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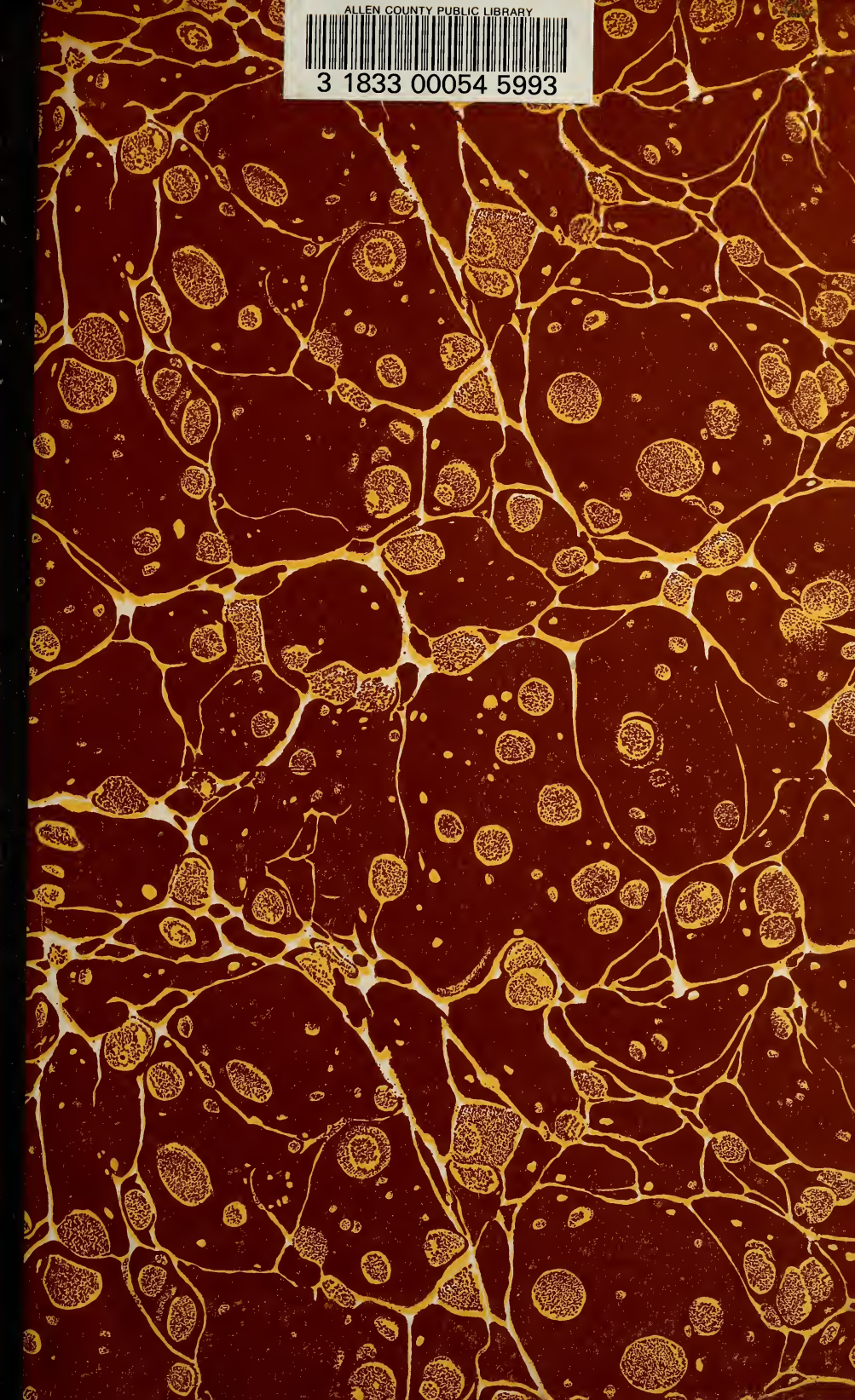
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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR
THE YEAR 1917



WASHINGTON
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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., October 22, 1918.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1917. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*



ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 9, 1918.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1917. This report includes the proceedings of the association at its thirty-third annual meeting held at Philadelphia on December 27-29, 1917, together with the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at its fourteenth annual meeting held in Berkeley, Calif., on November 30 to December 1, 1917. The eighteenth report of the Public Archives Commission, also included in the present volume, contains, in addition to the proceedings of the eighth annual conference of archivists, a report on the public archives of the State of Idaho prepared under the direction of the commission, while the thirteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission constitutes a valuable contribution to the history of the Mexican War in the form of the letters of Gen. Santa Anna.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

To the SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.



