of the Stuarts, the wisest fool in all Christendom, as somebody said of him, endowed by nature and perfected by grace with all a king ought not to be; followed in turn by Charles, who stood so sternly and so correctly and so obstinately for all that was narrow and hard and wrong in government. It saw Cromwell and the Protectorate, and the return of royalty through the second Charles and through James, and then William and Mary, and the beginning of constitutional power—constitutional government, the recognition of the power of the people, a recognition of clearly defined law such as England had never known before, fundamental law which has made England what it is to-day.

If you look over to the continent you find the Hollanders just rescuing from the sea that little bit of land that was theirs, and working out a majestic history. To the south is Philip of Spain, the last of the great rulers, and the last of the eras within which Spain was a first-class power, and the beginning of the decline of his kingdom. In France, Louis XIII, the monarch in name only, and Richelieu, the master of the throne; and following him, Mazarin, that wonderful

ruler, and Louis XIV his pupil, and the beginning, at least, of the magnificent promise of that pupil, Sweden was awakened from its lethargy and redeemed. Germany passed through the thirty-years war, terminating with the welcome Treaty of Westphalia. It was during this century that great universities were being erected and great libraries were being brought together for the first time, ministering to the mind of man as it had never been ministered to before. Most magnificent of all, that great Protestant Reformation starting in the north, spread swiftly until it touched with its white light the whole heart of Christendom. A marvellous century, full to overflowing with energy, with enthusiasm, with creative power, with magnificent scheming.

Now, see how that affected directly the life and the temper of these colonies.

Take the English. There were men in these colonies who had sailed with Frobisher and Drake; there were men in these colonies who had fought with Cromwell; there were men in these colonies who had enrolled in the Old Ironsides, of which, you will remember, he said, "Give me a thousand men who know what they fight for, and love what they know, and I will master all the so-called gentlemen of England." They were behind him at Marston Moor and at Naseby and had seen the royal banner dragged in the dust. There were men here who had heard the voice of the queen, that great queen, when she delivered her last address, her golden speech to Parliament, and won back the hearts of her people. There were men here who had gone down to the coast when the white sails appeared, Catholics all of them, yet first of all Englishmen and loyal Englishmen, and to a man had fought an Armada that a Spaniard had raised and a Catholic had equipped and a Pope had blessed. There were men here who knew all the ins and outs of the parliamentary conflict, who had heard upon the floor of the House the one remark than which no cis-Atlantic rebel ever had better pretext for his action, that the rights and privileges and prerogatives of

Parliament were the rights and privileges and prerogatives of every English citizen.

Cross the channel, and consider the Dutch again. They had come out from under the hand of William the Silent, one of the greatest of all modern monarchs, a man who, for the first time, as both a statesman and a ruler, saw the necessity of a great middle party, and therefore created the first public school system that the world ever saw, and built up that middle party; a nation which had hollowed their little land, on which you can hardly spread a handkerchief, out from under the surface of the sea, and then had made themselves the carriers of commerce of the world, a nation which had kept the Atlantic for sixty years white with the smoke of their guns from Gibraltar clear to the North Sea, a nation that had not failed or feared to pit themselves against a power as superb as Spain then was, and when Spain had invaded their country, fought them man to man, inch by inch, never yielding until driven by overwhelming forces, and then back and back into their towns, fighting from the windows, and then opening the dykes and fighting from the tree-tops. That was the blood and that was the strain out of which came the men who dwelt here in this city and the men who were quietly living in the pleasant boweries along the Hudson.

Take the Swedes, who settled to the south of us here—a comparatively small colony, and quickly absorbed by the Dutch, yet bringing the same sort of influence. Gustavus, adored by his subjects, the first great king of Sweden, had swept into the Thirty-Years' War with the first organized army that the world ever saw; the first army that was not a collection of mercenaries; the first army with an organized commissary; the first army regularly enlisted, regularly enrolled, regularly accoutred and drilled, and subject to the masterful mind of a single man and a great commander. They swept down from the north, irresistible. The men who were about the imperial throne sneered at what they called the Snow King, and said that he would very soon melt under the rays of the Im-

perial Sun, but the imperialists fled as he approached, for he was victorious everywhere. He and his followers sang where others swore, and prayed where others plundered. They slept under the shadow of their lances and cooked their food in the embers of burning towns. Gustavus gathered in fortresses as a reaper gathers in sheaves. When at last his life went out, it became impossible for them to do more for the colony here. But there had come to this colony men who had been with him in the ranks; men who had known of his deeds and of the works that he had performed in regenerating his country before he took up that strife, and they brought that spirit, that temper and that training with them.

Take the French. They gave us the Huguenots. The home of the movement they represented was in the universities, its leader was Margaret of Navarre, a charmed and charming centre. They were the skilled artisans of France. See what they did for us, and see what the blind zeal that hurried them out of France did for us. Keen, alert, pliant as steel, they were a marvellous addition to the power that was already extant here. Why, Fanueil, of Fanueil Hall, the cradle of liberty, was a son of a Huguenot, and the hand which drew the capitulation at Yorktown after liberty had come out of the cradle, had fought its fight and won, was the hand of a Huguenot. Jay was another, Laurens was another; Marion, the Swamp Fox, was another; Gallatin was another—think of the illustrious names. I need not give them all, nor a tithe of them. This temper, this fineness of mental fibre, this readiness, this adaptability, this skill, this artisanship—all this came to us with the Huguenots.

Think what came to us from Germany. The Germans were scattered all through these colonies, in Pennsylvania and the South. Large numbers had come here. Why? Because they were more willing to seek the wilderness of God across the water than to stay in the wilderness which man had made of the dear Fatherland. It is said that in that Thirty-Years' War one-third of all the buildings were razed to the ground,

and two-thirds of the entire population perished. Thirty years of constant strife, but thirty years during which the iron hail that broke the branches on every tree and plowed deep furrows in every field only beat deeper and deeper into the hearts of those Germans' courage and determination, the desire and the willingness to sacrifice in order that they might maintain proudly that freedom and that nobility which had made them the great Protestants of the world.

Now, do you see what I mean? When Endicott cut the cross from the flag, he was simply aiming one last blow at the hated doctrine of Spain, at the religion which he felt was intolerable; the men who hid the Charter of Connecticut were thinking at that moment of the ride of King Pym; they were simply following the example of Hampden and the men who had objected to the benevolences.

Everywhere men were simply exemplifying here; men were simply giving free rein here, to thoughts and impulses which had come to them out of this century of marvellous activity; a century that was red with war and rent with strife.

Blood must have moved very swiftly in vein and artery, even though these colonists seemed such a quiet folk. We sometimes wonder how it happened that these forefathers of ours, when they were such a simple folk, when they were so quiet, when they lived apparently in what you and I would think was a rather humdrum way, could enter into a great conflict like that of the Revolution, and carry it through not only to a successful issue as they saw it from the start, but to an issue infinitely beyond anything that even the greatest dreamer of them all had dreamed of at the beginning. Back of it all lay this spirit, back of it all lay that century so full to overflowing, with all that was stirring and all that gave new life. Men could not, in their ancestors, have experienced what those men experienced for one hundred years, for three generations, and not have it come to the surface when the time was ripe for it here. That is how it happened.

It seems to me that in that Revolutionary struggle we accomplished so much with so little! If you will compare

the actual results that were wrought out with the means that were used, it is something remarkable. There were only six thousand men who surrendered at Saratoga; there were only seven thousand who surrendered at Yorktown; there were only two thousand men at the Battle of Camden. The numbers employed, the means that were at the disposal of those who were guiding that movement were infinitesimal as compared with the numbers employed and means at the disposal of the men who guided the greater movements of later days; but out of it all were wrought majestic conclusions, because, it seems to me, they were a people whose heart was all afire with this hundred years of magnificent thought, and who gave themselves absolutely and unreservedly to the struggle.

They were pocketbook men; they were men who came here, as they themselves said, not only to worship God, but to catch fish; men who were very, very conscientious, but who did not hesitate to drive hard bargains with our Dutch ancestors, and who swapped the Indians out of their whole inheritance. Yet they pledged their faith, their honor, all that they had and all that they hoped to have or be, to the maintenance of an idea and an ideal, and they magnificently redeemed that pledge.

That, gentlemen, is, in substance, all I have to say. I have said it very quickly, indeed, but I hope I have given you a subject of thought at least for a few moments of your time. Hereafter you may fill the outline as you please.

There stands that superb century, out of which came that magnificent life. God gave our fathers room here; here they found incentive and opportunity; here they found opportunity for succeeding generations; here they were not under the oppressive hand of man, but they were under the bright favor of God, and here those thoughts and those ideas and that magnificent scheming, and those imperial plans grew and blossomed and bore fruit an hundred fold.

I take it, gentlemen, if you will allow me to say so, in conclusion, that that forms our inheritance; I think that that is what has been given to us; I think that is the zeal that we

are to maintain; I think that is the spirit with which we are to move forward; I think that it is in accepting that inheritance, and in yielding ourselves to that spirit we are to prove that it is sometimes a more magnificent thing, as it is a more difficult thing, to live for one's country than it is to die for it. I would not abate one jot or tittle from the honor that is given to the men who go down to the angry front and lay down their lives for an ideal. It is a magnificent service, and God knows we honor them, and we will keep their memories green. But to go to the front in the midst of the clash of arms, as one of a magnificent battalion or regiment or brigade, with the blare of trumpets and the roll of drums and all the enthusiasm of numbers, knowing that when you fall your name is to be written high upon the roll of fame—that is one thing. But, gentlemen, to make your stand for that which you know is right and just and true and sane and clean and wholesome, and to make it alone if necessary, satisfied that God and one are sometimes a majority; to strive to get others to go with you, and to fail, to set the prow of your craft out toward the bright haven of honesty and truth and great endeavor and hope, willing to sink your craft in mid-ocean rather than make port under an enemy's flag—to go to the front in that struggle, knowing that when you go down your best friends will simply say, "He died as the fool dieth," and that there is no reward and no credit and possibly only shame and obloquy—that takes courage of a magnificent sort; yet, that is the courage, too, that came to us out of that magnificent ancestral inheritance. Those men knew what it was to be in the minority; those men knew what it was to give themselves, in a desperate way, to a forlorn hope; those men knew what it was to set an idea against materialism; those men knew what it was to set up the standards of truth and say, "Here I stand; God help me! I can no other."

Gentlemen, that century and that spirit are ours to-day; we are what we are to-day because of it, and let us thank God for it.

THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN—1607.

*A paper read before the Society by Howard R. Bayne, Esq.,
on March 18th, 1907.*

On the 19th of December last (1906), while the members of this body were gathered together in memory of the Great Swamp Fight, the Society of "The Virginians" in New York were celebrating, in the same building on the same evening, the 300th anniversary of the departure from a landing on the Thames of three small vessels that contained the founders of the first permanent English settlement on this continent.

It is most appropriate that our Society, composed of the descendants of such men and their fellows and followers, and devoted to the elucidation of colonial history, and the honoring of colonial events, should meet to study the sources and issue of this colonizing movement, which made that little island in the James renowned for all time, and May 13th, 1607, a date never to be forgotten in the history of the world.

"The spacious times of Great Elizabeth" had drawn to a close. John Hawkins, the son of a merchant of Plymouth, himself a voyager of some daring, had in successive voyages, carried the English flag to the coast of Guiana, to Florida, to the West Indies, and had rendered perhaps his greatest service by introducing to his country that great sea captain, Francis Drake. Drake, in his time, had taught Frenchmen and Spaniards alike to fear an English greeting upon the high seas. He had penetrated the Pacific through the Straits of Magellan, and, in spite of the loss of all his consorts, had proceeded with his small ship and his eighty men to harry the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast, and then, turning homeward through the chartless Pacific and around the Cape of Good Hope, had encircled the globe, to the astonishment and admiration of his countrymen. Martin Frobisher had passed away after a brilliant and dashing career as a militant sailor in the service of his beloved England.

The heroic Gilbert had made his last effort to spread the principles of English liberty in the world, perishing at sea

with those faithful words upon his lips: "The way to heaven is as near by sea as by land."

No single achievement prepared the way so directly and clearly to the English settlement in the new world as the destruction of the Spanish Armada.

It is difficult for one in this age, to imagine the time, when England was not a great maritime power. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when Philip of Spain sailed his Invincible Armada into the English channel the fleet opposed to him was in no proper sense a navy, but rather a miscellaneous, indiscriminate and inadequate collection of merchant ships, caravels and pinnaces, quickly gotten together and manned with a force generally raw, inexperienced and poorly trained for concerted effective action. But what they lacked in technical naval preparation and precision, in numbers and size of vessels, they made up in eager united patriotism and public spirit, directed by captains of unequalled valor and skill. As she had no navy, England had, of course, practically no commerce. Indeed, as late as the reign of Henry VIII, the laws of the nation were so framed as to prevent development in a commercial way. Thus, a statute passed in that monarch's time prohibited the giving or receiving of interest for the use of money, and dealing in negotiable instruments was forbidden as immoral and irreligious.

When the supremacy of Spain on the high seas went down with the Invincible Armada, and her prestige as the greatest military power of the world bowed to the legions of William the Silent in the Netherlands, the opportunity of the English came and they were not slow to seize it.

The rise of England's modern navy began at this time. Her merchants with great assurance began to seek commerce in every port far and near. Her trade grew rapidly, and commercial enterprise and adventure characterized the period. Improvements in the art of printing had greatly facilitated the spread of information, and news of successful voyages into foreign lands gave a zest for similar undertakings on a

larger scale. These involved more extensive schemes and heavier expenditures than individuals were able to undertake, and so joint stock companies were formed to which various corporate privileges of an exclusive kind, including the right to trade with foreign people, to discover and settle new territories and to govern or help to govern colonies so formed. Such were the Muscovy Company, the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the "Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades" and, later on, the London and Plymouth Companies, with which we are more especially concerned.

It was this fine flow of enterprise and adventure that Elizabeth's reign had encouraged, but that her successor contemplated with doubt, if not with dismay.

"No sovereign," says a historian of the times, "could have jarred against the conception of an English ruler which had grown up under Plantagenet or Tudor, more than James the First. His big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, stood out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry or Elizabeth, as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his buffoonery, his coarseness of speech, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice."

But far more objectionable to his English subjects than any crudeness of manner or grotesqueness of personal appearance was James' estimate of his princely prerogative and his opinion of his royal birthright.

His conviction was absolute that the king could do no wrong, and that by a wise interposition of Providence his majesty was above, and far above, the laws enacted by his subjects. His efforts to enforce these opinions account for the efforts of his subjects to oppose them, and, incidentally, for that long line of ills that befell both his own children and the people of England as well.

Time is not at my disposal to trace the many expeditions that had for their object the founding of English settlements

in the new world. The latter part of the sixteenth century was made honorable by the progressive spirit and patriotism of these undertakings, all doomed to failure, but all serving a useful purpose in preparing the way for the greatest and best success at a later day. Conspicuous among the leaders in these movements were Walter Raleigh, Humphrey Gilbert, Francis Drake, Richard Hakluyt, John White, all names to be ever held in honor by the American people.

Few, perhaps none, of those taking part in these voyages expected to settle down permanently in the new country. The most common intention seems to have been to stay awhile, a year at most, and return with such gold and silver and precious stones as they might be able to accumulate. A purpose could hardly have been expected on the part of individuals to stay longer when one considers the vast distance from home and friends, the perils of ocean travel in those days, the unused climate, and the exposure of life and liberty to the merciless practices of the aborigines or the more savage Spaniard. These temporary and shifting arrangements were no doubt much to the distaste of the great patriotic promoters of the enterprises, but they had to make the best arrangements they could; it was these or none at all. They might have done better, if the men that were induced to go were of a sort adapted to the mission upon which they were sent. Unfortunately this was quite uniformly not the case. The men that build up or keep up institutions are those who stick to the task, those whose best interests are bound up in the community of which they are a part, who have accumulated honor and emoluments by their steadfastness and who have learned incidentally to let well enough alone.

But the movement toward the west, which we are specially studying now, differed in one important respect from those that preceded it. It determined with unflinching earnestness to establish a permanent colony in "Wyngandacoia," as the new English territory was called by Amadas and Barlow, the captains of Raleigh's expedition of 1584, an outlandish name,

ill-liked by Elizabeth, who fortunately changed it to "Virginia" in her own honor.

According to a letter in cipher from the Spanish Ambassador Zuñiga in London, to the King of Spain, under date of March, 1606, Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, was the leader of a project of sending private individuals to people Virginia.

The watchful Spaniard, reporting these occurrences to his royal master, said that Sir John was a very great Puritan, and exceedingly desirous, when his attention was called to violation of treaties, "to say that he did it in order to drive out from here thieves and traitors, to be drowned in the sea!" But Sir John said something quite different in the petition which he and his associates were instrumental in presenting to the king for a charter for this new venture. The purpose was, not to "drown thieves and traitors in the sea," but in the devout, loyal and ample phrases of the time: "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry his (majesty's) people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" "whereas God might be abundantly made known; His name enlarged and honoured; a notable nation made fortunate; and ourselves famous;" "that a plantation should be settled in Virginia for the glorie of God in the propagation of the Gospell of Christ, the conversion of the savages, to the honour of his majesty, by the enlargeinge of his territories and future enrichinge of his kingdome, for which respects many noble and well minded persons were induced to adventure great sums of money to the advancement of soe pious and noble a work."

Sir Fernando Gorges, a member of the first council for Virginia in his "Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the parts of America," states that when peace was concluded between England and Spain, a great number of English soldiers and seamen were discharged from service, and these being destitute of employment, rather than hire themselves as mercen-

aries to foreign princes, chose, in the language of the author, "to put in practice the reviving resolution of those free spirits, that rather chose to spend themselves in seeking a new world, than servilely to be hired but as slaughterers in the quarrels of strangers."

Besides this, many agricultural laborers had been gradually thrown out of employment by the change from the general tillage of the soil to the specialty of raising sheep on account of the growing demand for wool and the greater profit in producing it.

We clearly distinguish in studying these times two classes of men participating in the "Western Planting," as it was quaintly called. And these classes may be considered to have been animated by motives quite distinct, quite different, and on our part, at least, not always quite appreciated.

First, there were statesmen and patriots like Popham, the great Bacon, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Smith, George Abbot, one of the translators of the Bible, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, and Sir Edwin Sandys. None of these, I think, ever set foot in Virginia, but they had more to do with the plantation, in the highest and best sense, than those who under their inspiration and direction actually sailed the seas and landed in person here. These men and their associates were the guiding minds, often concealed and out of sight amid occurrences of vast movement set in motion by themselves, ever with the best and most unselfish designs.

The other class constituted the hardy sailors who loved the romance of adventure and the dangers of the sea, those daring and desperate men whose occupations were gone when came "the piping times of peace," the younger sons of the gentry who had quickly spent their small portion on coming of age, unfit for serious life, but ever ready to draw a sword whether cause be good or bad, the keen and thrifty merchants who saw good bartering ahead; others, nondescript, having no reason to stay at home, and some excellent ones for departing,

and, finally and best of all, those who were prompted by a steady purpose to do honor to God and country, and to help themselves and their countrymen to a larger sphere of civil and religious liberty.

The petition for a charter seems to have been so adroitly drawn and tactfully furthered that on April 10, 1606, James I issued the letters patent under which we must date the faint beginnings of free government in the New World.

It was in some respects a singular document, perhaps most singular in this, that it was ever issued at all. Had James realized to what it was going to lead, he would have preferred, doubtless, the loss of the erring hand that affixed the royal signature to this historic paper. But the weakness of tyranny is the opportunity of liberty.

The charter was notable in that by one document it incorporated two distinct companies to colonize separate territories, though all under the dominion of one governing board, his majesty's council for Virginia appointed by himself and resident in England. Each company, however, had its own separate local council, elected by the colonists, except the first council appointed by James. The first company named to establish the first colony was known as the London Company, because composed for the most part of the residents of London and vicinity. Its charter members were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt and Edward Maria Wingfield, all notable men in actually establishing and confirming the settlement. The body named to found the second colony, was known as the Plymouth Company, as its constituents were in that locality, whose corporators were Thomas Hanham, grandson of Sir John Popham, Raleigh Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey, William Parker, son of Lord Morley, and George Popham, nephew of the Chief Justice.