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CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

V.

There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI.

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meet-

ing of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

VII.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

BY-LAWS.

I.

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II.

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III.

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law II.

IV.

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.



AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress,
January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 29, 1917.

PRESIDENT :

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D.,
Cambridge.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A.,
French Embassy.

SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER :

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D.,
Detroit.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.

CURATOR :

A HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,
Boston, Mass.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. D., LL. B.,
University of Chicago.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D.,
University of California.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,
Cornell University.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

(Elected Councillors.)

SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D.,
Indiana State University.

LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D.,
Vassar College.

HENRY E. BOURNE, L. H. D.,
Western Reserve University.

GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., F. R. S. C.,
University of Toronto.

HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D.,
University of California.

WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D.,
University of Chicago.

WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D.,
Vanderbilt University.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 1, 1917.

PRESIDENT:

JOSEPH M. GLEASON, A. M., S. T. B.,
Palo Alto, Cal.

VICE PRESIDENT:

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, PH. D.,
University of Washington.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,
University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

ROBERT C. CLARK, PH. D.,
University of Oregon.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME, M. A.,
University of Idaho.

WALDEMAR C. WESTERGAARD, A. B., M. L.,
Pomona College.

EDNA H. STONE, A. B.,
Oakland, Cal.



TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus : †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS.

- ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1914.
H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1915.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., Litt. D., 1916.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1917.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS.

- †JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.

- †EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.
 SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1912, 1913.
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.
 WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916.
 WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D., 1916, 1917.

SECRETARIES.

- †HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1900.
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

TREASURERS.

- CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884-1917.
 CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1917—

CURATOR.

- A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

- †WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.
 JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.
 †ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.
 †EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
 HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.
 EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.
 †GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.
 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.
 JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908-1911.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908-1911.
FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909-1912.
EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.
JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.
FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910-1913.
HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911-1914.
DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911-1914.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912-1914.
JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912-1915.
FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913-1915.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913-1916.
EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914-1917.
GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914-1917.
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914-1917.
LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D., 1915-
SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D., 1915-
HENRY E. BOURNE, A. B., B. D., L. H. D., 1916-
CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1916-1917.
GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916-
HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D., 1917-
WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D., 1917-
WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D., 1917-
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D., 1917-

COMMITTEES APPOINTED DECEMBER 29, 1917.

- Committee on program for the thirty-fourth annual meeting.*—Samuel B. Harding, chairman; John S. Bassett, Carl Becker, E. J. Benton, A. E. R. Boak, William E. Dodd, Julius Klein, Augustus H. Shearer (*ex officio*).
- Committee on local arrangements.*—Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice-chairman; Samuel B. Platner, secretary; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J. Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.
- Committee on nominations.*—Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Editors of the American Historical Review.*—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.
- Historical manuscripts commission.*—Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon Street, Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gailard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell, Oswald G. Villard.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street NW., Washington, chairman; Charles D. Hazen, Robert H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Conyers Read.
- Public archives commission.*—Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.
- Committee on bibliography.*—George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman; Frank A. Golder, Adelaide R. Hasse, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, Bernard C. Steiner.
- Committee on publications.*—H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on history in schools.*—Victoria A. Adams, Henry L. Cannon, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, James A. James, Daniel C. Knowlton, August C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Rolla M. Tryon, J. H. Van Sickle, William L. Westermann. (Chairmanship vacant during 1918.)
- Conference of historical societies.*—Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.

- Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.*—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Fred-eric Duncalf, O. H. Williams.
- Special committee on policy.*—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chair- man; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.
- Special committee on the historical congress at Rio de Janeiro.*—Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius M. Klein, 1824 Belmont Road, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Percy A. Martin.
- Special committee on American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ot- toman Empire.*—Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James H. Breasted, Albert H. Lybyer.
- Committee on the military history prize.*—Robert M. Johnston, Cambridge, Mass., chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Flink, Albert Bushnell Hart.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association is the national organization of those persons interested in history and in the promotion of historical work and studies. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was incorporated by act of Congress, its national character being emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the governmental publication of its annual reports. Its present membership of 2,700 is drawn from every State of the Union as well as from all the Territories and dependencies, from Canada and South America, and from 13 other foreign countries. The association should appeal through its meetings, publications, and other activities not only to the student, writer, or teacher of history, but to the librarian, the archivist, the editor, the man of letters, to all who have any interest in history, local, national, or general, and to those who believe that correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so situated as best to accommodate in turn the members in different parts of the country. The average attendance at the meetings is about 400, representing generally 40 or more States and Canada, while from 75 to 100 members usually have an active part in the program. But it is the opportunity afforded for acquaintance and social intercourse quite as much as the formal sessions and conferences that make the meetings so agreeable and profitable.

The annual report, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to members. It contains the proceedings of the association and the more important papers read at the annual meetings, as well as valuable collections of documents, bibliographical contributions, reports on American archives, on the activities of historical societies, on the teaching of history, etc.

The American Historical Review is a quarterly journal of two hundred or more pages. Each issue contains at least five authoritative articles in different fields of history, as well as selected documents, critical reviews of all new works of any importance, and a section devoted to historical news of periodical and other publications, institutions, societies, and persons. The Review is recognized, both in this country and abroad, as the standard American journal devoted to history, and it easily takes rank with the leading European journals, such as the English Historical Review or the *Revue Historique*. It is indispensable to all who desire to keep abreast with the historical work of the world, and of great value and interest to the general reader. The Review is distributed free to all members of the association.

The association also publishes the Prize Essays, a series of annual volumes comprising the essays to which are awarded in alternate years the Herbert Baxter Adams and the Justin Winsor prizes of \$200 each, for the best monographs in European and American history, respectively. These volumes are supplied to members at \$1 each and to non-members at \$1.50.

To the subject of history teaching the association has given much and consistent attention. Round table conferences have been held, committees have

been appointed, investigations made, reports and papers read at nearly every annual meeting. The high standard of excellence in the teaching of history throughout the United States is due in no small degree to the association's activity in this direction. The Report of the Committee of Seven on history in the secondary schools, published in 1898 and supplemented in 1910, and the Report of the Committee of Eight on history in the elementary schools, published in 1909, form the basis of the present curriculum of history in most of the schools of the country. There is at present a standing committee on history in schools charged with the consideration of such questions as may come before it relative to the teaching of history. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of this phase of its work and its relation to the future citizenship of the Nation, the association in 1911 assumed a guiding interest in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, a monthly journal of the greatest practical value to the teacher of history.

Realizing the importance and value of the work of the many State and local historical societies, the association has from its earliest days maintained close relations with these kindred organizations. Since 1904 a conference of delegates of historical societies has been held in connection with the annual meetings of the association. At these conferences are considered the problems of historical societies—for example, the arousing of local interest in history, the marking of historic sites, the collection and publication of historical material, the maintenance of historical museums, etc.; cooperative enterprises, too great for any one society, but possible for several acting together, are also planned. The most important of these enterprises, the preparation of a catalogue of the documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, is now nearing successful completion.

An important function of the association is the discovery and exploitation of the manuscript sources of American history. Thus, the historical manuscripts commission, created in 1895 as a standing committee, has published in the Annual Reports nearly 8,000 pages of historical documents, including such collections as the correspondence of John C. Calhoun; the papers of Salmon P. Chase; the dispatches of the French commissioners in the United States, 1791–1797; the correspondence of Clark and Genet, 1793–94; the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas; the correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb; the papers of James A. Bayard, etc.

Realizing that the public records, which constitute the principal source for the history of any country, were generally neglected in America, and that this neglect had caused, and must continue to cause, irreparable losses, the association created in 1899 the public archives commission, the function of which was to examine and report upon the general character, historical value, physical condition, and administration of the public records of the various States and of the smaller political divisions. The commission has now published reports on the archives of over 40 States, and has furthermore been instrumental in securing legislation providing for the proper care and administration of so valuable a class of historical material. Since 1909 the commission has held an annual conference of archivists, in connection with the meetings of the association, for the discussion of the more or less technical problems that confront the custodian of public records.