The territory authorized to be colonized by these companies, and known as Virginia, extended from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallels of latitude and constituted a strip of sea coast one hundred miles wide. The southern limit was,

according to the nomenclature of modern geography, at the mouth of Cape Fear River, in North Carolina, while the northern limit reached the Bay of Fundy, thus covering parts of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, all of Rhode Island, Connecticut, part of New York, all of New Jersey, part of Pennsylvania, all of Delaware, parts of Maryland, Virginia, and of North and South Carolina.

The first colony was confined to the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallel, from Cape Fear River to the Hudson, and the second colony to that between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallel, from the Potomac to the Bay of Fundy, thus leaving a strip open to that colony which should first occupy it, provided, however, neither should settle nearer than 100 miles of a previous settlement. This strip common to both companies included parts of New York, all of New Jersey, part of Pennsylvania, all of Delaware, and part of Maryland.

The preamble of the charter recited the desires of the adventurers, as they were called, "for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge of being the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

But the Spanish Ambassador, who kept a very close espial upon all these doings, ascribed in a report to Philip a much more sinister purpose to the project. Writing to his master a particular account of all he saw and heard, he stated that "all this is seeking a way to encourage against your majesty, the rebels, for whom they feel the very greatest compassion, as every where on land as well as at sea the rebels are losing so much." Stigmatizing the expedition as a villiany, he further declared its purpose to be for privateering and making attacks upon the merchant fleets of his Spanish majesty.

Philip commanded him to continue to report what was being done that he might prepare to prevent it.

But notwithstanding this jealous watchfulness of the Hidalgo, the charter once issued, preparations were rapidly made to send out the colonizers.

The country looked on with interest, but desirable volunteers in sufficient number were slow to join the expedition, and men to make good colonists were difficult to get. But they did the best they could. By December three vessels, obtained from the Muscovy Company, the Susan Constant, of 100 tons burthen, the Goodspeed, of 40 tons, and the Discovery, of 20 tons, were manned and weighted with adventurers and supplies, all placed under the control of Captain Christopher Newport, an experienced and faithful mariner.

The poet laureate wafted them a farewell ode. The court, full of business, at last gave the final word to go, and after the last good-bye was said, the three little ships weighed anchor and set sail from Blackwall on the Thames.

Perhaps I can give you no better description of the voyage than by adopting the quaint account of it by one of the party, published a few years afterwards.

“On the 19th of December, 1606, we set saile, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time Maister Hunt, our preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although we were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie weather nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us), suggested against him; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business; but preferred the service of God in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse; so many discontents did then arise; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but

chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie and dissention.

"Wee watred at the Canaries; wee traded with the salvages at Dominica; three weekes we spent in refreshing ourselves amongst these West India Isles; in Gwardalupa we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck, as well as over the fire. And at the little ile called Monica, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of birds in three or four houres. In Mevis, Mona, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a crocadil, called a gwayn, tortoses, pellicans, parrots and fishes we daily feasted.

"Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the mariners had three daies passed their reckoning, and found no land; so that Capitaine Ratcliffe (captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extream storme to hul all night, did drive them by His providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seene that coast."

The "extream storme" had brought them north of the locality at which they had expected to land, about Roanoke Island, on the coast of Carolina, into a large open bay, the "Chesepiack," as they got to know it, with the two capes which they named Charles and Henry, after the king's sons.

The first land they made was Cape Henry, where on April 26, 1607, Newport, Gosnold and Wingfield with thirty others going ashore to refresh themselves, had a reminder of the danger of innocent recreation in such parts, for they were "assalted by five salvages; who hurt two of the English very dangerously."

James I had withheld the names of the men he had appointed as members of the governing council of the colony, as well as their instructions, placing the same in a sealed box, not to be opened till a landing should be had. When the picnic

on Cape Henry, which ended so unpleasantly, was over, they opened the box that evening, and ascertained that the council consisted of Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin and George Kendall, with power to choose their own president. Gosnold is stated by one of the old writers to have been one of the "first movers of the plantation," having for many years against great discouragements solicited friends and others to join in the project. He had served Raleigh in several expeditions, and had, in 1602, made for the first time a voyage to the New England coast by the direct and unused northern course, touching first at Nahant, Mass. Wingfield was a man of good family in Huntingdonshire, was a soldier like his forefathers and had served in the Low Counties among the English allies of William the Silent. He was the only corporator mentioned in the first charter that came with the first planters to Virginia. Newport was, by order of the Council of Virginia, to have sole command until the company should land in Virginia. He had made an honorable record for himself in the long troubles with Spain, and was a faithful friend to Virginia, whither he made many voyages. Ratcliffe had also served in the Low Counties, was doubtless a soldier of fortune, and a brave one, exposing his life on more than one occasion in Virginia, and finally losing it at the hands of the Indian Chief Powhatan. A fierce controversy arose between him and John Smith, the merits of which historians are not yet agreed on. John Martin was the son of Sir Richard Martin, and was intended for the bar. But his taste for martial life turned him first, probably, to join so many patriotic Englishmen of that period in supporting the Prince of Orange, and then to colonizing Virginia, to which he was ever steadfast, giving his only son to the cause and living and dying there himself after many years of public service. Kendall appears to have been a kinsman of Sir Edwin Sandys, and like his fellows lacked not courage as soldier or civilian. After the landing, he became involved, however, in a charge of

treason—a crime that seemed to comprehend in those days any misconduct from murder to witchcraft—and upon a trial of his peers of the colony was found guilty and executed in the fall of 1607, thus receiving the invidious distinction of being the first man to perish on this continent by process of the English law, or in violation of it. Of Captain Smith we need not pause at this point to make further mention.

True to the strong religious sense that dominated these stalwart men, they erected a “crosse” at Cape Henry. Proceeding on their way, after some reconnoitring in the neighborhood, their next stop was at a point where they were comforted to find a channel of good depth, which has been accordingly known as Point Comfort ever since. Here they met a number of savages who entertained them very kindly. “When we came first a land,” says an ancient chronicler, “they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke that they had beene at their idolatry. * * * After they had feasted us, they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One of the savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another; all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling and stamping against the ground, with many anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils.”

And so entertained by other tribes, our adventurers proceeded up that noble river which emptied into the bay opposite the entrance.

“The eight day of May,” says our author, “We discovered up the river. We landed in the countrey of Apamatica. At our landing, there came many stout and able savages to resist us, with their bowes and arrowes, in a most warlike manner; with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chieftest, standing before them crosselegged, with his arrowe readie in his bow in one hand, and taking a pipe of tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of

his speech, demanded of us our being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signs of peace; which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse."

They stopped about eight miles below James Town Island, at a point of land called Archer's Hope, which they liked so well they would have settled there if the ships could have ridden near the shore. But this not being feasible, they went further up, casting anchor in the country of the Paspaheghs, at a point "where our shippes doe lie so neere the shorre that they are moored to the trees in six fathom water. The fourteenth (May) we landed all our men, which were set to worke the fortifications and others to watch and ward as it was convenient."

This landing place was on the north western end of an island which lies on the north side of James river about thirty-two miles from the mouth. It is about two and one-half miles in length and three-quarters in breadth. It contains about 1,700 acres of land. The soil is rich and fruitful, with a good deal of marsh.

The members of the council were sworn in and Wingfield was elected president. On account of charges of insubordination or of ambitious purposes, Captain Smith was not admitted at first as a member of the council. There was some speech making, and then the work of starting the colony was begun in this fashion, according to another eye witness:

"Now falleth every man to worke, the Councill contrive the fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships; some make gardens, some nets, etc. The salvages often visited us kindly. The precidents overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at armes or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall."

The Indians, of course, were alive with interest in the new arrivals and gratified their curiosity by frequent friendly

visits. But an unfortunate occurrence stirred up bad blood. Another eye witness describes the incident in this way:

“As the savages were in a throng in the fort, one of them stole a hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed; whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him over the arme. Presently another savage, seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The Werowance of Paspilha saw us take to our armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.”

By June 15, the fort was finished. It was described as “triangle wise, having three bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe moone, and foure or five pieces of artillerie mounted in them.”

On June 22, Captain Newport returned to England, leaving 104 persons in the colony.

Of those whose position or occupation was specified by the ancient annalist, besides the six members of the Council, and the preacher, 29 are called gentlemen, 4 carpenters, one blacksmith, one barber, two bricklayers, one mason, one tailor, one drummer, twelve laborers, one surgeon, and four boys.

There was a great deal of dissension among the ill-assorted company, which added to the impracticable scheme of holding everything jointly and nothing in severalty, soon began to bring want and disease. The steady moist heat of a Jamestown summer is trying even to those accustomed to provide against its debilitating effects by proper attention to food and exposure. The adventurers were unused to the hot climate. They paid no heed to danger of overwork or exposure. They suffered greatly from want of proper nourishing food. One of the party describes the situation thus: “There remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of reliefe, but the common kettel;” * * * “That indeede, he [the president of the Council] allowed to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat and as much barley, boiled with water, for a man a day; and this, having fryed some 26 weeks in the ship’s

hold, contained as many worms as graines. * * * Our drinke was water." * * * "Had we been as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have bin canonized for saints."

In a short while, and particularly in August and September, the consequences became fearfully apparent. Nearly every day witnessed a death of one or more from disease or collision with the Indians. Before October, 50 had died.

Another writer, seeing what he describes, says of this period:

"There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne country in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soever came; warded all the next day; which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small can of barlie sod in water, to five men a day. Our drinke, cold water taken out of the river; which was, at a flood, verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filth; which was the destruction of many of our men.

"Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the savage hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittifull murmurs and out-cries of our sick men without reliefe, every night and day, for the space of sixe weeks; some departing out of the world, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their cabines like dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people."

In August the colony had suffered a great loss in the death of President Gosnold. Wingfield was elected to succeed him,

but dissensions continued to increase; in September he was deposed and Ratcliffe was elected in his stead.

On January 8th, 1608, Newport returned to the colony, bringing 120 new settlers. By this time the original 104 had been reduced to 38. So that the first supply, as it was called, brought the number up to 158.

Ratcliffe was unable to deal adequately with the increasing quarrels, discontent and demoralization, and he in his turn was deposed. In September, 1608, Smith was elected president, an act of tardy justice to the colony as well as to the greatest friend it ever had.

I cannot go into the origin or details of those disagreements between Smith and others in authority, which, beginning on the voyage over, continued and culminated in the settlement. At first placed under arrest, he was for months debarred from his seat in the Council. Laying aside the natural resentment at such unhandsome treatment, he wrought with rare devotion and great ability in every way, for the welfare of the miserable colonists, protecting them against savage onslaught, counselling against practices and omissions bound to result in trouble, and procuring with rare address and astuteness from the uncertain and wily Indian, supplies from time to time that saved the company from starvation. By repeated expeditions he familiarized himself with the adjoining country, and the number and resources of its inhabitants. He recorded for the information of the colony and the company the results of these investigations. The map that he drew of this territory is wonderfully accurate, and contains practically all the information that we have to-day of the location of the several Indian tribes with which the early and late settlers came in contact.

To Smith, more than to anyone else, and next to him, perhaps, to the little Indian princess Pocahontas, the colony of Jamestown owed its preservation. Time fails me to review his services and her acts of mercy and friendship to the suffering planters.

With Captain John Smith we have all been acquainted from our early childhood. We have all loved and lingered over the story of Pocahontas, and of the daring deeds, the singular perils, the misfortunes and successes of the hero indissolubly associated with her. We need not here rehearse the one nor recount the other.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that Pocahontas was first married to a Captain Kocoum, John Rolfe being her second husband. Her name was really Matoaka, though she was also called Amonate. "Pocahontas" was a nickname, meaning "Little Wanton," given for her lively and frolicsome disposition.

An old writer gives the following quaint little glimpse of her merry and fun-loving nature:

"And therefore would the before remembered Pocahontas, a well featured but wanton young girle, Powhattan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boyes forth with her into the market place and make them wheele, falling on their heads, turning their heeles upwards, whome she would followe and wheele so herself, naked as she was, all the fort over."

So it was not always gloomy and distressful at Jamestown. There was a little brightness and light and fun when Pocahontas joined the boys in the market place and wheeled all over the fort.

In passing on we doff our bonnets to Captain John Smith and the Little Wanton Pocahontas, and wish that we may often live over again with our children and our children's children the distant incidents in which they played such romantic parts.

Under Smith's management an appreciable improvement of conditions took place. Confidence began to return to the discouraged settlers; order was restored, and the rules of common sense enforced. In the year 1608 only 28 men had died. Newport, coming with his second supply in September of that year, landed 70 persons, among them two English women, the

first to set foot on the soil of Virginia, one Mistress Forrest and her maid Anne Burras. Who Mrs. Forrest was and why she came I know not. Anne was shortly (December, 1608) married to John Laydon, one of the first settlers, and mentioned as one of the laborers. This was the first English marriage celebrated on American soil. Their child, Virginia, born in 1609, was the first English child born in Virginia.

By the second supply the number of planters was increased to 200. When Smith returned to England, in October, 1609, times sadly changed. The strong hand of control was removed, and disorder, neglect and misrule returned. The "Starving Time" followed, with all its ghastly sufferings, too horrible to describe here. When Sir Thomas Gates arrived, in May, 1610, the colonists had been reduced from nearly 500 in September to about 60 "most miserable, poor creatures." The case was so hopeless that Gates determined to take them all back to England and abandon the colony. On June 7, 1610, they all got aboard and were dropping slowly down the river, when they met Lord Delaware, the Governor General of Virginia, appointed under the new charter of May 23, 1609, with a fresh convoy of men and supplies. On June 10, Delaware had them all back at Jamestown again, and after the new governor, immediately on landing had had divine services, once more all hands took hold again, never to let go. And so Jamestown was settled at last, and Virginia was established forever.

Is it any wonder that a Virginia lad, learning from his mother's lips these stories of Newport and Gosnold, and Smith and Powhatan and Pocahontas, should revere them all his life, should link them with touching memories of his native soil, and should fondly and reverently sing this little song:

"The roses nowhere bloom so white
 As in Virginia;
 The sunshine nowhere shines so bright
 As in Virginia;

The birds sing nowhere quite so sweet,
And nowhere hearts so lightly beat,
For heaven and earth both seem to meet,
Down in Virginia.

“There nowhere is a land so fair
As in Virginia;
So full of joy and free from care
As in Virginia;
And I believe that Happy Land
The Lord prepared for mortal man
Is built exactly on the plan
Of old Virginia.

“The days are never quite so long
As in Virginia;
Nor quite so filled with happy song
As in Virginia;
And when my time has come to die,
Just take me back and let me lie,
Close where the James goes rolling by,
Down in Virginia.”

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES
MEMBERS
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

ROOM 62 - - 45 WILLIAM STREET
NEW YORK CITY

CHRONICLE.

- 1892—*August* 18th—Society instituted.
October 18th—Society incorporated.
December 19th—First General Court and Dinner at Delmonico's. Mr. Frederic J. de Peyster elected first Governor and Mr. Howland Pell, Secretary.
- 1893—*May*—The New York Society, with the Societies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut and the District of Columbia organized the General Society, these States having been previously chartered by the Society in the State of New York.
December 19th—Second General Court and Second Dinner at the Hotel Waldorf.
- 1894—*November* 12th—Business Court at Hotel Waldorf. Address by Mr. Abraham B. Valentine on "Antiquities of Tarrytown and Other Places."
November 12th—Council appropriated \$100 towards the Louisburg Memorial Fund.
December 19th—Third General Court at Hotel Waldorf. Paper read by Rev. George M. Bodge, Chaplain of the Massachusetts Society, on "The Great Narragansett Swamp Fight."
- 1895—*February* 11th—Third Annual Dinner at the Hotel Waldorf.
March 11th—Business Court at Hotel Waldorf. Paper read by Mr. Robert D. Benedict on the "Capture of the Margareta."
June 17th—Society represented at the unveiling of the Louisburg Monument, erected by the General Society of Colonial Wars in commemoration of the capture of Louisburg, A. D. 1745.
November 25th—Business Court at the Hotel Waldorf. Paper read by Mr. Robert D. Benedict on the "Siege of Louisburg."

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- December* 19th—Fourth General Court at the Hotel Waldorf. Paper read by Hon. Everett Pepperell Wheeler on the “Seige of Louisburg and Its Effect on the American Colonies.”
- 1896—*February* 11th—Fourth Annual Dinner at Delmonico’s.
March 6th—Business Court at Delmonico’s. Paper read by Mr. Abraham B. Valentine on the “Battle of Lake George.”
November 16th—Business Court held at Hotel Waldorf.
December 19th—Fifth General Court at Delmonico’s. Paper read by Mr. Richard H. Greene on “The Early Half of the Colonial Period.”
- 1897—*January* 28th—Fifth Annual Dinner at Delmonico’s.
March 15th—Business Court at Delmonico’s.
April 10th—Special Business Court at Delmonico’s. Limit of membership increased from 750 to 1,000.
April—Distributed to members printed account of the Battle of Lake George.
November 15th—Business Court at Delmonico’s.
December 20th—Sixth General Court at Delmonico’s. Paper read by Mr. Howard R. Bayne on “The Colony of Virginia in 1619.”
- 1898—*January* 21st—Sixth Annual Dinner at Delmonico’s.
March 21st—Business Court at Delmonico’s. Mr. A. B. Valentine read a paper by Dr. G. F. H. Bartlett, of Buffalo, on “Elder William Brewster.”
November 21st—Business Court at Delmonico’s. Paper read by Mr. Robert D. Benedict on “Massachusetts Bay in 1637.”
December 19th—Seventh General Court at Delmonico’s. Paper read by Mr. Howard R. Bayne entitled “Journal of an Officer at Havana, 1762.”
- 1899—*January* 16th—Seventh Annual Dinner at Delmonico’s.

March 20th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Frederic H. Betts, "The Seige and Second Capture of Louisburg in 1758."

November 20th—Business Court at Delmonico's.

December 19th—Eighth General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Robert D. Benedict on "The Pequot War."

1900—*January* 30th—Eighth Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.

March 19th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Gilbert Ray Hawes on "Ticonderoga."

November 19th—Business Court at Berkeley School. Paper read by Mr. William G. Davies on "Ticonderoga and Crown Point."

December 19th—Ninth General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Hon. Everett P. Wheeler on "The Colonial Policy of Great Britain During the Eighteenth Century and Its Influence Upon the Nineteenth Century."

1901—*January* 21st—Ninth Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.

March 18th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Jr., on "Medicine in Colonial Times."

November 18th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. E. Lyman Short on "Lawyers in Colonial Times."

December 19th—Tenth General Court at Delmonico's.

1902—*January* 10th—Tenth Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.

March 17th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Miss Mary V. Worstell, with stereopticon views, on "James Wolfe, the Hero of Quebec."

May 27th—Council voted a donation of \$100.00 to Massachusetts Society towards the erection of a monument in Massachusetts in commemoration of the Great Swamp Fight.

- November 17th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Appropriation of \$50 to the American Flag Association. Paper read by the Rev. Charles E. Brugler on "The Clergy in Colonial Times."
- December 19th*—Eleventh General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Prof. James H. Canfield on "Some Educational Features in Colonial Times."
- 1903—*January 10th*—Eleventh Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.
- March 16th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Dermot W. Keegan on "Colonial Ideals."
- July 1st*—Published New York State Society Year Book.
- September 8th*—Dedication of Lake George Monument, erected by the New York State Society in commemoration of the Battle of Lake George, won September 8th, 1755.
- November 16th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Jr., on "Amusements in Colonial Times."
- December 19th*—Twelfth General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Hamilton B. Tompkins on "The Great Swamp Fight."
- 1904—*January 12th*—Twelfth Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.
- March 21st*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Major Louis L. Seaman on "Native Troops in Our Colonial Possessions."
- July*—Published New York State Society Year Book.
- July*—Distributed to members printed Claus Journal, Report of Lake George Memorial Executive Committee and paper read on "Native Troops in Our Colonial Possessions."
- November 21st*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Howard R. Bayne on "A Rebellion in the Colony of Virginia."

December—Distributed to members printed paper on
 "A Rebellion in the Colony of Virginia."

December 19th—Thirteenth General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Prof. James H. Canfield on
 "Why We Are What We Are."