In the meantime the association is working actively to secure for the national archives at Washington a central building where the records of the Federal Government may be properly housed and cared for, instead of being, as at present, scattered among several hundred offices, where they are too often in the gravest danger from fire or other destructive forces.

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of the historian and the guide of the layman, has not been neglected. The committee on bibliography has recently published A Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries which has proved of the greatest value to librarians and students alike. A special committee is at present engaged in cooperation with a committee of English scholars, in the preparation of a descriptive and critical bibliography of modern English history. For some years now there has been prepared and published under the auspices of the association an annual bibliography of Writings on American History, which contains a practically complete list, in some 3,000 items, of all books and periodical articles appearing during the year. It is generally recognized as the most complete and usable of all the national bibliographies. Bibliographies on special subjects have been printed from time to time in the annual reports; especially should be noted a Bibliography of American Historical Societies, filling over 1,300 pages, which was printed in the annual report for 1905.

In 1904 a Pacific coast branch was organized, which, while an integral part of the association, elects local officers and holds separate annual meetings. Its proceedings are published in the annual reports. In 1914 headquarters of the association were established in London for the benefit of the many American students working there in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. The association is enabled to share the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square. At the same time plans were on foot to establish an office in Paris, where the hospitality of the Ministry of Public Instruction had been offered to the association. The war unfortunately made it necessary to suspend this project, but it will be taken up again at a more propitious season. Doubtless offices or rooms will in time be opened in other European capitals as the demands of American students may seem to justify such action.

The association has from the first pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work, but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member, or by direct application. The annual dues are \$3, there being no initiation fee. The life membership is \$50, and carries with it exemption from all annual dues. •

All inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., may be addressed to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. To him also or to the secretary of the council, 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., should be directed all communications relative to gifts or bequests for the benefit of the association.



HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the annual report of the association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase “American history” includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairmen of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, “The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States.”

1900. William A. Schaper, “Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina;” with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, “Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808.”

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights;" with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party;" with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellögg, "The American colonial charter: A study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy;" with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774;" with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—servitude—freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Charles Arthur Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary W. Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

1916. Richard J. Purcell, "Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The spiritual Franciscans;" with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The Interdict: Its history and its operation; with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III;" and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy men in England during the Interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The Leveller movement;" with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814."

1917. Frederick L. Nussbaum, "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Pease, Purcell, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the annual reports.

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$250 is offered for the best approved essay on a subject in military history. The fields of study are not limited, but the Civil War is recommended as especially suitable. While the committee expects that the essays submitted will range from about 20,000 to 50,000 words, this is not intended as an absolute condition. All essays must be submitted in typewritten form, and sent to the chairman of the committee, Prof. R. M. Johnston, 275 Widener Hall, Cambridge, Mass., by August 31, 1918.

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-THIRD
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 27-29, 1917.



THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT PHILADELPHIA.¹

The American Historical Association has now held at least two of its annual meetings in each of the four chief centers of American population. It held at New York the meeting of 1896 and the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of 1909; at Boston those of 1887, 1899, and 1912; at Chicago a summer meeting of somewhat special character in 1893, at the time of the World's Fair, and meetings in December of 1904 and 1914; and has now held two meetings in Philadelphia, those of 1902 and 1917. Anyone who has attended, at the same city, or in each of them, two of these meetings, ten or fifteen years apart, has ready means of measuring the society's progress and the advancement made in the range and quality of its proceedings. It is all very gratifying, and most of all because of the rich promise it offers of still further improvement in the future.

One or two aspects of the Philadelphia meeting were, however, especially gratifying. In November and December there had been, in this as in other scientific societies, evidences of doubt in some minds as to whether it were not better, in war time, to omit these large annual gatherings, in the interest of economy of money and effort. They are indeed expensive. They are more expensive than they should be. No local committee of arrangements likes to show the American Historical Association any but the best hotel in its city, though few there be among the members of that worthy but impecunious fraternity who habitually put up at the best hotels in the cities which they visit on other occasions. To be forced to stay at an expensive hotel because it is headquarters is in some respects agreeable (especially if there is a cheap restaurant near at hand), but when we add to the cost the expense and present difficulty of railroad travel, there is much to deter us, especially in war time, from going far to attend the meetings of a scientific society. With the next meeting scheduled to take place in Minneapolis, the association did prudently in voting authority to the executive council to omit the meeting of December, 1918, or change place and plan, if conditions attending the war develop before September in such a manner that action of this sort seems to the council expedient.