1905—*March 20th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Clarence Storm on "Burton's Views of New York in 1830."

May 3rd—Social Court at Hotel St. Regis, in honor of the visiting General Officers and Delegates to the Triennial General Assembly.

May 4th—Thirteenth Annual Dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

November 20th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin on "Search for the North Pole."

December 19th—Fourteenth General Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Fordham Morris on "A Colonial and Revolutionary Map of Westchester County."

1906—*March 19th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald on the "Philippine Islands."

November 15th—Fourteenth Annual Dinner at Delmonico's.

November 19th—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Reginald Pelham Bolton on "Revolutionary Life on Manhattan Island."

December 19th—Fifteenth General Court at Delmonico's. Informal Address by Mr. Walter Lispenard Suydam on "The Great Swamp Fight."

1907—*March 18th*—Business Court at Delmonico's. Paper read by Mr. Howard R. Bayne on "The Settlement of Jamestown."

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN THE
STATE OF NEW YORK.

Governor,

CHARLES FRANCIS ROE.

Deputy-Governor,

WALTER LISPENARD SUYDAM.

Lieutenant-Governors,

WILLIAM CARY SANGER,
STEPHEN HENRY OLIN,
ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

Secretary,

HENRY GANSEVOORT SANFORD.

Deputy-Secretary,

WILLIAM GILMAN LOW, JR.

Treasurer,

CLARENCE STORM.

Registrar,

JOHN FRANCIS DANIELL.

Chancellor,

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD LADD, JR.

Vice-Chancellor,

SAMUEL ROSSITER BETTS.

Surgeons,

DANIEL McMARTIN STIMSON, M. D.
THOMAS DARLINGTON, M. D.

Historian,

BAYARD FISH FOULKE.

Chaplain,

REV. HOWARD DUFFIELD.

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

Genealogist,
WILLIAM HENRY FOLSOM.

Gentlemen of the Council,

JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN.....	}	Term expiring December, 1907.
AMORY SIBLEY CARHART.....		
PETER STUYVESANT PILLOT.....		
F. ASHTON DE PEYSTER.....	}	Term expiring December, 1908.
WILLIAM GRAVES BATES.....		
CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN.....		
DALLAS BACHE PRATT.....	}	Term expiring December, 1909.
HOWLAND HAGGERTY PELL.....		
DE WITT CLINTON FALLS.....		

*Officers of the General Society residing in New York,
(Ex-officio Members of the Council.)*

HOWLAND PELL.....	Vice Governor-General
WALTER LISPENARD SUYDAM.....	Deputy Gov.-Gen'l for N. Y.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN.....	Secretary-General
GUY VAN AMRINGE.....	Deputy Secretary-General

Local Secretaries,

JAMES WILLIAM COX.....	Albany, N. Y.
WILLIAM EDWIN HOYT.....	Rochester, N. Y.
ROBERT WEBSTER DAY.....	Buffalo, N. Y.

Committee on Membership,

WALDRON P. BELKNAP,
EDWARD N. CROSBY,
STEPHEN H. P. PELL,
EDWARD CODMAN PARISH,
EUGENE K. AUSTIN,
C. WICKLIFFE THROCKMORTON,
PHILIP SCHUYLER DE LUZE.

Committee on Historical Documents,

WILLIAM COLMAN HOWARD,
JOSEPH LIVINGSTON DELAFIELD,
EDWARD TRENCHARD,
FRANCIS T. KEMBLE,
GEORGE ELLSWORTH KOUES.

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

Committee on Installation and Stewards of the Society,

JOHN WATSON CARY.....	}	Term expiring December, 1907.
HENRY EGLINTON MONTGOMERY.....		
ARNOLD WOOD.....	}	Term expiring December, 1908.
SAMUEL AUSTIN CHAPIN.....		
ROBERT C. HILL.....		Term expiring December, 1909.
CHANDLER DAVIS.....		

Delegates Present at Last General Assembly,

New York City, May 3d, 1905,

CHARLES FRANCIS ROE,
 JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN,
 GEN. FREDERICK DENT GRANT,
 GUY VAN AMRINGE,
 GEORGE RICHARD SCHIEFFELIN.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FROM ITS
ORGANIZATION, TO DECEMBER, 19, 1906.

Governors,

FREDERICK J. DE PEYSTER, 1892-1902.
JAMES W. BEEKMAN, 1902-1904.
JAMES M. VARNUM, 1904-1906.
CHARLES FRANCIS ROE, 1906-

Deputy-Governors,

JAMES M. VARNUM, 1892-1895.
GEORGE R. SCHIEFFELIN, 1895-1897.
JAMES W. BEEKMAN, 1897-1902.
JAMES M. VARNUM, 1902-1904.
CHARLES F. ROE, 1904-1906.
WALTER LISPENARD SUYDAM, 1906-

Lieutenant-Governors,

T. J. OAKLEY RHINELANDER, 1892-1895 and 1899-1903.
JAMES W. BEEKMAN, 1895-1897.
ABRAHAM R. LAWRENCE, 1897-1898.
EDWARD DE P. LIVINGSTON, 1897-1898.
EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, 1897-1901.
HOWLAND PELL, 1898-1899.
HOWARD R. BAYNE, 1898-1899.
FREDERIC H. BETTS, 1899-1900.
WALTER L. SUYDAM, 1900-1902.
WILLIAM G. DAVIES, 1901-1905.
CHARLES A. SCHERMERHORN, 1902-1904.
AMORY S. CARHART, 1903-1904.
E. LYMAN SHORT, 1904-1905.
WILLIAM G. BATES, 1904-1905.
WILLARD BARTLETT, 1905-1906.
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER FOSTER, 1905-1906.
STEPHEN HENRY OLIN, 1905-
WILLIAM CARY SANGER, 1906-
ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1906-

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

Secretaries,

HOWLAND PELL, 1892-1895.
PHILIP LIVINGSTON, 1895-1896.
DAVID BANKS, JR., 1896-1898.
WM. BLEEKER SEAMAN, 1898-1901.
FRANCIS F. SPIES, 1901-1902.
ARTHUR S. WALCOTT, 1902-1904.
HENRY G. SANFORD, 1904-

Deputy Secretaries,

R. HORACE GALLATIN, 1892-1893.
JOHN T. WAINWRIGHT, 1893-1894.
PHILIP RHINELANDER, 1894-1895.
DAVID BANKS, JR., 1895-1896.
W. GEDNEY BEATTY, 1896-1897.
WM. BLEEKER SEAMAN, 1897-1898.
FRANCIS F. SPIES, 1898-1901.
ARTHUR S. WALCOTT, 1901-1902.
HENRY G. SANFORD, 1902-1904.
WILLIAM G. LOW, JR., 1904-

Treasurers,

S. VICTOR CONSTANT, 1892-1894.
ARTHUR M. HATCH, 1894-1901.
CLARENCE STORM, 1901-

Registrars,

FREDERICK E. HAIGHT, 1892-1897.
CHARLES H. POND, 1897-1900.
SAMUEL V. HOFFMAN, 1900-1902.
ACOSTA NICHOLS, 1902-1906.
JOHN FRANCIS DANIELL, 1906-

Chancellors,

ABRAHAM R. LAWRENCE, 1893-1897.
FREDERIC H. BETTS, 1897-1899.
WILLIAM G. DAVIES, 1899-1901.
JAMES M. VARNUM, 1901-1902.
E. LYMAN SHORT, 1902-1904.
CHARLES F. DARLINGTON, 1904-1905.
EVERETT PEPPERRELL WHEELER, 1905-1906.
WILLIAM WHITEHEAD LADD, JR., 1906-

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

Vice-Chancellors,

WILLIAM G. DAVIES, 1897-1899.
MADISON GRANT, 1899-1900.
CORTLANDT S. VAN RENSSELAER, 1900-1901.
CHARLES F. DARLINGTON, 1901-1904.
PHILIP LIVINGSTON, 1904-1905.
WILLIAM WHITEHEAD LADD, JR., 1905-1906.
SAMUEL ROSSITER BETTS, 1906-

Historians,

THOMAS L. OGDEN, 1892-1894.
S. VICTOR CONSTANT, 1894-1895.
ABRAHAM B. VALENTINE, 1895-1901.
SYDNEY H. CARNEY, JR., M.D., 1901-1904.
BAYARD FISH FOULKE, 1904-

Genealogists,

JAMES H. TOWNSEND, 1897-1899.
WILLIAM H. WILDEY, 1899-1901.
EDWARD TRENCHARD, 1901.
PHILIP S. DE LUZE, 1901-1906.
WILLIAM HENRY FOLSOM, 1906-

Chaplains,

REV. MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER, 1892-1893.
REV. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 1893-1896.
RT. REV. WILLIAM C. DOANE, 1896-1901.
THE VERY REV. EUGENE HOFFMAN, 1901-1902.
REV. CHARLES E. BRUGLER, 1902-1906.
REV. HOWARD DUFFIELD, 1906-

Surgeons,

F. LE ROY SATTERLEE, M.D., 1893-1901.
GOUVERNEUR M. SMITH, M.D., 1897-1898.
SYDNEY H. CARNEY, JR., M.D., 1898-1899.
DELANAN BLOODGOOD, M.D., 1899-1901.
LOUIS L. SEAMAN, M.D., 1901-1904.
CLARKSON C. SCHUYLER, M.D., 1901-1902.
CHARLES L. DANA, M.D., 1902-1903.
DANIEL M. STIMSON, M.D., 1903-
REYNOLD WEBB WILCOX, M.D., 1904-1906.
THOMAS DARLINGTON, M.D., 1906-

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP.

N. Y. SOCIETY NUMBER	PERPETUAL MEMBER.	
812	LANGDON, WOODBURY GERSDORF	N. Y. CITY.

N. Y. SOCIETY NUMBER	LIFE MEMBERS.	
138	ASTOR, JOHN JACOB	N. Y. CITY.
1274	AUSTIN, EUGENE K.	N. Y. CITY.
188	BALDWIN, JOSEPH CLARK	N. Y. CITY.
233	BANGS, ANSON CUYLER	N. Y. CITY.
107	BANKS, DAVID, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
200	BASSETT, CHARLES FRANKLIN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
8	BAYNE, HOWARD RANDOLPH	NEW BRIGHTON, N. Y.
108	BEEKMAN, JAMES WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
787	BELL, JARED WEED	N. Y. CITY.
315	BETTS, SAMUEL ROSSITER	N. Y. CITY.
167	BISHOP, CORTLANDT FIELD	N. Y. CITY.
76	BOWEN, CLARENCE WINTHROP	N. Y. CITY.
240	BRAINERD, CEPHAS	N. Y. CITY.
1345	BROKAW, GEORGE TUTTLE	N. Y. CITY.
255	BRUGLER, REV. CHARLES EDWARD	PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
276	BRYANT, PERCY, M.D.	RAHWAY, N. J.
254	BRYSON, ANDREW	NEW CASTLE, DEL.
946	BURKE, JAMES STRANAHAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
181	CAMMANN, GEORGE PHILIP	N. Y. CITY.
41	CARHART, AMORY SIBLEY	N. Y. CITY.
87	CARNOCHAN, GOUVERNEUR MORRIS	N. Y. CITY.
264	CHILDS, JAMES EDMUND	N. Y. CITY.
95	CLARK, HENRY SCHIEFFELIN	N. Y. CITY.
109	CLARK, WILLIAM NEWTON	N. Y. CITY.
160	CLARKSON, BANYER	N. Y. CITY.
1078	COCHRANE, ADAM WILLIAM SPIES	N. Y. CITY.
192	COGHILL, HOWARD	MORRISTOWN, N. J.
194	COGSWELL, CULLEN VAN RENSSELAER	N. Y. CITY.
446	COLES, HENRY RUTGERS REMSEN	ENGLEWOOD, N. J.
1	CONSTANT, SAMUEL VICTOR	N. Y. CITY.
93	CONSTANTINE, RICHARD BUELL	N. Y. CITY.
563	CONVERSE, EDMUND COGSWELL	N. Y. CITY.
992	COPP, WILLIAM MALTBY	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

299	DAVENPORT, TIMOTHY	N. Y. CITY.
661	DAVENPORT, WILLIAM BATES	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1383	DEARBORN, FREDERICK MYERS, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
163	DELAFIELD, JOSEPH LIVINGSTON	N. Y. CITY.
164	DELAFIELD, MATORIN LIVINGSTON, JR.	RIVERDALE, N. Y.
1025	DE PEYSTER, FREDERICK ASHTON	N. Y. CITY.
176	DRAPER, CHARLES ALBERT	OSSINING, N. Y.
5	DRAPER, THOMAS WALN-MORGAN	SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
232	DU BOIS, WILLIAM MAISON	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
1341	EAGLE, CLARENCE HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
168	ENDICOTT, ROBERT	N. Y. CITY.
173	ERVING, WILLIAM VAN RENSSELAER	RYE, N. Y.
820	FARNAM, CHARLES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
29	FORD, GEORGE HARE	NEW HAVEN, CONN.
1250	FOSTER, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER	N. Y. CITY.
25	FOWLER, WILLIAM MILES	MILFORD, CONN.
1213	GALLATIN, ALBERT EUGENE	N. Y. CITY.
85	GALLATIN, FREDERIC	N. Y. CITY.
61	GALLATIN, ROLAZ HORACE	N. Y. CITY.
53	GARDINER, DAVID	N. Y. CITY.
54	GARDINER, ROBERT ALEXANDER	N. Y. CITY.
1063	GILBERT, CHARLES PIERREPONT HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
516	GOODWIN, JAMES JUNIUS	N. Y. CITY.
51	GRANT, DE FOREST	N. Y. CITY.
40	GRANT, MADISON	N. Y. CITY.
259	GREENE, GEORGE SEARS, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
708	GREGORY, CLIFFORD D.	ALBANY, N. Y.
7	GUNN, GEORGE MILES	MILFORD, CONN.
1344	GUNTHER, FRANKLIN L.	N. Y. CITY.
20	HAIGHT, ABNER SHERMAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
6	HAIGHT, FREDERIC EVEREST	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
199	HAWES, GILBERT RAY	N. Y. CITY.
126	HAWKES, MCDUGALL	N. Y. CITY.
898	HOFFMAN, SAMUEL VERPLANCK	MORRISTOWN, N. J.
133	HOWARD, WILLIAM COLMAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
78	HOWELL, HENRY WILSON, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
182	HULBERT, HENRY CARLTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
71	HYATT, FRANK STANLEY	UPPER MONTCLAIR, N. J.
913	HYDE, CLARENCE MELVILLE	N. Y. CITY.
104	ISHAM, CHARLES	N. Y. CITY.
1233	JOHNSON, WILLIAM SCHUYLER	BOONVILLE, N. Y.
564	JONES, OLIVER LIVINGSTON	COLD SPRING, L. I.
111	JONES, SHIPLEY	NEW BRIGHTON, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

97	KIP, WILLIAM V. B.	N. Y. CITY.
142	LEWIS, WILLIAM FISHER	PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1337	LINES, ERNEST VAN RENSSELAER	N. Y. CITY.
335	LITCHFIELD, EDWARD HUBBARD	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1181	LITCHFIELD, EDWARD HUBERT	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
996	LITTLE, THOMAS	N. Y. CITY.
32	LIVINGSTON, PHILIP	N. Y. CITY.
166	LORD, NATHAN HOLCOMBE	N. Y. CITY.
1243	LOW, JOSEPH TOMPKINS	N. Y. CITY.
217	MACKENZIE, GEORGE NORBURY	BALTIMORE, MD.
739	MACY, COGGESHALL	N. Y. CITY.
733	MACY, GEORGE HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
56	MCALLISTER, HEYWARD HALL	N. Y. CITY.
700	MEAD, SPENCER PERCIVAL	N. Y. CITY.
1011	MORGAN, CHARLES	N. Y. CITY.
229	MORGAN, WILLIAM H.	N. Y. CITY.
3	MURRAY, CHARLES H.	N. Y. CITY.
134	NORWOOD, LEWIS MORRIS	N. Y. CITY.
210	NOYES, JAMES ATKINS	CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
49	O'CONOR, JOHN CHRISTOPHER	N. Y. CITY.
632	OLYPHANT, JOHN KENSETT	N. Y. CITY.
631	OLYPHANT, ROBERT	N. Y. CITY.
203	ORNE, HENRY MERRILL	N. Y. CITY.
1139	ORVIS, CHARLES EUSTIS	N. Y. CITY.
994	PALMER, LOWELL MASON	N. Y. CITY.
15	PELL, HOWLAND	N. Y. CITY.
1198	PELL, HOWLAND HAGGERTY	N. Y. CITY.
11	POND, CHARLES HOBBY	N. Y. CITY.
537	POND, EDWIN WATSON	WALTON, N. Y.
14	POND, WINTHROP	NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.
871	PROCTOR, FREDERICK TOWNE	UTICA, N. Y.
583	PROCTOR, THOMAS REDFIELD	UTICA, N. Y.
1155	RABORG, H. MASON	N. Y. CITY.
748	RABORG, THOMAS MASON THOMSON	N. Y. CITY.
19	REED, HENRY BIDLACK, M.D.	MILFORD, PA.
58	RHINELANDER, PHILIP	N. Y. CITY.
28	RHINELANDER, T. J. OAKLEY	N. Y. CITY.
86	RIKER, JOHN JACKSON	N. Y. CITY.
117	RIKER, JOHN LAWRENCE	N. Y. CITY.
989	ROE, CHARLES FRANCIS	N. Y. CITY.
517	ROOT, ELIHU	N. Y. CITY.
153	SANGER, WILLIAM CARY	SANGERFIELD, N. Y.
239	SATTERLEE, FRANCIS LE ROY, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

103	SCHIEFFELIN, EUGENE	N. Y. CITY.
60	SCHIEFFELIN, GEORGE RICHARD	N. Y. CITY.
101	SCHIEFFELIN, SCHUYLER	N. Y. CITY.
102	SCHIEFFELIN, WILLIAM JAY	N. Y. CITY.
1339	SHANNON, RICHARD CUTTS	BROCKPORT, N. Y.
806	SHERMAN, WILLIAM WATTS	N. Y. CITY.
1343	SHIRLEY, RUFUS GEORGE	N. Y. CITY.
1342	SIMMONS, JOSEPH FERRIS	N. Y. CITY.
920	SMITH, HOWARD CASWELL	N. Y. CITY.
183	SPENCER, LORILLARD	N. Y. CITY.
128	SPOFFORD, PAUL NELSON	N. Y. CITY.
137	STEVENSON, WILLIAM PAXTON	ROSELLE, N. J.
221	STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY	BALTIMORE, MD.
371	STOKES, ANSON PHELPS	N. Y. CITY.
933	STORM, CLARENCE	N. Y. CITY.
601	SUCKLEY, ROBERT BOWNE	RHINECLIFF, N. Y.
174	SUYDAM, WALTER LISPENARD	N. Y. CITY.
57	SWORDS, HENRY COTHEAL	N. Y. CITY.
337	THEBAUD, PAUL GIBERT	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
218	THOM, WILLIAM DECOURCY WRIGHT	BALTIMORE, MD.
219	THOMAS, DOUGLAS HAMILTON	BALTIMORE, MD.
463	THOMPSON, HOBART WARREN	TROY, N. Y.
31	TOWNSEND, JAMES HILL	OSSINING, N. Y.
10	TRENCHARD, EDWARD	N. Y. CITY.
63	TREVOR, HENRY GRAFF	N. Y. CITY.
65	TROWBRIDGE, CHARLES HOTCHKISS	MILFORD, CONN.
24	TUFTS, WALTER BROWNELL	N. Y. CITY.
184	VAN CORTLANDT, ROBERT BUNCH	N. Y. CITY.
765	VANDER VEER, EDGAR A.	ALBANY, N. Y.
178	VAN RENSSELAER, EUGENE	BERKELEY SPRINGS, W. VA.
99	VER PLANCK, WILLIAM GORDON	N. Y. CITY.
143	WALBRIDGE, T. CHESTER	GERMANTOWN, PA.
554	WALSH, SAMUEL ARMSTRONG	N. Y. CITY.
206	WARD, SYLVESTER L'HOMMEDIEU	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
924	WARREN, WALTER PHELPS	TROY, N. Y.
204	WEBB, ALEXANDER STEWART, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
90	WELLS, THOMAS LAWRENCE	N. Y. CITY.
1333	WHITE, ALAIN CAMPBELL	N. Y. CITY.
75	WHITEHOUSE, JAMES NORMAN DE RAPELJE,	N. Y. CITY.
910	WILLETS, HOWARD	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
179	WILLIAMSON, GEORGE DE WITT,	DOBBS FERRY, N. Y.
328	WINTHROP, GRENVILLE BAYARD	N. Y. CITY.
306	YOUNG, WILLIAM HOPKINS	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

REGULAR MEMBERS.