But with the pressure of the war no further advanced than it was in December, 1917, it could fairly be said that, if the transac-

¹ This account is adapted from that in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1918.

tions of a national historical society were what they should be, they were worth to the Government and the country all that they cost. No national effort of such prodigious magnitude and power as that which we are called upon to make can be made by any nation which is not fully conscious of an inspiring past. Of all the factors that make a nation, a common history is perhaps the most potent; and the present war of nations is visibly a product of history. Much knowledge of European history is necessary toward its comprehension, much thought and feeling respecting American history toward bearing successfully our part in its prosecution. A national historical society with no thoughts above the level of antiquarianism might better not convene in such days as these, but a national historical society with the right spirit could not hold an annual meeting without sending its members home heartened to the performance of every patriotic duty, nor without extending in some measure throughout the nation the inspiring and clarifying influence of sound historical thinking and right patriotic feeling.

Fortunately—though not by accident, nor with any ground for surprise—such has been the spirit and temper of the American Historical Association. It is no accident that such men wish now, more than ever, to connect their studies of the past with the life of the present, to relate every portion of history to the impending crisis of civilization, and to concentrate attention on those parts that are really significant and directly helpful, yet to do all this without allowing the judgment to be warped by the events and passions of the hour, without ceasing to see the life of the race steadily and see it whole. At the Cincinnati meeting, and still more at that lately held at Philadelphia, those who made the program and those who took part in it advanced from the ignoring attitude of 1914 and 1915 to a frank recognition of the war as the historical event now uppermost in all minds, from ground perhaps suitable to spectators to ground appropriate for participants, and did so without excitement or partisanship or loss of judgment. Such discussions by teachers and writers are surely useful to the nation.

Not only was the meeting marked by unwonted enthusiasm, but it was attended by much greater numbers than would generally be expected in such times. The registration amounted to 379, a figure which has only a few times been surpassed. No doubt the historic and other attractions of Philadelphia were in large part responsible for this unusually great attendance. No city has so many and so important associations with the beginnings of our national life, and none has so many visible memorials of those events to attract the patriotic pilgrim. A special occasion was provided, on one of the afternoons of the session, for visits to these historic scenes of old Philadelphia and to the American Philosophical Society.

Additional numbers may well have been drawn to the meeting by Philadelphia's established fame for hospitality. Besides all that was done privately to sustain those hospitable traditions, the University of Pennsylvania, in whose buildings all the sessions of one of the three days (Dec. 27, 28, 29) were held, entertained all members to luncheon and to supper on that day. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in whose hall Mr. Worthington Ford delivered on the first evening his presidential address, followed that address, in its usual handsome manner, with a reception and supper. The conference of archivists and that of historical societies were held in the same building. Other sessions of the first and third days were mostly held in various rooms of the hotel chosen as official headquarters, the Bellevue-Stratford. The privileges of the College Club and of the New Century Club were extended to women members attending the meeting, those of the Franklin Inn Club to the men. The chairman of the committee on local arrangements was Mr. George Wharton Pepper, the vice chairman, Prof. William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, to whom, and to other professors in that university, the attending members are greatly indebted. The chairman of the committee on program was Prof. John B. McMaster, the vice chairman Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the same institution.

Other learned societies which met at the same time and place were the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. The session on ancient history was held as a joint session with the first two of these bodies; that on medieval church history as a joint session with the American Society of Church History, which, meeting as usual in New York, adjourned to Philadelphia for this final session; the conference of teachers of history as a joint session with the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland; while the last session of all was held in common with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society. At that session the members of the various societies were favored with an interesting informal address by the Hon. Robert Brand, deputy chairman of the British War Mission, well known for work connected with the federation of South Africa, on the "British Commonwealth of Nations"; Hon. Edward P. Costigan, of the United States Tariff Commission, read an address on "Economic alliances, commercial treaties, and tariff adjustments," partly historical in character, in so far as it touched upon the experiments of the United States in reciprocity since 1890;¹ and Prof.

¹ Mr. Costigan's paper appears in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March, 1918.

Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper, at once entertaining and of solid value, on the "Pan-German use of history."

At noon of the first day, the members of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association came together in a subscription luncheon, at which M. Louis Aubert, of the French High Commission, spoke eloquently of the aid of historians in winning the war, and Prof. Guy S. Ford, of the University of Minnesota, who since May has been performing invaluable services as director of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation in the Committee on Public Information at Washington, described the educational work of that committee in detail and in a manner to convince all hearers of the high value of its labors. Several subscription dinners of those having a common interest in an individual field of history were arranged, in accordance with a custom which has been growing of late, and were eminently successful—a dinner of those interested in military history, one of members interested in the history of the Far East, and one of members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. There was also a breakfast of those interested in Latin-American history and in the foundation of the new Hispanic-American Historical Review; and a subscription luncheon of teachers, at which the subject of discussion was the War and the Teaching of History, and at which an interesting letter addressed to those present by M. Édouard de Billy, French Deputy High Commissioner, was read by M. François Monod.

Though several of the sessions were entitled conferences and had in part that character, the familiar difficulty of eliciting real discussion of substantive papers confined those sessions mostly to formal written contributions; but there were, as usual, three conferences that call for independent description, the fourteenth annual conference of representatives of State and local historical societies, the ninth annual conference of archivists and, the conference of teachers of history.

The conference of historical societies now met for the first time under the constitution provided for it by the association a year before, which gives it an autonomous status; and organized by the choice of Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, librarian of the Pennsylvania State Library, as chairman; and of several committees. The secretary of the new organization is Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, appointed to that position by the council a year before. Preparations were made for the issue in 1918 of a handbook of American historical societies. The proceedings of the conference were mainly occupied with the problem of the relations between historical societies and the various hereditary-patriotic societies, especially in the matter of cooperation in publication. Judge Norris

S. Barratt, of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, read a paper on the publications issued by societies of the latter class, and the need of avoiding duplication. The plan of a joint committee, in which each such society should be represented, and which should systematize printing, and by agreement assign to each society the field and method of publication which it should adopt, was elaborated by Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University; and by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was voted that the president of the American Historical Association should be requested to appoint a committee of 13, representing all types of organization involved, to consider closer cooperation and report a plan for avoiding duplication of effort and securing a better and more systematic publication of historical material. For the remainder of the conference the topic was the collection by historical societies of local material on the present war; Prof. Harlow C. Lindley and Dr. Solon J. Buck gave useful descriptions of methods pursued by the Indiana State Library and the Minnesota Historical Society respectively.¹

The chief theme in the conference of archivists was the collection and preservations of war records. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution, secretary of the National Board for Historical Service, presented in outline the general subject of "Archives of the War." He emphasized the great need of preserving properly the official documents and papers produced by the Federal, State, and local governments of the Union in their various conventional departments, and showed in part what was being done in this direction, and by libraries; but he dwelt more largely on the need of preserving proper records of the doings of those newer governmental or semi-official or extra official bodies which have been created in such numbers for purposes connected with the war. Starting without traditions of office and with instant needs for boundless activity, such organizations are likely to forget the importance of preserving for future times the records of their activities. Yet after all their achievements should hold as high and as instructive a place in the history of the war as those of all the traditional divisions of the old-line military or political mechanism, for the future historian of the war will see it, in this country as in others, as a prodigious and many-sided effort of the whole Nation. What has been done to cause these newer bodies to conserve historical material was set forth by Mr. Leland in general terms, and was exemplified in a particular instance by a fuller description, presented by Mr. Everett S. Brown, of the archives of the Food Administration as historical

¹ A fuller account of the proceedings, in a brief pamphlet of eight pages, has been prepared by Dr. Shearer, and may be obtained from him. The complete proceedings are printed in this present volume.

sources. Prof. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America, editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, speaking to the title, the "Collection of Catholic war records," described the systematic endeavors made, on a large scale, by the war record committee of the Catholic National War Council, operating through 119 diocesan sub-committees, to collect all sorts of material relating to the war which could be obtained from members of the Catholic Church, the portions relating to Catholics to be preserved ultimately in a special archive building to be erected in Washington at the Catholic University of America. Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard; Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of North Carolina; Dr. Buck, of Minnesota; and Dr. James Sullivan, of the New York Department of History, also spoke in this conference, partly by way of describing the earnest and intelligent efforts which historical departments and societies and the historical sections of State councils of defence have made to insure the preservation of material on the war, partly upon the pressing need, which war conditions have emphasized, for better housing of the national archives at Washington. The conference was presided over by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, chairman of the Public Archives Commission.¹