659	ABBOTT, GEORGE BIRCH	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1049	ADAMS, JOSEPH WEAVER	SOUTH BETHLEHEM, PA.
1272	ADAMS, WALTER WOOD	N. Y. CITY.
363	AITKEN, WILLIAM BENFORD	N. Y. CITY.
1120	ALDRIDGE, FREDERICK THURSTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
532	ALLEN, FREDERICK HOBBS	N. Y. CITY.
1267	ALLERTON, WALTER SCOTT	N. Y. CITY.
1259	ALLIN, GEORGE ALBERT	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
960	AMES, LOUIS ANNIN	N. Y. CITY.
1323	ANDREWS, JAMES MADISON	N. Y. CITY.
827	ATWOOD, EDWARD STANLEY	HIGHLANDS, N. J.
1374	AUSTIN, WILLIAM MORRIS	N. Y. CITY.
1294	AVERILL, CHARLES SYDLE	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
278	AVERY, FRANK MONTGOMERY	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1325	AVERY, IRVING MONTGOMERY	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
974	AVERY, SAMUEL PUTNAM	N. Y. CITY.
870	AVERY, TRUEMAN GARDNER	BUFFALO, N. Y.
982	AZOY, ANASTASIO CARLOS MARIANO	N. Y. CITY.
1350	BABCOCK, HARRY WOODRUFF	N. Y. CITY.
257	BACKUS, J. BAYARD	N. Y. CITY.
548	BACON, GORHAM, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
695	BAILEY, THEODORUS, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
106	BAKER, FRANK LESLIE	N. Y. CITY.
1141	BALDWIN, REV. BERRY OAKLEY	SCARBOROUGH, N. Y.
916	BANGS, FLETCHER HARPER	N. Y. CITY.
679	BANKS, A. BLEEKER	ALBANY, N. Y.
302	BANKS, DAVID	N. Y. CITY.
298	BANTA, THEODORE MELVIN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1159	BARBOUR, WILLIAM DELAMATER	N. Y. CITY.
1109	BARCLAY, DAVID	NEWBURGH, N. Y.
1186	BARLOW, PETER TOWNSEND	N. Y. CITY.
886	BARNES, ALFRED VICTOR	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1015	BARNES, FRANK LORING	N. Y. CITY.
1125	BARNES, WINTHROP HOWARD	N. Y. CITY.
1398	BARNES, GEORGE EDWARD, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
860	BARNWELL, MORGAN GIBBES	TUXEDO, N. Y.
1093	BARRON, THOMAS	N. Y. CITY.
856	BARROWS, IRA	N. Y. CITY.
604	BARTLETT, FRANKLIN	N. Y. CITY.
454	BARTLETT, GEORGE FREDERICK HUNTER, M.D.	BUFFALO, N. Y.
605	BARTLETT, WILLARD	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
947	BASCOM, GEORGE JONATHAN	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1072	BASCOME, WESTERN RADFORD	N. Y. CITY.
1227	BATES, GEORGE BUTTERFIELD	N. Y. CITY.
1067	BATES, WILLIAM GRAVES	N. Y. CITY.
515	BEACH, BENNETT SHELDON, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
663	BEATTY, ALFRED CHESTER	DENVER, COL.
384	BEATTY, ROBERT CHETWOOD	N. Y. CITY.
383	BEATTY, WILLIAM GEDNEY	N. Y. CITY.
606	BELKNAP, WALDRON PHOENIX	N. Y. CITY.
1142	BELKNAP, WILLIAM COOK	NEWBURGH, N. Y.
540	BENEDICT, JAMES AUGUSTUS	N. Y. CITY.
833	BENEDICT, LEMUEL COLEMAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
356	BENEDICT, ROBERT DEWEY	N. Y. CITY.
1059	BENEDICT, WALTER ST. JOHN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
636	BENEDICT, WILLIAM DE LIESSELINE	N. Y. CITY.
952	BENJAMIN, GEORGE POWELL	N. Y. CITY.
1372	BENKARD, HARRY HORTON	N. Y. CITY.
68	BIBBY, ANDREW ALDRIDGE	N. Y. CITY.
442	BICKLEY, LAWRENCE WHARTON	N. Y. CITY.
1105	BILLINGS, CHARLES MILLER	N. Y. CITY.
824	BILLINGS, DAVID LANE	N. Y. CITY.
390	BINNEY, WILLIAM GREENE	BURLINGTON, N. J.
607	BISSELL, EUGENE	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
35	BLEECKER, ANTHONY JAMES	N. Y. CITY.
861	BLIVEN, WILLIAM WARREN	YONKERS, N. Y.
809	BOLMER, THOMAS HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
691	BOSTWICK, HENRY ANTHON	N. Y. CITY.
810	BOUCHER, CHARLES	N. Y. CITY.
624	BOUTELLE, FRANK WARREN	SLINGERLANDS, N. Y.
502	BOWERS, HENRY	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
244	BOWERS, JOHN MYER	N. Y. CITY.
1202	BOYNTON, FREDERICK CHESTER	N. Y. CITY.
1379	BRADISH, GEORGE JOHNSTON	N. Y. CITY.
514	BRADLEY, FREDERICK LINES	N. Y. CITY.
1328	BRAINE, CLINTON ELGIN	N. Y. CITY.
1349	BRAINE, LAWRENCE FULTON	N. Y. CITY.
774	BRENTON, REV. CRANSTON	HARTFORD, CONN.
1260	BRETT, MARTIN WILTSIE	N. Y. CITY.
529	BREWSTER, HENRY COLVIN	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1017	BREWSTER, SAMUEL DWIGHT	N. Y. CITY.
435	BRIGHT, LOUIS VICTOR	N. Y. CITY.
372	BRITTON, CHARLES PRICE	N. Y. CITY.
1040	BRITTON, EDWARD EARL	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
967	BRITTON, HENRY BERRY	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

539	BROOKFIELD, HENRY MORGAN	N. Y. CITY.
1266	BROWN, BENJAMIN WEST BONNEY	N. Y. CITY.
888	BROWN, CHARLES HOLBROOK	BUFFALO, N. Y.
942	BROWN, HENRY MORRIS	BUFFALO, N. Y.
689	BROWN, JOHN BARKER	N. Y. CITY.
1320	BRUSH, LOUIS THOMPSON	N. Y. CITY.
731	BRYAN, FOSTER ABEL KIMBALL	N. Y. CITY.
1204	BUEL, REV. CLARENCE	DETROIT, MICH.
672	BUELL, FREDERICK FOLLETT	TROY, N. Y.
1169	BUELL, WILLIAM COLLINS	PROVIDENCE, R. I.
864	BUNKER, WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
1248	BURNHAM, CHARLES LUTHER	N. Y. CITY.
1207	BURRILL, DRAYTON	N. Y. CITY.
839	BURT, STEPHEN SMITH, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1388	BUSH, CHARLES HOMER	N. Y. CITY.
718	BUSHNELL, CLARENCE MUNSON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1145	BUSSING, JOHN STUYVESANT	N. Y. CITY.
135	BUTLER, HENRY PERCIVAL	N. Y. CITY.
786	BYINGTON, CASSIUS PERKINS	OSSINING, N. Y.
831	BYINGTON, CHARLES SPERRY	PASADENA, CAL.
1196	BYRNS, ROBERT AINSWORTH	N. Y. CITY.
1217	CALDWELL, FRANK EDDY, M.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
767	CALEF, AMOS HOWARD	N. Y. CITY.
705	CAMMANN, EDWARD CRARY,	N. Y. CITY.
469	CAMMANN, HENRY LORILLARD	N. Y. CITY.
814	CAMP, CHARLES LEWIS NICHOLS	NEW HAVEN, CONN.
778	CAMPBELL, BENJAMIN HOWELL	ELIZABETH, N. J.
1355	CAMPBELL, SHIRAS	ELIZABETH, N. J.
1047	CANFIELD, JAMES HULME	N. Y. CITY.
497	CAPELL, WILLIAM BENTON	N. Y. CITY.
533	CARNEY, SYDNEY HOWARD, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
396	CARNEY, SYDNEY HOWARD, JR., M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1346	CARPENTER, CHARLES WHITNEY, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1347	CARPENTER, GEORGE WASHINGTON	N. Y. CITY.
1165	CARTER, COLIN SMITH	N. Y. CITY.
1281	CARTER, ROBERT ANDERSON	N. Y. CITY.
1000	CARY, JOHN WATSON	N. Y. CITY.
129	CHANDLER, WALTER	ELIZABETH, N. J.
1375	CHANDLER, WALTER, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
403	CHAPIN, HENRY DWIGHT, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1262	CHAPIN, SAMUEL AUSTIN	N. Y. CITY.
1351	CHAPMAN, FRANK MICHLER	N. Y. CITY.
555	CHAUNCEY, ELIHU	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

169	CHENOWETH, ALEXANDER CRAWFORD	N. Y. CITY.
758	CHEW, BEVERLY	N. Y. CITY.
938	CHILDS, EDWARDS HERRICK	N. Y. CITY.
1135	CHOATE, EDWARD AUSTIN	N. Y. CITY.
756	CHRISTIE, THOMAS LUDLOW	N. Y. CITY.
1188	CHURCH, WILLIAM CONANT	N. Y. CITY.
1201	CLAFLIN, WILLIAM BEMENT	N. Y. CITY.
1264	CLARK, JAMES BAYARD, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1336	CLARK, SAMUEL ADAMS	N. Y. CITY.
332	CLARKE, CHARLES LORENZO	N. Y. CITY.
1046	CLARKE, CHARLES McCLELLAN	BUFFALO, N. Y.
423	CLARKE, EDWARD SMITH	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1176	CLARKE, FABIUS MAXIMUS	N. Y. CITY.
157	CLARKE, ISAAC SHERMAN	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
92	CLARKSON, CLERMONT LIVINGSTON	N. Y. CITY.
91	CLARKSON, DAVID AUGUSTUS	N. Y. CITY.
821	CLAY, THOMAS SAVAGE	N. Y. CITY.
1146	CLEVELAND, CHARLES DEXTER	N. Y. CITY.
1357	CLEVELAND, HENRY EDWIN	N. Y. CITY.
887	CLEVELAND, JAMES WRAY	N. Y. CITY.
635	COE, HENRY CLARK, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1154	COERR, FREDERIC DAN HUNTINGTON	N. Y. CITY.
1102	COLEMAN, CHARLES PHILIP	N. Y. CITY.
1236	COLEMAN, LEIGHTON PALMER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
740	COLFAX, ALBERT EBEN	N. Y. CITY.
431	COLLINS, CLARENCE LYMAN	N. Y. CITY.
551	COLLINS, EDWARD PINCKNEY	BALTIMORE, MD.
23	COLLINS, HOLDRIDGE OZRO	LOS ANGELES, CAL.
638	CONANT, ERNEST LEE	N. Y. CITY.
1133	CONOVER, JOHN THOMPSON	N. Y. CITY.
1332	CONROW, WILFORD SEYMOUR	N. Y. CITY.
991	COOK, FERDINAND HUNTING	N. Y. CITY.
998	COOK, HENRY FRANCIS	N. Y. CITY.
1351	COOK, JOSEPH TOTTENHAM, M.D.	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1309	COOK, ROBERT BOWNE MINTURN	PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
889	CORWIN, HAMILTON STEWART	PEABODY, MASS.
522	COX, JAMES WILLIAM	ALBANY, N. Y.
884	CRAFTS, JOHN WILLARD	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1319	CRANNELL, CLARKE WINSLOW	YONKERS, N. Y.
1225	CRITCHER, EDWARD PAYSON	N. Y. CITY.
1110	CRITCHLOW, GEORGE READ, M.D.	BUFFALO, N. Y.
242	CROSBY, EDWARD NICOLL	N. Y. CITY.
241	CROSBY, LIVINGSTON	SPUYTEN DUVEL, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1382	CROSSETT, FREDERICK MELVIN	N. Y. CITY.
822	CROUSE, DANIEL NELLIS	UTICA, N. Y.
1390	CRUIKSHANK, BARTON	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
1022	CURTISS, HARLOW CLARKE	BUFFALO, N. Y.
761	CUTLER, JAMES GOOLD	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
651	CUTLER, JOSEPH WARREN	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
892	DANA, CHARLES LOOMIS, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1065	DANIELL, JOHN FRANCIS	N. Y. CITY.
686	DARLINGTON, CHARLES FRANCIS	N. Y. CITY.
687	DARLINGTON, REV. JAMES HENRY	WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
1085	DARLINGTON, THOMAS, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
409	DAVIES, JULIEN TOWNSEND, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
187	DAVIES, WILLIAM GILBERT	N. Y. CITY.
1091	DAVIS, CHANDLER	N. Y. CITY.
512	DAVIS, FELLOWES	N. Y. CITY.
677	DAVISON, JOHN MASON	PITTSFORD, N. Y.
813	DAY, ROBERT WEBSTER	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1149	DE KAY, ECKFORD CRAVEN	N. Y. CITY.
1389	DELAFIELD, EDWARD COLEMAN	RIVERDALE, N. Y.
1068	DE LA MONTANYE, JAMES	N. Y. CITY.
1077	DE LUZE, PHILIP SCHUYLER	NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.
1268	DEMOREST, WILLIAM CURTIS	N. Y. CITY.
579	DENIS, GEORGE JULES	LOS ANGELES, CAL.
834	DENNIS, HOLMES VON MATER, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1241	DENNIS, REV. JAMES SHEPARD	N. Y. CITY.
1224	DENNIS, OTIS ALONZO	WHITEHALL, N. Y.
1032	DENNIS, WARREN EGERTON	N. Y. CITY.
1192	DE PEYSTER, WILLIAM MOORE DONGAN	N. Y. CITY.
675	DEPEW, CHAUNCEY MITCHELL	N. Y. CITY.
393	DE ROSE, EDWARD	N. Y. CITY.
641	DE RUSSY, RÉNÉ AMÉDÉE	N. Y. CITY.
716	DEVEREUX WALTER	BUFFALO, N. Y.
595	DEWEY, CHARLES AYRAULT, M.D.	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
584	DEWEY, EDWARD WILKINS	BRADY'S BEND, PA.
1223	DE WITT, GEORGE GOSMAN	N. Y. CITY.
713	DEYO, PETER	ALBANY, N. Y.
1391	DICKERMAN, WILLIAM CARTER	N. Y. CITY.
745	DIMOCK, WILLIAM DE WOLF	N. Y. CITY.
643	DOANE, RT. REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL, D.D.LLD.	ALBANY, N. Y.
664	DOMINICK, GEORGE FRANCIS, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1171	DOMINICK, HENRY BLANCHARD	N. Y. CITY.
665	DOMINICK, LAMONT	N. Y. CITY.
1211	DOS PASSOS, LOUIS HAYS	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

901	DOUGLAS, CHARLES HENRY	COHOES, N. Y.
943	DOUGLAS, DUNCAN	ALBANY, N. Y.
927	DOUGLAS, WILLIAM HARRIS	N. Y. CITY.
275	DOUW, CHARLES GIBBONS	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
27	DOWNES, ANSON TREAT	N. Y. CITY.
1254	DRAKE, WILLIAM WILSON	WARRENTON, VA.
268	DUANE, WILLIAM NORTH	N. Y. CITY.
1014	DU BOIS, JOHN VAN WYCK	N. Y. CITY.
934	DUDLEY, FRANK ALONZO	NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
724	DUFFIELD, REV. HOWARD	N. Y. CITY.
688	DUNNELL, REV. WILLIAM NICHOLS	N. Y. CITY.
1060	DUVAL, CLIVE LIVINGSTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1247	DWIGHT, FREDERICK	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
945	EAGER, JOSEPH PORTER	N. Y. CITY.
693	EAMES, STEWART WOODFORD	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
734	EASTON, IRVING BOYD	ALBANY, N. Y.
955	EDWARDS, CHARLES JEROME	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
131	EDWARDS, PIERREPONT	ELIZABETH, N. J.
285	ELLIOT, DANIEL GIRAUD	CHICAGO, ILL.
312	ELY, SMITH	N. Y. CITY.
915	ELY, WILLIAM CARYL	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1050	EMERSON, GEORGE DOUGLAS	BUFFALO, N. Y.
432	EMERY, BRAINERD PRESCOTT	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
421	EMERY, REV. RUFUS	NEWBURYPORT, MASS.
1300	ENOS, ALANSON TRASK	N. Y. CITY.
1053	FAHYS, GEORGE ERNEST	N. Y. CITY.
1144	FALLS, DE WITT CLINTON	N. Y. CITY.
925	FARNHAM, PAULDING	GREAT NECK, N. Y.
303	FERRIS, MORRIS PATTERSON	N. Y. CITY.
445	FIELD, THOMAS GOLDSMITH	N. Y. CITY.
444	FIELD, HUGH WENTWORTH GREENE	CHICAGO, ILL.
1087	FIELD, WILLIAM BRADHURST OSGOOD	N. Y. CITY.
1219	FISH, GEORGE FARNHAM	N. Y. CITY.
1354	FISH, HENRY MANNING, M.D.	CHICAGO, ILL.
398	FISHER, HARRIS BALDWIN	N. Y. CITY.
399	FISHER, NATHANIEL CAMPBELL	N. Y. CITY.
1021	FISKE, EDWIN WILLIAMS	MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.
358	FITZGERALD, LOUIS	N. Y. CITY.
1387	FLOYD, WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
424	FOLSOM, WILLIAM HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
645	FOOTE, GEORGE BENTON	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
644	FOOTE, GILBERT FLAGLER	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
460	FOOTE, WALLACE TURNER, JR.	PORT HENRY, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

266	FOSTER, HOWELL	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
413	FOULKE, BAYARD FISH	N. Y. CITY.
660	FOULKE, WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
1378	FREEMAN, FRANK WETMORE	N. Y. CITY.
1368	FROTHINGHAM, FRANCIS EATON	EAST HAMPTON, L. I.
1024	FRY, ALFRED BROOKS	N. Y. CITY.
1168	FRYE, JED	N. Y. CITY.
819	FRYER, ROBERT LIVINGSTON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1035	FULLER, LINUS ELISHA	N. Y. CITY.
880	GAMBLE, REV. JOSEPH	PLATTSBURGH, N. Y.
984	GIBSON, CHARLES LANGDON, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1301	GILES, STEPHEN WEART	N. Y. CITY.
406	GILFILLAN, WM. WHITEHEAD, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1384	GILPIN, REV. WILLIAM BERNARD	N. Y. CITY.
762	GOADBY, ARTHUR	N. Y. CITY.
1175	GOODSPEED, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	N. Y. CITY.
818	GOULD, CHARLES ALBERT	PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
757	GOULD, SEABURY SMITH	SENECA FALLS, N. Y.
1191	GOULD, S. SEWARD	N. Y. CITY.
1392	GOULD, CHARLES JUDSON	N. Y. CITY.
926	GRATWICK, FREDERICK COLMAN	BUFFALO, N. Y.
838	GRATWICK, WILLIAM HENRY	BUFFALO, N. Y.
675	GREENE, DOUGLAS NORVAL	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
172	GREENE, RICHARD HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
697	GRIDLEY, HORACE WARREN	N. Y. CITY.
587	GRIFFIN, FRANCIS BUTLER	N. Y. CITY.
269	GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD	AUDUBON PARK, N. Y.
270	GRINNELL, WILLIAM MILNE	N. Y. CITY.
1335	GUNTHER, CLARENCE EUGENE, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
771	HAIGHT, CHARLES SHERMAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
841	HALL, DUDLEY	N. Y. CITY.
1076	HALL, GEORGE PURDY	N. Y. CITY.
1395	HALLOWELL, THOMAS JEWETT	N. Y. CITY.
17	HALSEY, HENRY AUGUSTUS	WESTFIELD, N. J.
588	HALSTED, DAVID CRANE	N. Y. CITY.
589	HALSTED, EDWARD BAYARD	N. Y. CITY.
1359	HALSTED, PENNINGTON	N. Y. CITY.
177	HAMILTON, REV. ALEXANDER	DOVER PLAINS, N. J.
1170	HAMILTON, HENRY NICOLL	YONKERS, N. Y.
1370	HARDING, GEORGE CHAMBERLAIN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1180	HARDING, HAMMOND LEE	N. Y. CITY.
847	HART, HENRY GILBERT	UTICA, N. Y.
360	HARTLEY, GEORGE DERWENT	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

552	HASELL, LEWIS CRUGER	N. Y. CITY.
1126	HASKELL, FRANK WALSH	NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
684	HASTINGS, HUGH	ALBANY, N. Y.
21	HATCH, ARTHUR MELVIN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
790	HATFIELD, WILLIAM HENRY	CHICAGO, ILL.
1185	HAWKS, WILLIAM IRVING	N. Y. CITY.
1237	HAY, CHARLES CORTLANDT	N. Y. CITY.
976	HAYDEN, HENRY WHITING	N. Y. CITY.
1001	HAYDEN, JAMES RAYNOR, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1064	HEGEMAN, JOHN ROGERS, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
263	HEILNER, GEORGE CORSON	N. Y. CITY.
148	HERMAN, JOHN ARMSTRONG	HARRISBURG, PA.
542	HERRICK, CHARLES WILLIAM	JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
845	HICKS, FREDERICK COCKS	PORT WASHINGTON, N. Y.
948	HILL, CHARLES BORLAND	N. Y. CITY.
735	HILL, ROBERT CARMER	ENGLEWOOD, N. J.
572	HILL, WILLIAM SQUIER	N. Y. CITY.
593	HILLHOUSE, CHARLES BETTS	N. Y. CITY.
50	HILLHOUSE, FRANCIS	MT. KISCO, N. Y.
1365	HINCHMAN, FREDERICK BARNARD	N. Y. CITY.
480	HODGES, ALFRED RENSSELAER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1197	HOFFMAN, CHARLES FREDERICK	N. Y. CITY.
1275	HOFFMAN, WILLIAM MITCHELL VAIL	N. Y. CITY.
1377	HOLBROOK, CLARK	N. Y. CITY.
1143	HOLLAND, ALEXANDER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
556	HOLLAND, JOHN BUTTERFIELD	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
904	HOLLAND, JOSEPH	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
858	HOLMES, EDWIN THOMAS	N. Y. CITY.
144	HORNOR, WILLIAM MACPHERSON	BRYN MAWR, PA.
248	HOSMER, EDWARD STURGES	N. Y. CITY.
825	HOTCHKIN, WALTER BRYANT	N. Y. CITY.
1166	HOUGHTON, REV. GEORGE CLARKE	N. Y. CITY.
1221	HOW, JOHN GORDON	N. Y. CITY.
1317	HOWARD-MARTIN, EDMUND	N. Y. CITY.
1043	HOWELL, EDWIN ALBRO	GREENWICH, CONN.
329	HOWELL, WILLIAM	CORNING, N. Y.
1195	HOYT, CHARLES WENTWORTH	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
561	HOYT, WILLIAM EDWIN	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1360	HUBBARD, WALTER COMSTOCK	N. Y. CITY.
694	HUBBELL, CHARLES BULKLEY	N. Y. CITY.
769	HULL, GEORGE HUNTINGTON	N. Y. CITY.
305	HUMPHREYS, REV. FRANK LONDON	MORRISTOWN, N. Y.
744	HUNGERFORD, CHARLES STUART	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1160	HUNT, RIDGELY	N. Y. CITY.
815	HUNTINGTON, CHARLES RICHARDS	N. Y. CITY.
981	HUNTING, TEUNIS DIMON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
851	HURD, HAROLD	ROSWELL, N. M.
1101	HURLBUTT, JOHN HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
524	HUSE, ROBERT SELDEN	HIGHLAND FALLS, N. Y.
882	HUTCHINSON, CARY TALCOTT	N. Y. CITY.
1173	HUTTON, A. LEFFERTS	N. Y. CITY.
447	HYDE, EDWIN FRANCIS	N. Y. CITY.
411	HYDE, FREDERICK ERASTUS, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
800	HYDE, JAMES CLARENCE	N. Y. CITY.
656	HYDE, RAYMOND NEWTON	DOUGLSTON, N. Y.
354	INNIS, HASBROUCK	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
866	IRWIN, JOHN VOSBURGH	N. Y. CITY.
799	IVES, RALPH OLMSTED	N. Y. CITY.
1108	IRVING, CORTLANDT	N. Y. CITY.
801	JACKSON, JAMES H., M.D.	DANVILLE, N. Y.
161	JACKSON, OSWALD	N. Y. CITY.
1004	JACKSON, PEARSALL BRADHURST	N. Y. CITY.
759	JANVRIN, JOSEPH EDWARD, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
531	JENKINS, EDMUND FELLOWS	N. Y. CITY.
907	JENKS, ALMET FRANCIS	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
395	JENNINGS, ALBERT GOULD	N. Y. CITY.
380	JOHNSON, JEREMIAH AUGUSTUS	N.Y. CITY.
692	JOHNSON, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS	YONKERS, N. Y.
453	JOHNSON, RT. REV. JOSEPH HORSFALL	LOS ANGELES, CAL.
404	JOHNSON, STEPHEN ALBERT	BOONVILLE, N. Y.
630	JOHNSTONE, FRANCIS UPTON	N. Y. CITY.
881	JOHNSTONE, JOHN	TOMPKINSVILLE, S. I.
1314	JONES, ARTHUR SIDNEY HERBERT	N. Y. CITY.
1138	JONES, CHARLES HERBERT	N. Y. CITY.
1042	JONES, CHARLES LANDON	N. Y. CITY.
1315	JONES, OLIVER LIVINGSTON, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
826	JUDD, ORRIN REYNOLDS	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
647	JUDSON, WILLIAM PIERSON	BROADALBIN, N. Y.
737	KEECH, FRANK BROWNE	N. Y. CITY.
849	KEEGAN, DERMOT WARBURTON	N. Y. CITY.
1393	KELLOGG, EDWIN WELLES, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
959	KELLOGG, FREDERIC ROGERS	N. Y. CITY.
410	KELLY, JAMES HENRY	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1030	KEMBLE, FRANCIS TILLOU	N. Y. CITY.
1280	KENLY, WILLIAM WATKINS	N. Y. CITY.
796	KENNEDY, ELIJAH ROBINSON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1170	KENYON, REV. RALPH WOOD, D.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
885	KIMBALL, HAROLD CHANDLER	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
547	KINGMAN, WILLIAM LIVERMORE	YONKERS, N. Y.
1055	KIRKLAND, HOWARD MCKESSON	N. Y. CITY.
823	KISSAM, HENRY SNYDER	N. Y. CITY.
1273	KITCHELL, WILLIAM LLOYD	N. Y. CITY.
1321	KITTLE, CHARLES ALBERT	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
658	KOOP, EUGENE	N. Y. CITY.
495	KOOP, GODFREY PHELPS	N. Y. CITY.
367	KOUES, GEORGE ELLSWORTH	ELIZABETH, N. J.
1363	KUHN, JOHN JOSEPH	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
803	KUNKEL, ROBERT SHARP	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
668	LADD, WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
999	LAHENS, LOUIS EMILE	N. Y. CITY.
949	LANCASTER, EDWIN ROBINSON	N. Y. CITY.
1282	LANCASTER, EDWIN W.,	N. Y. CITY.
1080	LANDON, FRANCIS GRISWOLD	STAATSBURGH, N. Y.
993	LANDON, HENRY HUTTON	N. Y. CITY.
865	LANE, FRANCIS TITUS LUQUER	N. Y. CITY.
741	LANE, SMITH EDWARD	N. Y. CITY.
1311	LANE, WOLCOTT GRISWOLD	N. Y. CITY.
775	LANGDON, ANDREW	BUFFALO, N. Y.
875	LANGDON, WILLIAM CHAUNCEY	HANNEFORD, N. D.
618	LATHROP, KIRKE	DETROIT, MICH.
84	LAWRENCE, ABRAHAM RIKER	N. Y. CITY.
840	LAWRENCE, ROBERT CUTTING	N. Y. CITY.
736	LAWTON, GEORGE PERKINS	SARATOGA, N. Y.
1322	LEAYCRAFT, JOHN EDGAR	N. Y. CITY.
1285	LEEDS, WARNER MIFFLIN	N. Y. CITY.
1298	LEEDS, WILLIAM BATEMAN	N. Y. CITY.
1130	LEFFERTS, FREDERIC RAYMOND	N. Y. CITY.
1584	LEFFERTS, FREDERIC RAYMOND, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1140	LEFFERTS, WILLIAM HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
973	LELAND, CHARLES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
751	LEONARD, DANIEL	ALBANY, N. Y.
427	LEONARD, EDGAR COTRELL	ALBANY, N. Y.
619	LEONARD, GARDNER COTRELL	ALBANY, N. Y.
674	LE ROY, FREDERICK GEBHARD	TARRYTOWN, N. Y.
972	LEWIS, JOHN LOCKE	CORNING, N. Y.
1362	LIBBEY, OCTAVUS BAILEY	N. Y. CITY.
1288	LINDSAY, JOHN DOUGLAS	N. Y. CITY.
1308	LINES, HARVEY KLAPP	FLUSHING, N. Y.
1240	LINES, THEODORE TRUESDALE	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1126	LITCHFIELD, ELECTUS DARWIN	N. Y. CITY.
1103	LITTLE, FREDERICK SCRYMSER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
44	LIVINGSTON, EDWARD DE PEYSTER	N. Y. CITY.
600	LIVINGSTON, GILBERT ROBERT	NUTLEY, N. J.
1103	LIVINGSTON, JOHN HENRY	TIVOLI, N. Y.
440	LORD, FRANK HOWARD	N. Y. CITY.
859	LORTON, HETH	N. Y. CITY.
728	LOVELL, FRANK HALLET	N. Y. CITY.
729	LOVELL, FRANK HALLET, JR.	MADISON, N. J.
807	LOW, WILLIAM GILMAN, JR.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
253	LUQUER, LEA MCLVAINE	N. Y. CITY.
449	LUQUER, THATCHER TAYLOR PAYNE	N. Y. CITY.
1369	LYMAN, WALTER H.	Mt. KISCO, N. Y.
1208	MACPHERSON, ROBERT BARCLAY	N. Y. CITY.
530	MACY, SYLVANUS JENKINS, JR.	RIMERSBURG, PA.
361	MANN, ELIAS PLUM	TROY, N. Y.
362	MANN, FRANCIS N., JR.	TROY, N. Y.
717	MANN, MATTHEW DERBYSHIRE, M. D.	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1263	MANTON, LEON WOOD	N. Y. CITY.
1324	MARSHALL, DAVID PARISH BARHYLT	N. Y. CITY.
1041	MAXWELL, ROBERT ALEXANDER	N. Y. CITY.
419	MAYO, EDWARD CARRINGTON	RICHMOND, VA.
1235	MCALPIN, BENJAMIN BRANDRETH	N. Y. CITY.
1234	MCALPIN, EDWIN AUGUSTUS	N. Y. CITY.
648	MCCLURE, ARCHIBALD JERMAIN	ALBANY, N. Y.
1318	MCCULLOCH, WALTER BUCHANAN	RENSSELAER, N. Y.
1258	MCGUIRE, JAMES CLARK	N. Y. CITY.
1056	MCKESSON, IRVING	N. Y. CITY.
1226	McNAIR, EBEN ORLANDO	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1016	McNAMEE, CHARLES	SEATTLE, WASH.
1203	McNAMEE, THEODORE H.	N. Y. CITY.
1244	McVICKAR, JOHN AUGUSTUS	DOBBS FERRY, N. Y.
1276	MEIGS, PEVERIL, JR.	FLUSHING, N. Y.
1269	MELCHER, JOHN STEVENS	N. Y. CITY.
273	MELVILLE, HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
1373	MERRIAM, HENRY PARKER	N. Y. CITY.
470	MERRITT, DOUGLAS	RHINEBECK, N. Y.
702	METCALF, BRYCE	N. Y. CITY.
1380	MEYER, BLAKEMAN QUINTARD	N. Y. CITY.
689	MILES, ALFRED GRAHAM	N. Y. CITY.
46	MILLER, CHARLES BENJAMIN	LONDON, ENG.
1338	MILLER, FRANK NELSON	N. Y. CITY.
1164	MINER, KARL ROSWELL	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

243	MINOR, JOHN CRANNELL, M.D.	SARATOGA, N. Y.
1257	MOFFAT, R. BURNHAM	N. Y. CITY.
1003	MOLLER, CHARLES GEORGE, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
590	MONTGOMERY, HARDMAN PHILIPS ALAN	N. Y. CITY.
637	MONTGOMERY, HENRY EGLINTON	N. Y. CITY.
1097	MONTGOMERY, HENRY EGLINTON, 2d	N. Y. CITY.
877	MONTGOMERY, JAMES EGLINTON	PASADENA, CAL.
1246	MOORE, HOWARD PARKER	ALBANY, N. Y.
1364	MOORE, THOMAS CHANNING	N. Y. CITY.
1092	MORAN, CHARLES	N. Y. CITY.
874	MORGAN, GEORGE DAYTON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
113	MORGAN, JAMES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
625	MORGAN, JAMES LANCASTER	N. Y. CITY.
857	MORGAN, JOHN HILL	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1104	MORGAN, LESLIE ALLEN	N. Y. CITY.
906	MORGAN, LOUIS SEGUR	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
279	MORGAN, ROBERT WEBB	N. Y. CITY.
698	MORRISON, CHARLES KING	N. Y. CITY.
471	MORRISON, GEORGE AUSTIN, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
332	MORSE, WALDO GRANT	YONKERS, N. Y.
683	MORTON, LEVI PARSONS	RHINECLIFF, N. Y.
816	MOTT, JOHN THOMAS	OSWEGO, N. Y.
872	MOTT, LUTHER WRIGHT	OSWEGO, N. Y.
1230	MOWATT, CHARLES GRAYSON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1261	MUREN, GEORGE MORGAN, M.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1158	MURPHEY, CHAUNCEY HURLBURT	WOODMERE, N. Y.
603	MURPHEY, ELIJAH WARRINER	ALBANY, N. Y.
1385	MURRAY, WILLIAM	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
848	MYER, ALBERT JAMES	LAKE VIEW, N. Y.
1229	NAPIER, CHARLES DWIGHT, M.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
557	NEWBERRY, TRUMAN HANDY	DETROIT, MICH.
574	NEWMAN, CLARENCE EGBERTS	ALBANY, N. Y.
1094	NICHOLS, ACOSTA	N. Y. CITY.
1095	NICHOLS, GEORGE LIVINGSTON	N. Y. CITY.
1286	NICOLL, FANCHER	N. Y. CITY.
1184	NICOLL, HENRY DENTON, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1218	NORTHROP, FRANK	N. Y. CITY.
381	NORTON, EDWARD LOUDON	N. Y. CITY.
682	NORTON, PORTER	BUFFALO, N. Y.
523	NORTON, THOMAS HERBERT	HARPOUT, TURKEY.
1183	ODDIE, ORVILLE, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
338	OGDEN, LUDLOW	N. Y. CITY.
355	OLIN, STEPHEN HENRY	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

22	OLNEY, GEORGE WASHINGTON	N. Y. CITY.
591	ORMSBEE, HERMANN W.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1310	OSBORN, WILLIAM UPDIKE	N. Y. CITY.
951	OWEN, REV. WILLIAM HENRY, JR.	MT. VERNON, N. Y.
1008	PAINE, CYRUS FAY	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1062	PALMER, ERNEST, M.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1256	PALMER, LUCIUS NOYES	N. Y. CITY.
817	PALMER, WALTER WARNER, M.D.	ERIE, PA.
1316	PARISH, EDWARD CODMAN	N. Y. CITY.
950	PARKER, FREDERICK SHELDON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
846	PARSONS, HOSMER BUCKINGHAM	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
655	PARSONS, WILLIAM DECATUR	N. Y. CITY.
785	PARTRIDGE, EDWARD LASELL, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
969	PARTRIDGE, FRANK HARVEY	N. Y. CITY.
566	PATTESON, THOMAS ADKINS, JR.	TANOPAH, COL.
1044	PAULSON, LEONARD, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
313	PECK, JOHN HUDSON	TROY, N. Y.
792	PEET, FREDERICK TOMLINSON	AUBURN, N. Y.
407	PELL, FREDERICK AYCRIFF	LAKESWOOD, N. J.
342	PELL, HARRISON ARCHIBALD	SPRINGFIELD CENTER, N. Y.
1199	PELL, STEPHEN HYATT PELHAM	N. Y. CITY.
1220	PELL, THEODORE ROOSEVELT	N. Y. CITY.
568	PERKINS, REV. JOSHUA NEWTON	N. Y. CITY.
883	PERKINS, SEYMOUR	N. Y. CITY.
1371	PERRY, ALEXANDER	NEW BRIGHTON, S. I.
1397	PERRY, JOHN PRINCE HAZEN	N. Y. CITY.
793	PHELPS, LUIS JAMES	N. Y. CITY.
1312	PHELPS, SAMUEL F.	N. Y. CITY.
633	PIERCE, CHARLES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
482	PIERCE, GEORGE WILLIAMS	ALBANY, N. Y.
1327	PILLOT, PETER STUYVESANT	N. Y. CITY.
1352	PINKNEY, TOWNSEND	N. Y. CITY.
1353	PINKNEY, CORNELIUS SIDELL	N. Y. CITY.
1009	PLATT, THOMAS COLLIER	N. Y. CITY.
873	PLUM, FREDERICK AUGUSTUS	TROY, N. Y.
979	PLUMB, JAMES IVES	GREAT RIVER, N. Y.
666	PLYMPTON, GILBERT MOTIER	N. Y. CITY.
461	POMEROY, GEORGE ELTWEED	TOLEDO, OHIO.
1128	POMEROY, ROBERT WATSON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
850	POOL, EUGENE HILLHOUSE, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
1123	PORTER, PETER AUGUSTUS	NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
1124	PORTER, PETER AUGUSTUS, JR.	NO. TANOWANDA, N. Y.
1157	POSTLEY, STERLING	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1238	POTTS, CHARLES EDWIN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
562	POUCHER, JOHN WILSON, M.D.	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
478	PRALL, REV. WILLIAM	ALBANY, N. Y.
1326	PRATT, ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE	N. Y. CITY.
1132	PRATT, DALLAS BACHE	N. Y. CITY.
1074	PRESSEY, JOSEPH WESLEY	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
567	PRICE, ALFRED BRYANT	N. Y. CITY.
377	PRIME, RALPH EARL	YONKERS, N. Y.
1299	PRIMROSE, JOHN SELBY	N. Y. CITY.
1302	PRINCE, L. BRADFORD	SANTA FE, NEW MEX.
908	PROVOOST, JOHN MOFFAT	BUFFALO, N. Y.
966	RATHBONE, RICHARD FANNING LOPER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
592	RAWLINGS, CARROLL CRARY	WEST HOBOKEN, N. J.
791	RAY, FRANKLIN TROWBRIDGE	N. Y. CITY.
304	READ, HARMON PUMPELLY	ALBANY, N. Y.
116	REED, JAMES MONROE	PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1002	REED, LATHAM GALLUP	N. Y. CITY.
408	REMSEN, PHOENIX	BABYLON, N. Y.
1245	REQUA, ROBERT RUSSELL	PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
1075	REYNOLDS, GEORGE NELSON	LANCASTER, PA.
954	REYNOLDS, JOHN JAY	N. Y. CITY.
1239	RICE, CALVIN WINSOR	N. Y. CITY.
1212	RICE, EDWARD RUSSELL	BUFFALO, N. Y.
995	RICH, WILLIAM TABER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
953	RICHARDS, EDWARD OSGOOD	N. Y. CITY.
350	RICHARDS, FREDERICK BARNARD	GLENS FALLS, N. Y.
494	RIKER, HENRY INGERSOLL	N. Y. CITY.
905	ROBBINS, ROWLAND AMES	N. Y. CITY.
909	ROBERTS, JOSEPH BANKS	N. Y. CITY.
1291	ROBERTS, RICHARD HUBBARD	N. Y. CITY.
1031	ROBINSON, BEVERLY RANDOLPH	N. Y. CITY.
854	ROBINSON, EUGENE NUGENT	N. Y. CITY.
730	ROBINSON, FREDERICK MINOR	N. Y. CITY.
1129	RODDY, HUGH VINCENT, JR.	MERRICK, N. Y.
1177	ROE, FRANK OTHEMAN	N. Y. CITY.
558	ROGERS, ARCHIBALD	HYDE PARK, N. Y.
678	ROGERS, CHARLES BUTLER	UTICA, N. Y.
890	ROGERS, HUBERT EDWARD	N. Y. CITY.
510	ROGERS, WILLIAM EVANS	N. Y. CITY.
609	ROLLINS, EDWARD ADOLPHUS	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1200	ROOT, WILLIAM STANTON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1348	ROWLAND, HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
634	ROWLAND, THOMAS FITCH, JR.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

795	SALTER, JASPER COLTON	N. Y. CITY.
863	SALTER, WILLIAM TIBBITS	N. Y. CITY.
277	SALTONSTALL, ANDREW HUTCHINS MICKLE- BERKELEY SPRINGS, W. VA.	
1283	SANBORN, JOHN E.	NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.
1306	SANDS, BENJAMIN JEROME, M.D.	PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
198	SANDS, BENJAMIN AYMAR	N. Y. CITY.
1189	SANFORD, HENRY GANSEVOORT	N. Y. CITY.
553	SATTERLEE, HERBERT LIVINGSTON	N. Y. CITY.
1303	SAXE, EDWARD THOMAS	N. Y. CITY.
1334	SCHALL, JOHN HUBLEY, M.D.	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1134	SCHENCK, CHARLES LOTT	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1111	SCHENCK, WILLARD PARKER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
162	SCHERMERHORN, CHARLES AUGUSTUS	N. Y. CITY.
1127	SCHERMERHORN, ARTHUR FREDERIC	N. Y. CITY.
438	SCHERMERHORN, EDWARD GILBERT	N. Y. CITY.
437	SCHROEDER, JAMES LANGDON	N. Y. CITY.
1376	SCHUYLER, PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER	N. Y. CITY.
1006	SCOFIELD, GEORGE STARR	ROSEBANK, N. Y.
755	SCOTT, JOHN FREDERICK	WESTCHESTER, N. Y.
752	SCOTT, WILLIAM SHERMAN	N. Y. CITY.
344	SCUDDER, REV. HENRY TOWNSEND	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1214	SCUDDER, MARVYN	N. Y. CITY.
1305	SCUDDER, TOWNSEND	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
749	SEABURY, FREDERICK CHANDLER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
82	SEAMAN, LOUIS LIVINGSTON, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
961	SEAVERNS, FRANCIS	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1131	SEDGWICK, ROBERT	N. Y. CITY.
1289	SHAILER, WILLIAM GRIGGS	N. Y. CITY.
1088	SHELDON, CHARLES LAWRENCE	LAKESWOOD, N. J.
1331	SHELDON, THEODORE BUTLER	BUFFALO, N. Y.
896	SHELTON, WILLIAM ATWOOD	N. Y. CITY.
1249	SHEPARD, AUGUSTUS D., JR.	N. Y. CITY.
896	SHEPARD, RALPH KISSAM	NEW CANAAN, CONN.
333	SHEPARD, ROBERT FITCH	N. Y. CITY.
1082	SHERRILL, CHARLES HITCHCOCK	N. Y. CITY.
570	SHUART, WILLIAM HERBERT	SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
326	SILL, REV. FREDERICK SCHROEDER	COHOES, N. Y.
349	SILL, JOHN TARGEE	N. Y. CITY.
1356	SIMPSON, FRANK BRADFORD	WESTFIELD, N. J.
330	SKIDMORE, WILLIAM LEMUEL	N. Y. CITY.
1147	SLOANE, WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
462	SLOCUM, JOSEPH JERMAIN	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1179	SMITH, BAYARD MARSTON	MORRISTOWN, N. J.
869	SMITH, CHARLES STEWART	N. Y. CITY.
862	SMITH, GEORGE WILLIAM	KEESEVILLE, N. Y.
903	SMITH, HENRY ERSKINE	N. Y. CITY.
291	SMITH, LEWIS BAYARD	MORRISTOWN, N. J.
1190	SMITH, L. BERTRAND	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
391	SMITH, PHILIP HENRY WADDELL	PITTSBURG, PA.
620	SMITH, PHILIP SHERWOOD	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1152	SMITH, THOMAS GUILFORD	BUFFALO, N. Y.
968	SPIES, HENRY HULL	MONTCLAIR, N. J.
412	SPRAGUE, JOHN TITCOMB, M.D.	FORT WADSWORTH, N. Y.
699	STAFFORD, WILLIAM FREDERICK	N. Y. CITY.
309	STANDISH, MYLES	N. Y. CITY.
798	STANLEY, SAMUEL GOODMAN	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1242	STANTON, FRANK McMILLAN	HOUGHTON, Co., MICH.
1381	STEARNS, JOHN NOBLE, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1313	STEPHENS, THOMAS CONKLIN	N. Y. CITY.
622	STEVENS, CLARENCE WINTHROP	ALBANY, N. Y.
623	STEVENS, FREDERICK BLISS	ALBANY, N. Y.
703	STEVENS, JOHN BRIGHT	N. Y. CITY.
646	STEWART, HENRY PIERCE	WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
891	STEWART, WILLIAM DINGNALL	N. Y. CITY.
1358	STICKNEY, HERBERT WHITING	ALBANY, N. Y.
1187	STIMSON, DANIEL McMARTIN, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
720	STODDARD, ENOCH VINE, M.D.	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1045	STODDARD, FRANCIS RUSSELL	N. Y. CITY.
1396	STODDARD, FRANCIS RUSSELL, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1122	STORER, EBENEZER	N. Y. CITY.
190	STORY, HENRY GRAFTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
191	STORY, JOSEPH GRAFTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
201	STRINGER, GEORGE ALFRED	BUFFALO, N. Y.
564	STRONG, THERON GEORGE	N. Y. CITY.
621	STRYKER, THOMAS HUBBARD	ROME, N. Y.
895	SWAN, EDWARD HENRY, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
1162	SWAN, ROBERT OTIS	N. Y. CITY.
1026	SWORDS, EDWARD JENNER	N. Y. CITY.
743	SYMONDS, CHARLES STANLEY	UTICA, N. Y.
1271	TALCOTT, EDWARD COLEMAN	N. Y. CITY.
443	TALMAGE, ROBERT SWARTWOUT	N. Y. CITY.
804	TAYLOR, JOHN MYERS	ALBANY, N. Y.
429	TAYLOR, WASHINGTON IRVING	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1265	TEFFT, ERASTUS THEODORE	N. Y. CITY.
1019	TENNEY, CHARLES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

1012	TENNEY, DANIEL GLEASON	N. Y. CITY.
336	TERRY, GEORGE DAVIS	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1036	TERRY, JOHN TAYLOR	IRVINGTON, N. Y.
1052	THAYER, FRANK ANDROS	N. Y. CITY.
941	THOMAS, HOWARD VAN SYCKEL	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1200	THOMAS, ROBERT MCKEAN	N. Y. CITY.
318	THOMPSON, WILLIAM PRALL	N. Y. CITY.
867	THOMSON, GEORGE MORTIMER	N. Y. CITY.
868	THOMSON, GIRAUD FOSTER	N. Y. CITY.
520	THORNE, JOEL WOLFE	N. Y. CITY.
802	THORNE, ROBERT	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
195	THROCKMORTON, CHARLES WICKLIFFE	N. Y. CITY.
970	THURSTON, NATHANIEL BLUNT	N. Y. CITY.
626	TILDEN, JOHN PACKWOOD	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
492	TOMLINSON, JOHN CANFIELD	N. Y. CITY.
379	TOMPKINS, HAMILTON BULLOCK	N. Y. CITY.
1357	TOTTEN, JOHN REYNOLDS	N. Y. CITY.
753	TREADWELL, GEORGE CURTIS	ALBANY, N. Y.
914	TREAT, ERASTUS BUCK	N. Y. CITY.
281	TROTT, JAMES PARKHURST	NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
366	TROWBRIDGE, SAMUEL BRECK PARKMAN	N. Y. CITY.
929	TRUAX, CHARLES HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
376	TUCKER, GILMAN HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
836	TURNER, THEODORE CAMPBELL	COOPERSTOWN, N. Y.
455	TUTTLE, FRANK DAY	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
669	UNDERHILL, FRANCIS T.	SANTA BARBARA, CAL.
465	UNDERHILL, FREDERIC EDGAR	N. Y. CITY.
1210	UPHAM, CHARLES CLIFTON	N. Y. CITY.
487	VAIL, HENRY HOBART	N. Y. CITY.
382	VALENTINE, SAMUEL HEMPSTEAD	N. Y. CITY.
777	VAN AMRINGE, GUY	N. Y. CITY.
1251	VAN BUREN, LAURENS HARDY	N. Y. CITY.
610	VAN RENSSELAER, AUGUSTUS CORTLANDT	STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.
74	VAN RENSSELAER, CORTLANDT SCHUYLER	N. Y. CITY.
612	VARNUM, ROBERT TAYLOR	N. Y. CITY.
1005	VERMILYE, FREDERIC MONTGOMERY	N. Y. CITY.
707	VIELE, SHELDON THOMPSON	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1033	WADE, ALFRED BYERS	N. Y. CITY.
1070	WADE, HERBERT TREADWELL	N. Y. CITY.
491	WAGSTAFF, CORNELIUS DU BOIS	BABYLON, N. Y.
88	WAINWRIGHT, WILLIAM PRATT	N. Y. CITY.
794	WALCOTT, ARTHUR STUART	N. Y. CITY.
879	WALCOTT, FREDERIC COLLIN	NEW YORK MILLS, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

316	WALKER, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS	RICHMOND, VA.
1114	WALKER, ISAAC HENRY	BAYVILLE, L. I.
1083	WALKER, WILLIAM MACY	BAYVILLE, L. I.
843	WALSH, JAMES WILLIAM	N. Y. CITY.
919	WARREN, CHARLES ELLIOT	N. Y. CITY.
709	WARREN, WILLIAM YOUNG	BUFFALO, N. Y.
388	WASHBURN, JOHN HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
386	WASHBURN, WILLIAM IVES	N. Y. CITY.
1394	WASHINGTON, WILLIAM LANIER	N. Y. CITY.
957	WATKINS, DE LANCEY WALTON	SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
156	WATMOUGH, JAMES HORATIO	WASHINGTON, D. C.
649	WATSON, CHARLES PIXLEY	PLATTSBURGH, N. Y.
1148	WATSON, PRESTON	N. Y. CITY.
374	WATSON, WILLIAM HENRY, M.D.	UTICA, N. Y.
1174	WEBB, WILLIAM CLARKE	CORONADO BEACH, CAL.
1058	WEBB, WILLIAM EDWARD	N. Y. CITY.
680	WEED, GEORGE STANDISH	PLATTSBURGH, N. Y.
958	WEIR, LEVI CANDEE	N. Y. CITY.
1253	WEISSE, FANEUIL SUYDAM, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
690	WELD, DEWITT CLINTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
505	WELD, DEWITT CLINTON, JR.	N. Y. CITY.
130	WELLES, BENJAMIN	N. Y. CITY.
519	WELLES, CHARLES EDWIN	N. Y. CITY.
842	WELLES, LEMUEL AIKEN	N. Y. CITY.
1113	WELLING, RICHARD WARD GREENE	N. Y. CITY.
375	WELLS, CHARLES NASSAU	PEEKSKILL, N. Y.
1182	WESTCOTE, WILLIAM JOSEPH	N. Y. CITY.
373	WHEELER, EDWARD JONATHAN	ALBANY, N. Y.
506	WHEELER, EVERETT PEPPERRELL	N. Y. CITY.
1034	WHITE, EDWARD LUPTON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1205	WHITIN, ERNEST STAGG	N. Y. CITY.
1121	WHITIN, FREDERICK HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
921	WHITNEY, CHARLES WADSWORTH	N. Y. CITY.
297	WHITNEY, DRAKE	NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
545	WHITNEY, WARHAM	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1290	WHITON, JAMES B.	N. Y. CITY.
265	WILCOX, REYNOLD WEBB, M.D.	N. Y. CITY.
988	WILLARD, JAMES LE BARON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
956	WILLIAMS, CHARLES HOWARD	BUFFALO, N. Y.
476	WILLIAMS, GEORGE BURBANK	ROCHESTER, N. Y.
1270	WILLIAMS, GORDON	N. Y. CITY.
602	WILLIAMS, NORMAN ALTON	UTICA, N. Y.
475	WILLIAMS, SAMUEL BURBANK	ROCHESTER, N. Y.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

576	WILSON, CHARLES ROBERT	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1296	WING, JOHN DANIEL	N. Y. CITY.
1284	WING, JOHN MORGAN	N. Y. CITY.
1297	WING, LOUIS STUART	N. Y. CITY.
1295	WINANT, FREDERICK	N. Y. CITY.
327	WODELL, SILAS	POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
837	WOOD, ALFRED TRENCHARD, M.D.	NEW BRIGHTON, N. Y.
1096	WOOD, ARNOLD	N. Y. CITY.
978	WOOD, JOHN HENRY	N. Y. CITY.
507	WOODRUFF, CHARLES HORNBLOWER	N. Y. CITY.
1186	WOODRUFF, EDWARD LOWREY	MILWAUKEE, WIS.
1304	WOODRUFF, FREDERICK SANFORD	N. Y. CITY.
1252	WOODRUFF, HENRY GILBERT	N. Y. CITY.
296	WOODWORTH, NEWELL BERTRAM	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
1193	WRIGHT, JOSHUA BUTLER	N. Y. CITY.
1278	WYETH, GEORGE EDWARD	RIVERDALE, N. Y.
1366	WYCKOFF, CHARLES RAPELYEA, JR	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1367	WYCKOFF, CLARENCE JOHNSON	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
829	WYCKOFF, PETER	BROOKLYN, N. Y.
1098	YATES, BLINN	BUFFALO, N. Y.
1386	YEOMANS, GEORGE DALLAS	LAWRENCE, L. I.

ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS.

450	ARNOLD, CONWAY HILLYER, JR., Capt. U.S.A., Ret.	DENVER, COLO.
963	BARTHOLF, JOHN HENRY, Major U.S.A., Ret.,	PLATTSBURG, N. Y.
369	BECKURTS, CHARLES LEWIS, Captain	U. S. ARMY.
1013	BELLOWS, REV. JOHNSON McCLURE, Chaplain	U. S. NAVY.
773	BINGHAM, THEODORE ALFRED, Gen. U.S.A., Ret.	N. Y. CITY.
122	BLUNT, STANHOPE ENGLISH, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
456	BROWN, GEORGE LE ROY, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
1023	CONGER, ARTHUR LATHAM, Captain	U. S. ARMY.
1110	CORBUSIER, WILLIAM HENRY, Lieut. Col.	U. S. ARMY.
230	DUDLEY, EDGAR SWARTWOUT, Colonel*	U. S. ARMY.
436	FOOTE, MORRIS COOPER, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
340	GRANT, FREDERICK DENT, Major-Gen.	U. S. ARMY.
121	HOFF, JOHN VAN RENSSELAER, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
899	HORTON, WILLIAM EDWARD, Captain	U. S. ARMY.
359	HUBBELL, HENRY WILSON, Brig.-Gen., Ret.	U. S. ARMY.
441	IVES, FRANCIS JOSEPH, Major	U. S. ARMY.
1279	LUNG, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, Surgeon	U. S. NAVY.
1194	McCLINTOCK, JOHN, Captain	U. S. ARMY.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

543	MCCULLOCH, CHAMPE CARTER, JR., Maj. Med. Corps,	U. S. ARMY.
573	MCKINSTRY, CHARLES HEDGES, Major	U. S. ARMY.
114	MORRIS, LEWIS, Surgeon*	U. S. ARMY.
490	NICHOLS, MAURY, Major	U. S. ARMY.
334	PATTERSON, JOHN HENRY, Brig.-Gen. U.S.A., Ret.	COOPERSTOWN, N. Y.
415	RIPLEY, CHARLES STEDMAN, Lieut. U.S.N., Ret.	APEX, COL.
711	ROBERTS, CYRUS SWAN, Brig.-Gen. U.S.A., Ret.,	DETROIT, MICH.
433	RUSSELL, AVERLEY CLAUDE HOLMES, Med. Inspector,	U. S. NAVY.
417	SEARS, CLINTON BROOKS, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
59	SEARS, WALTER JESSE, Commander*	U. S. NAVY.
536	SLOCUM, HERBERT JERMAIN, Major	U. S. ARMY.
483	STRONG, DONALD WATKINS, Lieut.	U. S. ARMY.
928	SWIFT, EUGENE L'HOMMEDIEU, Major U.S.A., Ret.	LOS ANGELES, CAL.
965	WALDO, RHINELANDER, Captain U.S.A., Res.	N. Y. CITY.
294	WARD, AARON, Commander	U. S. NAVY.
368	WEBSTER, FRANK DANIEL, Captain	U. S. ARMY.
353	WHISTLER, GARLAND NELSON, Colonel	U. S. ARMY.
120	WOOD, MARSHALL WILLIAM, Lieut.-Col. U.S.A., Ret.	BOISE, IDAHO.
1277	WOOD, SPENCER SHEPARD, Lieut.-Com.	U. S. NAVY.
397	WOOD, THOMAS NEWTON, Colonel	U. S. M. C.
Perpetual Members		1
Life		162
Regular		793
Army and Navy Members.....		38
Total		994

*Life Member.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

- 125 CHARLES ELLIOT LORD, died Nov. 26, 1893.
 2 NATHAN GILLETTE POND, died July 29, 1894.
 55 FRANCIS C. HARRIMAN, died Aug. 3, 1894.
 67 THOMAS LUDLOW OGDEN, died Oct. 2, 1894.
 52 AUGUSTUS WHITE MERWIN, died Dec. 13, 1894.
 82 STANCLIFF BAZEN DOWNES, died April 21, 1895.
 292 JOHN GILBERT MARSHALL, died July 19, 1895.
 511 EBENEZER KELLOGG WRIGHT, died Aug. 4, 1895.
 154 JOHN SCHUYLER, died Aug. 19, 1895.
 343 WILLIAM GAYER DOMINICK, died Aug. 31, 1895.
 331 GENERAL ELY S. PARKER, died Aug. 31, 1895.
 81 JAMES FRANCIS RUGGLES, died Sept. 22, 1895.
 140 JAMES MIFFLIN, died Nov. 24, 1895.
 16 RICHARD HENRY WALKER, died Dec. 28, 1895.
 481 REV. FRANCIS BROWN WHEELER, died Dec. 28, 1895.
 394 WASHINGTON IRVING ADAMS, died Jan. 2, 1896.
 301 WILLIAM AUGUSTINE POST, died Jan. 21, 1896.
 136 JAMES BETTS METCALF, died Feb. 1, 1896.
 193 WILLIAM HENRY MORRIS, died Feb. 11, 1896.
 158 ROBERT LENOX BELKNAP, died March 13, 1896.
 509 SAMUEL BORROWE, died May 3, 1896.
 345 CHARLES WELLS MARSH, died June 19, 1896.
 493 RICHARD RIKER, died Aug. 2, 1896.
 629 FREDERICK CURTIS JOHNSON, died Dec. 24, 1896.
 727 JEROME B. DEYO, died Dec. 30, 1896.
 521 JOHN STILES STOKES, died July 13, 1897.
 202 CHARLES WYLLYS CASS, died Aug. 11, 1897.
 401 LIEUT. ALFRED BAURY JACKSON, U. S. A., died Nov. 19, 1897.
 681 CHARLES WHITING PLYER, died Dec. 2, 1897.
 12 NATHAN ADOLPHUS BALDWIN, died May 20, 1898.
 662 SAMUEL BEACH LADD, died May 30, 1898.
 271 CAPT. ALEXANDER WETHERILL, U. S. A., killed in action, Cuba,
 July 2, 1898.
 245 CEPHAS BRAINERD, JR., died July, 1898.
 231 CHARLES SAMUEL WARD, M.D., died July 31, 1898.
 258 WILLIAM CRUGER PELL, died Nov. 4, 1893.
 830 WILLIAM WILBERFORCE BYINGTON, died Nov. 16, 1898.
 586 EDWARD NELSON GREENE, died Nov. 21, 1898.
 267 GOUVERNEUR MATHER SMITH, died Dec. 8, 1898.
 18 HARLAN PAGE HALSEY, died Dec. 16, 1898.
 450 THOMAS EGLESTON, died Jan. 15, 1899.

DECEASED MEMBERS

- 112 LIEUT. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE, U. S. N., killed in action,
Samoa, April 1, 1899.
- 782 ARNOLD ANGELL LEWIS, died April 7, 1899.
- 594 REV. SAMUEL MITCHELL AKERLY, died April 9, 1899.
- 100 CYRUS KINGSBURY REMINGTON, died June 5, 1899.
- 878 ROBERT STANTON WILLIAMS, died Aug. 6, 1899.
- 464 EDWARD RAY THOMPSON, died Aug. 14, 1899.
- 714 GILBERT HOWELL, died Sept. 12, 1899.
- 894 ADELBERT GILLETTE RICHMOND, died Nov. 13, 1899.
- 289 FREDERICK GEORGE SWAN, died Nov. 30, 1899.
- 105 REV. MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER, died Feb. 17, 1900.
- 89 JOHN TILLOTSON WAINWRIGHT, died Feb. 22, 1900.
- 855 GEORGE HUNTINGTON ADAMS, died April 8, 1900.
- 528 JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN, died May 1, 1900.
- 575 HAROLD BROWN, died May 11, 1900.
- 772 HENRY SHEAF HOYT, died May 23, 1900.
- 124 FREDERIC REUBEN HOWES, died May 24, 1900.
- 918 JOSEPH TODHUNTER THOMPSON, died July 7, 1900.
- 346 EDWARD SHERMAN FITCH, died Sept. 9, 1900.
- 940 JOHN SABINE SMITH, died Nov. 6, 1900.
- 414 WILLIAM PLATT KETCHUM, died Jan. 13, 1901.
- 325 FREDERICK CLARKSON, died Feb. 5, 1901.
- 389 EDWARD HALE KENDALL, died March 10, 1901.
- 962 LEONARD CHENERY, Lieut.-Com., U. S. N., died March 11, 1901.
- 320 WILLIAM MOORE STILWELL, died April 11, 1901.
- 1901 REV. BRADY ELECTUS BACKUS, died Aug. 2, 1901.
- 738 CHARLES ALEXANDER MACY, 2d, died Aug. 19, 1901.
- 42 JAMES HENRY HOADLEY, died Aug. 28, 1901.
- 151 JAMES HOOKER HAMERSLEY, died Sept. 16, 1901.
- 1081 DR. GEORGE FRANCIS SWAN, died Nov. 5, 1901.
- 1020 JAMES HALE BATES, died Nov. 29, 1901.
- 66 ABRAHAM BATES VALENTINE, died Dec. 19, 1901.
- 127 WILLIAM EDWARD HARRIMAN, died Jan. 31, 1902.
- 33 JOHN H. PELL, died Feb. 5, 1902.
- 569 JOHN WEBSTER OOTHOUT, died Feb. 11, 1902.
- 260 RT. REV. JOHN FRANKLIN SPALDING, died March 9, 1902.
- 541 LEWIS HALL, died April 1, 1902.
- 725 DELAVAN BLOODGOOD, died April 4, 1902.
- 923 CHAUNCEY CLARK WOODWORTH, died May 7, 1902.
- 1089 THE VERY REV. EUGENE AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, died June 17, 1902.
- 990 JOHN NEWALL TILDEN, M.D., died July 10, 1902.
- 62 ISAAC MYER, died Aug. 2, 1902.
- 985 ROBERT READING REMINGTON, died Aug. 18, 1902.

DECEASED MEMBERS

- 1069 EDWARD HOWELL COOK, died Sept. 14, 1902.
 308 EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, died Nov. 4, 1902.
 96 JOHN CORNELIUS DURYEA KITCHEN, died Dec. 3, 1902.
 186 WILLIAM HENRY TILLINGHAST, died Dec. 9, 1902.
 784 ANDREW CLARK WOODWORTH, died 1902.
 123 FERDINAND PINNEY EARLE, died Jan. 2, 1903.
 685 CHARLES WALDO HASKINS, died Jan. 9, 1903.
 582 HENRY ALLEN NEWTON, died Feb. 14, 1903.
 639 HENRY EVELYN PIERREPONT, JR., died March 3, 1903.
 936 ANDREW STUART PATTERSON, died April 2, 1903.
 1167 WILLIAM EDWARD COOPER, died April 16, 1903.
 400 HORACE ALLEN FOOTE, died April 22, 1903.
 470 SYLVANUS JENKINS MACY, died May 16, 1903.
 1161 JOHNSTON LIVINGSTON DE PEYSTER, died May 27, 1903.
 768 JOHN MACDONALD, died May 27, 1903.
 1039 HERMAN FOSTER ROBINSON, died June 21, 1903.
 608 GEORGE HARRAL, died July 11, 1903.
 1150 WILLIAM EARL DODGE, died Aug. 9, 1903.
 704 LANSDALE BOARDMAN, died Sept. 9, 1903.
 228 FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOTT, died Oct. 23, 1903.
 1137 JOHN BISSELL, died Oct. 25, 1903.
 486 FRANK GRISWOLD TEFT, died Nov. 8, 1903.
 640 EDWARD RATHBONE SATTERLEE, died Nov. 28, 1903.
 484 HENRY STANTON, died Dec. 5, 1903.
 73 RICHARD STARR DANA, died Jan. 19, 1904.
 322 EDGAR UNDERHILL, died Jan. 23, 1904.
 606 RODNEY STRONG DENNIS, died March 7, 1904.
 170 THOMAS BROWNELL CHAPMAN, died March 9, 1904.
 311 JESUP WAKEMAN, died April 3, 1904.
 1115 WALTER STEUBEN CARTER, died June 3, 1904.
 288 E. BENEDICT OAKLEY, died June 19, 1904.
 930 SAMUEL PUTNAM AVERY, died Aug. 11, 1904.
 175 JOHN VAN SCHAICK LANSING PRUYN, died August, 1904.
 986 EMORY HAWES, died October, 1904.
 282 JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT, Rear Adm., U. S. N., died Nov. 22,
 1904.
 94 EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY, died 1904.
 1071 HENRY LYLE SMITH, M.D., died Feb. 11, 1905.
 82 JAMES OLIVER CARPENTER, died March 6, 1905.
 1048 HENRY NORCROSS MUNN, died March, 1905.
 617 VIRGIL PETTIBONE HUMASON, died May 6, 1905.
 560 WILLIAM MINOT WHITNEY, died May 10, 1905.
 36 FREDERIC J. DE PEYSTER, died May 11, 1905.

DECEASED MEMBERS

- 498 CROWELL HADDEN, JR., died May 13, 1905.
 613 CHARLES WILLIAM DARLING, died June 22, 1905.
 485 JOHN VAN BOSKERK CLARKSON, died July 11, 1905.
 430 EDWARD LYMAN SHORT, died July 30, 1905.
 1018 EDWARD AUGUSTUS WILLARD, died Aug. 11, 1905.
 1232 WILLIAM STIGER RICHARDS, died Aug. 16, 1905.
 348 CLARKSON CROSBY SCHUYLER, M.D., died Aug. 16, 1905.
 1057 CHARLES HATHAWAY WEBB, died Sept. 1905.
 80 FREDERICK HENRY BETTS, died Nov. 12, 1905.
 307 JAMES LYNCH MONTGOMERY, died Nov. 1905.
 1178 EDWARD ADAMS TREAT, died Nov. 1905.
 789 CHARLES FREEMAN NYE, died Dec. 23, 1905.
 418 FREDERICK PERCIVAL ALLEN, died 1905.
 110 GEORGE DOW FARRAR, died 1905.
 434 WILLIAM CURTIS FORBUSH, Col., U. S. A., died Jan. 15, 1906.
 1215 EDWARD CLINTON HAWKS, died Feb. 2, 1906.
 1163 CHARLES EDWARD BOYNTON, died Feb. 21, 1906.
 489 GEORGE MAY ELWOOD, died April 30, 1906.
 405 HENRY HERSCHEL ADAMS, died May 6, 1906.
 115 HENRY CRUGER OAKLEY, died May 24, 1906.
 503 PAUL RICHARD BROWN, M.D., Maj., U. S. A., died May 31, 1906.
 518 HENRY SEYMOUR, died June 5, 1906.
 911 JEREMIAH RICHARDS, died June 8, 1906.
 1329 TALLMADGE HEPBURN BRERETON, Lieut., U. S. A., died July 1,
 1906.
 723 WALTER SETH LOGAN, died July 20, 1906.
 987 CHARLES PALMER ROBINSON, died Aug. 13, 1906.
 119 REV. CHARLES ELLIS STEVENS, died Aug. 28, 1906.
 185 ABRAHAM VAN WYCK VAN VECHTEN, died Aug. 28, 1906.
 844 BENJAMIN DOUGHTY HICKS, died Sept. 19, 1906.
 917 PHILIP FERDINAND KOBBE, died Sept. 21, 1906.
 43 FREDERICK DIODATI THOMPSON, died October 10, 1906.
 1330 ARTHUR COLLINS KETCHAM, died Nov. 1, 1906.
 701 WILHELMUS MYNDERSE, died Nov. 15, 1906.
 1228 WILLIAM WINTON GOODRICH, died Nov. 21, 1906.
 1061 FRANCIS EDWARD DOUGHTY, M.D., died Dec. 28, 1906.
 1216 DONALD MCLEAN BARSTOW, M.D., died 1906.
 1209 JOHN RILEY LIVERMORE, died 1906.
 1287 GEORGE LYMAN PECK, died Feb. 3, 1907.
 1340 MCLAURIN JAMESON PICKERING, died Feb. 20, 1907.
 715 WILLIAM CHARLES McMILLAN, died Feb. 21, 1907.
 808 FRANK SHERMAN BENSON, died Feb. 28 1907.
 197 LYMAN RHOADES, died March 6, 1907.

DECEASED MEMBERS

- 971 FRANCIS PERKINS FURNALD, died March 11, 1907.
48 JAMES M. VARNUM, died March 26, 1907.
477 WILLIAM BLEECKER SEAMAN, died March 29, 1907.
1255 CORT ROADSIDE HINCKEN, died April 12, 1907.
1054 JOSEPH EDWIN POTTER LORD, died May 1, 1907.
710 NATHAN GUILFORD, died May 11, 1907.
997 GEORGE ROWLAND, died July 7, 1907.
207 WM. HAMILTON RUSSELL, died July 23, 1907.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
Society of Colonial Wars
IN THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY
OF COLONIAL WARS IN THE STATE OF
NEW YORK.

As Amended to September, 1907.

CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, There has never been just and proper celebrations commemorative of the martial events of colonial history happening from the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, May 13, 1607, to the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775;

And whereas, Our brave and dauntless forefathers crossed an unknown ocean to establish homes on the virgin soil of a new continent, where all men could freely worship according to the dictates of their consciences and secure immunity from religious persecution. And thereafter they and their descendants imperiled their lives and jeopardized their families and possessions in hostilities with the savage Indian in the founding of the Colonies of America, and sprang when needed to aid their mother country with loyal patriotism when in warfare with another nation. These glorious sires produced our heroic ancestors of the Revolution, who withstood the encroachments of a parent country, and accomplished the independence of the United States, and adopted those imperishable declarations of American brotherhood and inalienable rights which are to-day the pride and glory of the untrammelled freedom of the whole world;

Therefore, The Society of Colonial Wars has been instituted by the descendants of these illustrious forefathers, to perpetuate the names, memory or deeds of those brave and courageous men, who, in military, naval or civic service, by their acts or counsel assisted in the establishment and continuance

of the American Colonies; to collect and secure for preservation the manuscripts, rolls, records and other documents relating to that period; to inspire among the members and their descendants the fraternal and patriotic spirit of their forefathers, and to inculcate in the community respect and reverence for the acts and principles of those indomitable men, which made the freedom and unity of our country a possibility.

ARTICLE I.

NAME OF THE SOCIETY.

The Society shall be known by the name and title of the "Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York."

ARTICLE II.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any male person above the age of twenty-one years, of good moral character and reputation, shall be eligible to membership in the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York who is lineally descended in the male or female line from an ancestor:

(1) Who served as a military or naval officer, or as a soldier, sailor or marine, or as a privateersman, under authority of the Colonies which afterwards formed the United States, or in the forces of Great Britain which participated with those of the said Colonies in any wars in which the said Colonies were engaged, or in which they enrolled men, from the settlement of Jamestown, May 13, 1607, to the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775; or

(2) Who held office in any of the Colonies between the dates mentioned above, either as

(a) Director-General, Vice-Director-General, or member of the Council, in the Colony of New Netherland;

(b) Governor, Lieutenant or Deputy Governor, Lord Proprietor, member of the King's or Governor's Council, in the

Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Delaware;

(c) Lord Proprietor, Governor, Deputy Governor or member of the Council, in Maryland and the Carolinas;

(d) Governor, Deputy Governor, Governor's Assistant, or Commissioner to the United Colonies of New England, or body of Assistants in any of the New England Colonies.

Membership shall be hereditary in the male line of the present members of this Society and of those who may hereafter be elected, up to the limit that the Society may hereafter determine upon, subject to the vote of the Council upon the moral qualification of the person who may be the heir at any time to such membership.

The membership of the Society shall be limited to 1,000 exclusive of descendants of members, and of members of State societies who may be transferred to this society, and of members of the Army, Navy or Marine Corps on active service.

ARTICLE III.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society of Colonial Wars shall be a Governor, a Deputy Governor, a First Lieutenant-Governor, a Second Lieutenant-Governor, a Third Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary, a Treasurer, a Registrar, a Historian, a Chaplain, a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, two Surgeons and a Genealogist.

The officers of the General Society residing in New York shall also be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL AND COMMITTEES.

There shall be a Council consisting of nine members, who shall be called "Gentlemen of the Council," in addition to the *ex-officio* members. A Committee on Membership, con-

sisting of seven members, in addition to the *ex-officio* members; a Committee on Collection of Historical Documents and Records, consisting of five members, and a Committee on Installation, consisting of six members who shall also act as stewards.

At the election of 1898 two members shall be elected for a term of one year, two for a term of two years, and two for a term of three years, and thereafter two members shall be elected for a term of three years.

At the election of 1898 three Gentlemen of the Council shall be elected for a term of one year, three for a term of two years, and three for a term of three years, and thereafter at each election three Gentlemen of the Council shall be elected for a term of three years.

Vacancies in the Council shall be filled by the Council until the vacancy shall be filled by the Society at its next meeting.

Delegates and Alternates to the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the General Society, shall be appointed by the Council.

ARTICLE V.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Prior to June 1st in each year the Council shall appoint a Nominating Committee of nine members, not officers, who four weeks before the General Court of the Society shall report to the Council a list of members to be voted for at the ensuing election, to succeed the Officers, Gentlemen of the Council and Committees whose terms expire at such General Court. Said list, to be entitled "Regular Nominations," must be immediately posted by the Secretary in the Office of the Society and must be sent by the Secretary to each member of the Society at least one week before the day fixed for the General Court.

The action of such Nominating Committee, however, shall in no wise interfere with the power of any member of the So-

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

ciety to make his own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least three weeks before the day fixed for the General Court. Such independent nominations shall be immediately posted by the Secretary in the Office of the Society and a copy thereof entitled "Independent Nominations" sent to every member of the Society at least one week prior to the day fixed for the General Court. All votes cast at the General Court for persons other than those nominated as aforesaid shall be counted as blanks.

The officers, together with the Gentlemen of the Council, and Members of the Committees shall be elected at the General Court by ballot, a plurality of the vote cast for the persons so nominated shall elect and the said Officers and Committees shall hold office for the period of one year, excepting the Gentlemen of the Council and Committee on Installation, who shall hold office for the terms provided by Article IV of the Constitution.

ARTICLE VI.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

Every application for membership shall be made in writing, subscribed by the applicant, and approved by two members of the Society over their signatures. Applications shall be accompanied by proof of eligibility, and such applications and proof shall be referred to the Committee on Membership, who shall carefully investigate the same and report at the next meeting their recommendation thereon. Members shall be elected by vote at a Council of the Society duly called, but a negative vote of one in five of the ballots cast shall cause the rejection of such candidate. Payment of the initiation fee and dues and subscription to the declaration contained in the Constitution of the Society shall be a prerequisite of membership.

ARTICLE VII.

DECLARATION.

Every member shall declare upon honor that he will use

his best efforts to promote the purposes of the Society, and will observe the "Constitution" and "By-Laws" of the same; and, if a citizen of the United States, shall declare that he will support the Constitution of the United States; such declaration shall be in writing and subscribed by the member making it.

ARTICLE VIII.

PURPOSES.

At every Council the purposes of the Society shall be considered and the best measures to promote them adopted. No party political question of the day or existing controversial religious subject shall be discussed or considered at any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE IX.

COMMEMORATIONS.

The members of the Society, when practicable, shall hold a celebration commemorative of some martial event in Colonial history and dine together at least once in each year.

ARTICLE X.

SEAL.

The Seal of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York shall be a circle, upon the face of which shall be engraved the following designs:

In the center thereof shall be shown a copy of the original coat-of-arms granted by the States General of Holland to its Province of New Netherlands, displayed as a shield of pretence, shadowed (so as to show its elevation above the groundwork) upon, above and over, a groundwork displaying *fleur de lis*; which latter are displayed only as emblematic of the part taken by the American Colonies in the French Wars in America. Under said coat-of-arms shall be displayed a bun-

dle of pointed arrows, tied with the skin of a rattlesnake, an incident in American Colonial history, as emblematic of the Indian Wars of said Colonies. Beneath these shall be given the dates 1607-1775, separated by a *fleur de lis*; the said groundwork of *fleur de lis* being bounded by a circular ribbon, ended at said dates by folded or wavy ends. On said ribbon shall be inscribed "Society of Colonial Wars" in the State of New York.

The face of the Seal shall be surrounded or bounded by a complete circular twisted cable as an ornament, and also as significant of the entire unity of the members of the Society.

The Secretary shall be the Custodian of the Seal.

ARTICLE XI.

INSIGNIA.

The insignia of the Society shall consist of a badge, pendant by a gold crown and ring, from a watered silk ribbon one inch and a half wide, of red, bordered with white and edged with red. The badge shall be surrounded by a laurel wreath in gold and shall consist of:

Obverse, A white enameled star of nine points, bordered with red enamel, having between each star point a shield displaying an emblem of one of the nine original colonies; and, within a blue enameled garter bearing the motto "Fortiter Pro Patria," an Indian's head in gold relievo.

Reverse, The star above described, but with gold edge, each shield between the points displaying a mullet, and in the center, within an annulet of blue, bearing the title "Society of Colonial Wars, 1607-1775," the figure of a colonial soldier in gold relievo. The reverse of the crown of each insignia shall bear an engraved number corresponding to that of the registered number of the members to whom such insignia has been issued.

The insignia shall be worn by the members conspicuously, and only on the left breast, except that members who are or

have been officers of the Society may wear the same suspended by the ribbon around the neck, on all occasions when they shall assemble as such for any stated purpose or celebration. The badge shall never be worn as an article of jewelry. The Treasurer of the Society shall issue the insignia to the members and shall keep a record of all issued by him. Such insignia shall be returned to the Treasurer by any member who may resign or be expelled. No member shall receive more than one badge, except to replace one lost, proof of which must be satisfactorily established and the new one paid for.

The undress insignia shall be a rosette or button of the size now in use, of watered silk of scarlet color with white thread edging, like the insignia ribbon. This decoration may be worn at all times in the left coat-lapel.

ARTICLE XII.

ALTERATION OR AMENDMENT.

No alteration or amendment to the Constitution of this Society shall be made, unless notice shall have been given in writing, signed by the member proposing the same, at a previous meeting. The Secretary shall then send a printed copy of the proposed amendment to the members of the Society, and state the Court at which the same will be voted upon. No amendment shall be made unless adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the Court voting upon the same.

BY-LAWS

SECTION I.

INITIATION FEE AND DUES.

The initiation fee shall be ten dollars, the annual dues five dollars, payable on or before the first day of January of each year, but all officers of the Army and Navy while absent from the city of New York on active service shall be released from the payment of annual dues during such absence. The payment at one time of one hundred dollars shall thenceforth exempt the member so paying from the payment of annual dues. Any member, at his election to membership or subsequently, who may contribute two hundred and fifty dollars to the "Permanent Fund" of the Society shall be exempt from the payment of annual dues, and this exemption shall extend in perpetuity to his lineal successors in membership from the same propositus, one at a time, who may be selected for such exemption by the Society, said perpetual membership to be transmitted to the holder, subject to the approval of the Society.

SECTION II.

GOVERNOR.

The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy Governor, or a Lieutenant-Governor, or Chairman *pro tempore*, shall preside at all Courts of the Society, and shall exercise the duties of a presiding officer, under parliamentary rules, subject to an appeal to the Society. The Governor shall be a member *ex-officio* of all committees except the Nominating Committee and Committee on Membership. He shall have power to convene the Council at his discretion, or upon the written request of five members of the Society, or upon the request of two members of the Council.

SECTION III.

SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall conduct the general correspondence of the Society and keep a record thereof. He shall notify all elected candidates of their admission and perform such other duties as the Society or his office may require. He shall have charge of the seal, certificates of incorporation, by-laws, historical and other documents and records of the Society other than those required to be deposited with the Registrar, and shall affix the seal to all properly authenticated certificates of membership and transmit the same to the members to whom they may be issued. He shall notify the Registrar of all admissions to membership. He shall certify all acts of the Society and, when required, authenticate them under seal. He shall have charge of printing and publications issued by the Society. He shall give due notice of the time and place of the holding of all Courts of the Society and of the Council, and shall incorporate in said notice the names of all applicants for membership to be voted on at said Council, and shall be present at the same. He shall keep fair and accurate records of all the proceedings and orders of the Society and of the Council, and shall give notice to each officer who may be affected by them of all votes, resolutions and proceedings of the Society or the Council, and at the General Court or oftener, shall report the names of those candidates who have been admitted to membership and those whose resignations have been accepted, and of those members who have been expelled for cause or for failure to substantiate claim of descent. In his absence from any meeting the Deputy Secretary shall act, or a Secretary *pro tempore* may be designated therefor.

SECTION IV.

TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall collect and keep the funds and securities of the Society, and as often as those funds shall amount

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to one hundred dollars they shall be deposited in some bank in the city of New York, which shall be designated by the Council, to the credit of the "Society of Colonial Wars," and such funds shall be drawn thence on a check of the Treasurer for the purposes of the Society only. Out of these funds he shall pay such sums only as may be ordered by the Society or the Council, or his office may require. He shall keep a true account of his receipts and payments, and at each annual meeting render the same to the Society.

For the faithful performance of his duty he may be required to give such security as the Society may deem proper.

SECTION V.

REGISTRAR.

The Registrar shall receive from the Secretary and file all the proofs upon which membership has been granted, with a list of all diplomas countersigned by him, and all documents which the Society may obtain; and he, under direction of the Council, shall make copies of such papers as the owners may not be willing to leave in the keeping of the Society.

SECTION VI.

HISTORIAN.

The Historian shall keep a detailed record of all historical and commemorative celebrations of the Society, and he shall edit and prepare for publication such historical addresses, papers and other documents as the Society may see fit to publish, also a necrological list for each year, with biographies of deceased members. The Historian shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Historical Documents Committee.

SECTION VII.

CHAPLAIN.

The Chaplain shall be an ordained minister of a Christian

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Church, and it shall be his duty to officiate when called upon by the proper officers.

SECTION VIII.

CHANCELLOR AND VICE-CHANCELLOR.

The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor shall be lawyers duly admitted to the bar, and it shall be their duty to give legal opinion on matters affecting the Society when called upon by the proper officers.

SECTION IX.

SURGEONS.

The Surgeons shall be practicing physicians and surgeons.

SECTION X.

GENEALOGIST.

The Genealogist shall investigate all applications for membership, and also all claims under supplemental application, and shall report the result of his investigations to the Committee on Membership. He shall be a member of the said Committee and of the Council *ex-officio*.

SECTION XI.

THE COUNCIL.

The Council shall have power to call special Courts of the Society, and arrange for celebrations by the Society. They shall have control and management of the affairs and funds of the Society. They shall perform such duties as shall be prescribed by the Constitution and By-Laws, but they shall at no time be required to take any action or contract any debt for which they shall be liable. They may accept the resignation of any member of the Society. They may meet as often as required, or at the call of the Governor. Seven Gentlemen

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of the Council (elected or *ex-officio* members) shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. At the General Court they shall submit to the Society a report of their proceedings during the past year. The council shall have the power to drop from the roll the name of any member of the Society who shall be at least one year in arrears and shall fail on proper notice to pay the same within thirty days, and on being dropped his membership shall cease, but he may be restored to membership at any time by the Council upon his written application and the payment of all such arrears from the date when he was dropped to the date of his restoration. The Council may suspend any officer for cause, which must be reported to the Society and action taken on the same within thirty days.

SECTION XII.

VACANCIES AND TERMS OF OFFICE.

Whenever an officer of this Society shall die, resign, or neglect to serve, or be suspended, or be unable to perform his duties by reason of absence, sickness, or other cause, and whenever an office shall be vacant which the Society shall not have filled by an election, the Council shall have power to appoint a member to such office *pro tempore*, who shall act in such capacity until the Society shall elect a member to the vacant office, or until the inability due to said cause shall cease: provided, however, that the office of Governor or Secretary shall not be filled by the Council when there shall be a Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor or Deputy Secretary to enter on these duties. The Council may supply vacancies among its members under the same conditions, and should any member other than an officer be absent from three consecutive Councils of the same, his place may be declared vacant by the Council and filled by appointment until an election of a successor. Subject to these provisions, all Officers and Gentlemen of the Council shall from the time of election continue in

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their respective offices until the next General Court, or until their successors are chosen. Vacancies among the Officers, in the Council or the Committees, shall be filled by the Council. The Council shall have power to declare a vacancy and fill the same in any Committee where the member of the Committee fails to attend to the duties of the Committee.

SECTION XIII.

RESIGNATION.

No resignation of any member shall become effective unless consented to by the Council.

SECTION XIV.

DISQUALIFICATION.

No person who may be enrolled as a member of this Society shall be permitted to continue in membership when his proofs of descent or eligibility shall be found to be defective. The Council, after thirty days' notice to such person to substantiate his claim, and upon his failure satisfactorily so to do, may require the Secretary to erase his name from the membership list. The said person shall have a right to appeal to the Society at its next Court, or at the General Court. If the said appeal is sustained by a two-thirds vote of the members present at such Court, the said person's name shall be restored to said membership list.

SECTION XV.

MEMBERSHIP.

Members shall be elected by ballot at a meeting of the Council, after report by the Membership Committee; but a negative vote of one in five of the ballots cast shall exclude any candidate.

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SECTION XVI.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

The Committee on Membership shall consist of seven members. They shall be chosen by ballot at the General Court of the Society, and shall be elected for the period of one year. Four members shall constitute a quorum, and a negative vote of three members shall cause an adverse report to the Council on the candidate's application. The proceedings of the Committee shall be secret and confidential, and a candidate who has been rejected by the Council shall be ineligible for membership for a space of one year from date of rejection, except upon the unanimous vote of the Committee.

The Committee shall have power to make By-Laws for its government and for other purposes not inconsistent with the Constitution or By-Laws of the Society.

SECTION XVII.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

The Committee on Historical Documents may, in connection with the Historian, who shall be *ex-officio* the Chairman, prepare papers on matters of interest to the Society, shall use their efforts to secure for the Society original documents, muster rolls, and other papers or articles connected with the colonial history of the country; they shall be empowered to correspond in the name of the Society with individuals, societies and governments, in the course of their investigations, and shall keep a record of their transactions.

SECTION XVIII.

COMMITTEE ON INSTALLATION.

The Committee on Installation shall have charge of the annual election, and shall install the persons elected; they shall also be the Stewards of the Society's banquets, but must pre-

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sent to the Governor of the Society a list of all speakers and invited guests for his approval; they shall have the power to select places for the banquets and to issue tickets for the same, but shall assume no expense without the approval of the Council.

SECTION XIX.

EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION.

Any member for cause or conduct detrimental or antagonistic to the interest or purposes of the Society, or for just cause, may be suspended or expelled from the Society. But no member shall be expelled or suspended unless written charges be presented against such member to the Council. The Council shall give reasonable notice of such charges, and afford such member reasonable opportunity to be heard and refute the same. The Council, after hearing such charges, may recommend to the Society the expulsion or suspension of such member, and if the recommendation of the Council be adopted by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at such Court, he shall be so expelled or suspended, and the insignia of said member shall thereupon be returned to the Treasurer of the Society, and his rights therein shall be extinguished or suspended. The Treasurer shall refund to said member the amount paid for the said insignia.

SECTION XX.

COURTS.

The General Court of the Society shall be held on the anniversary of the Great Swamp Fight, December 19, 1675. Business Courts shall be held on the third Mondays of November and March.

If the above days fall on a Sunday or legal holiday, then the General Court and Business Courts shall be held on the following Monday.

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Special Courts may be called by the Governor at such times as in his opinion the interest of the Society may demand, and must be called by the Secretary on the written request of nine members. All notice of Courts shall be sent out at least ten days before the date of such Courts.

At special meetings the consent of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary to constitute a vote.

Fifteen members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum, except in cases where a larger number may be required by the Constitution or By-Laws, for any special act.

At each Court of the Society, immediately after the presiding officer shall have taken the chair, the minutes of the previous meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and passed upon by the Society; the next business in order shall be reports of officers and committees; then new business.

Any member having observations to make or resolutions to propose, shall rise in his place and address the Chair; and all resolutions shall be submitted in writing and handed to the Secretary, and shall be by him entered on the minutes.

SECTION XXI.

SERVICE OF NOTICE.

It shall be the duty of every member to inform the Secretary, by written communication, of his place of residence and of any change thereof, and of his post-office address. Service of any notice under the Constitution or By-Laws on any member, addressed to his last residence or post-office address, forwarded by mail, shall be sufficient service of notice.

SECTION XXII.

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.

Members may receive a certificate of membership, which shall be signed by the Governor, Secretary and Registrar.

SECTION XXIII.

DECEASE OF MEMBERS.

Upon the decease of any member, notice thereof of the time and place of the funeral, with a request to the members to attend, shall be published by the Secretary at least once in one daily newspaper in the city of New York. Any member who becomes aware of the death of a fellow member shall make it his duty to see that the Secretary is properly notified of the fact.

SECTION XXIV.

LOCAL SECRETARIES.

When ten or more members of the Society shall be resident of a city of the State of New York, one of their number may be appointed Local Secretary. Subject to the regulation and direction of the Council, a Local Secretary may, in conjunction with the members locally resident, arrange local commemorations of men and events of Colonial History, and attend to such other matters as by the Council may be expressly committed to him from time to time.

A Local Secretary shall be appointed by the Council annually, and may be removed by it for cause. He shall communicate with and receive communications from the Council through the Secretary.

SECTION XXV.

ALTERATION OR AMENDMENT.

No alteration or amendment of the By-Laws shall be made unless notice shall have been duly given in writing, signed by the member proposing the same, at a Court of the Society.

The Secretary shall send a printed copy of the proposed amendment to the members of the Society, and state the Court at which the same will be voted upon. No amendment or alteration shall be made unless adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the Court voting upon the same.

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF
COLONIAL WARS.

Governor-General.

ARTHUR J. C. SOWDON,
83 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Vice-Governor-General.

HOWLAND PELL,
7 Pine Street, New York.

Secretary-General.

SAMUEL V. HOFFMAN,
45 William Street, New York.

Deputy Secretary-General.

GUY VAN AMRINGE,
45 William Street, New York.

Treasurer-General.

WILLIAM MACPHERSON HORNOR,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Acting Deputy Treasurer-General.

FRANCIS H. WILLIAMS,
Bullitt Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Registrar-General.

GEORGE NORBURY MACKENZIE,
1808 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Historian-General.

*THOMAS PAGE GRANT, M.D.,
Louisville, Ky.

Chaplain-General.

RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE,
1 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.

*Deceased, May 16, 1907.

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL SOCIETY

Surgeon-General.

JAMES GREGORY MUMFORD, M.D.,
Boston, Mass.

Chancellor-General.

PROF. THEODORE S. WOOLSEY,
250 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Deputy Governors-General.

New York, WALTER L. SUYDAM, New York, N. Y.

Pennsylvania, RICHARD MCCALL CADWALLADER, Philadelphia,
Pa.

Maryland, HON. HENRY STOCKBRIDGE, Baltimore, Md.

Massachusetts, REV. DR. CHARLES L. HUTCHINS, Concord,
Mass.

Connecticut, BELA PECK LEARNED, Norwich, Conn.

District of Columbia, THOMAS HYDE, Washington, D. C.

New Jersey, EMORY MCCLINTOCK, Morristown, N. J.

Virginia, HON. RICHARD THOMAS WALKER DUKE, JR., Char-
lottesville, Va.

New Hampshire, PROF. CHARLES L. PARSONS, Durham, N. H.

Vermont, ROBERT NOBLE, Burlington, Vt.

Illinois, JOHN SMITH SARGENT, Chicago, Ill.

Missouri, JOHN B. WHITE, Kansas City, Mo.

Ohio, MICHAEL MYERS SHOEMAKER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Minnesota, GEN. JAMES FRANKLIN WADE, U. S. A., St. Paul,
Minn.

Kentucky, D. LINN GOOCH, Covington, Ky.

California, HON. FRANK P. FLINT, U. S. Senate, Washington,
D. C.

Colorado, FRANK TRUMBULL, Cooper Building, Denver, Colo.

Iowa, JUDSON KEITH DEMING, Dubuque, Iowa.

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL SOCIETY

Georgia, JOHN AVERY GORE CARSON, Savannah, Ga.

Michigan, THEODORE H. EATON, Detroit, Mich.

Delaware, WILLIAM ALEXANDER LAMOTTE, Wilmington, Del.

Rhode Island, GEORGE CORLIS NIGHTINGALE, Providence, R. I.

Washington, J. KENNEDY STOUT, Department of Commerce
and Labor, Washington, D. C.

Maine, FRITZ HERMANN JORDAN, Portland, Me.

Indiana, ALEXANDER F. FLEET, Culver, Ind.

Wisconsin, WYMAN KNEELAND FLINT, Milwaukee, Wis.

SECRETARIES OF STATE SOCIETIES.

New York, HENRY GANSEVOORT SANFORD, 45 William Street,
New York.

Pennsylvania, EDWARD S. SAYRES, 217 South Third Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Maryland, ROBERT BURTON, 340 Equitable Building, Balti-
more, Md.

Massachusetts, EDWARD W. MCGLENEN, 5 Old Court House,
Boston, Mass.

Connecticut, FRANK BUTLER GAY, Hartford, Conn.

District of Columbia, LEWIS P. CLEPHANE, 1320 New York
Avenue N. W., Washington, D. C.

New Jersey, WILLIAM GRAY SCHAUFFLER, M.D., Lakewood,
N. J.

Virginia, THOMAS BOLLING, JR., Box 404, Richmond, Va.

New Hampshire, FRED. WINSLOW MORSE, Durham, N. H.

Vermont, BYRON N. CLARK, Burlington, Vt.

Illinois, THOMAS HOOKER EDDY, 200 Adams Street, Chicago,
Ill.

Missouri, HOBART BRINSMADE, 1110 Washington Avenue, St.
Louis, Mo.

Ohio, WARD BALDWIN, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Nebraska, EDWIN C. WEBSTER, 515 South 16th Street, Omaha,
Neb.

Minnesota, WILLIAM G. WHITE, Globe Building, St. Paul,
Minn.

Kentucky, GEORGE T. WOOD, Louisville, Ky.

California, HARRISON BAECOCK ALEXANDER, 420 Henne Block,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Colorado, CHAUNCEY E. DEWEY, Denver, Colo.

Iowa, JOHN E. BREADY, M.D., Dubuque, Iowa.

Georgia, CLAIRE C. QUACKENBUSH, Savannah, Ga.

SECRETARIES OF STATE SOCIETIES

Michigan, CLARENCE A. LIGHTNER, Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich.

Wisconsin, HENRY ALVIN CROSBY, Milwaukee, Wis.

Delaware, CHRISTOPHER L. WARD, 1019 Market Street, Wilmington, Del.

Rhode Island, HENRY B. ROSE, 32 Sumner Street, Providence, R. I.

Washington, HIRAM B. FERRIS, Spokane, Wash.

Maine, PHILIP F. TURNER, Portland, Me.

Indiana, WILLIAM O. BATES, Woodruff Place, Indianapolis.

INFORMATION FOR APPLICANTS.

For qualifications see Article II of Constitution.

For list of Membership Committee see page 149.

RULES AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE PREPARATION OF APPLICATION PAPERS.

Traditions will not be accepted. Legislative service, except as above stated, no longer constitutes eligibility.

If the ancestor was a member of a train-band, actual war service must be shown, except in cases where the ancestor has already been accepted.

Descent from the "Twelve Men, Eight Men and Nine Men" shall not constitute eligibility to membership except in cases where such line of descent has already been accepted.

Applications must contain paged reference to recognized printed authority, authenticating the descent, service or rank, or when proof depends upon encyclopædias, town or other histories, and genealogies, they will only be accepted as furnishing sufficient proof of service when original authorities, documentary or of equivalent value, are quoted in them. Proof of service, or genealogy, based upon papers owned by private individuals, or upon such public records as are not easily accessible, should be substantiated by *fac-simile* copies of the same in duplicate, such copies being duly authenticated.

Reference to the Society's Year Book may be made only in cases of ancestors entered from this State whose records at the time of the application meet the requirements above set forth.

Applications must be in duplicate, properly filled out, signed and verified by the applicant, and signed by two members of this Society, and in every case must be accompanied by a letter of recommendation from both the proposer and seconder of such applicant. Such letter must state the writer's acquaintance with the candidate and must specifically endorse him for membership.

INFORMATION FOR APPLICANTS

Candidates residing in the city of New York and vicinity must be personally known to one of the Membership Committee.

Residents of other States where organized societies exist will not be admitted in this State.

Candidates are requested to endorse their applications with their names, addresses and date, and when fully completed to send them to the office of the Society, excepting where the candidate resides in the northern or western part of the State, in which case both their preliminary and the final applications must be sent to the nearest Local Secretary for his approval. The Local Secretary will then forward the same to the Committee on Membership, and with the final application a letter stating his approval of the same, such approval being based in all cases on knowledge of the applicant.

No application for membership may be signed or endorsed as proposer or seconder by any Officer, Gentleman of the Council or Member of the Committee on Membership.

Claims based upon service in the so-called military companies of the various townships of Plymouth Colony, under date of August, 1643, as found in the General Court Records, Vol. VIII, pp. 187-202, in Pierce's "Colonial List," etc., quoted from above, will not be accepted, inasmuch as they are only "The Names of all Males that are able to beare Armes from xvj. to 60 Years, within the severall Towneshipp," and as such do not represent rosters of military companies, but merely lists of able-bodied men likely to be drawn upon in case of necessity.

EXPENSE OF MEMBERSHIP AND INSIGNIA.

Initiation Fee.....	\$10.00
Annual Dues.....	5.00
Life Membership.....	100.00
Perpetual Membership.....	250.00
Insignia in gold.....	22.00
Insignia in silver gilt.....	12.00
Miniature Insignia.....	10.00
Rosette25
Supplemental Record Blanks, Set (2) including filing and examination charges.....	1.00

Insignia, Rosettes, and Supplemental Blanks may be obtained from the Treasurer, Clarence Storm, Room 62, 45 William Street, New York.

Preliminary Application Blanks may be obtained at the office of the Society, Room 62, 45 William Street, New York.