The conference of teachers of history, presided over by Dean Marshall S. Brown, of New York University, attracted an exceptionally large attendance, especially of teachers in secondary schools. It will be remembered that the association two years ago appointed a committee of 13 to consider what progress could be made toward framing for American schools a more ideal program in history, a course which, while defining more closely the fields of history recommended by the committee of seven, should also bring about a better coordination between the elementary and the secondary schools. This conference was planned to help forward these deliberations, and the principal paper was by Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman hitherto of that committee on history in schools. Prof. Johnson's paper, on the "School course in history, some precedents and a possible next step," a paper expressed with his usual wisdom and felicity, and the valuable remarks of the gentlemen who followed him in the discussion of the theme, Prof. Rolla M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago; Dr. Arthur M. Wolfson, of the New York High School of Commerce; Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of the Western Reserve University; and Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth University; have been printed at length in another place.² It must suffice here to say that Prof. Johnson warned against the non-historical tendency to

¹ Complete proceedings of the conference are printed below in the present volume.

² *History Teacher's Magazine*, February, 1918, pp. 74-83, pages of great value and importance. See also below in this present volume.

teach too much "current events," continually shifting the emphasis and interpretation of history to suit the interests of the hour, and against the temptation, active in such times as these, to turn the whole force of historical teaching to the stimulation of national patriotism—the very process which in Germany, glorifying one nation alone, has resulted in intellectual isolation from the civilization of the rest of the world. Advocating a connected program of history for the whole school course, he especially commended as a model the French course of 1902, which endeavored to promote without bias a sympathetic understanding of the progress of humanity, and therefore attained a point of view universal and stable.

Among the formal papers read at the meetings, the place of first consideration belongs to the bright and engaging presidential address delivered by Mr. Ford, facile princeps among American historical editors of whatever period, on the "Editorial function in American history."¹ Such summaries as we are able to give of the other papers may best be arranged in something approaching a chronological or systematic order, without regard to the order in which these papers appeared in the program.

A group of papers in the session on ancient history discussed, in outline and suggestively, the problems of ancient imperialism, Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, of the University of Illinois, presenting a paper on "Oriental imperialism; Prof. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, one on "Greek imperialism;" while a third, prepared by the late Prof. George W. Botsford of Columbia University, dealt with "Roman imperialism."²

In the same session, Prof. Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University, discussing the "Decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire," showed how the earlier patriotism of antiquity, based on the city state in the more advanced, on the tribe in the less advanced populations, never developed into a nationalism attached to a large area, before Roman conquest substituted provincial organization with its highly centralized form of government, broke up old relations and destroyed many of the intercity or intertribal ties. That a Roman nationalism developed under the Empire is difficult to maintain. The racial composition of the Empire, its vast extent, the early loss of political power under the principate, the individualism engendered by social and economic conditions and by philosophy and oriental religions, caused Roman national spirit in reality to decline.³

Aspects of cosmopolitan religion under the Empire were treated by Prof. A. L. Frothingham of Princeton, in a paper on the "Cos-

¹ American Historical Review, XXIII, 273-286; also below in present volume.

² These three papers are printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1918.

³ Printed in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1918.

mopolitan religion of Tarsus and the origin of Mithra." He exhibited Tarsus as a typical exponent of religious cosmopolitanism, affected, by reason of its position and history, by Hittite and Anatolian ideas, by those of the Assyrians and the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. One part of his paper essayed to show how influences from all these sources are reflected in the symbolism of the lion slaying the bull, a special device of Tarsus, and in its mythological interpretations. Another argued for the origin of Mithra in the Babylonian myth of the hero Gilgamesh. Among the comments made upon the papers in this session, especially valuable were those of Prof. Frank F. Abbott, of Princeton, on the causes which broke down the individuality of the city states and brought about the decline of civic patriotism under the Roman Empire.

Prof. Joseph C. Ayer, jr., of the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, presented a paper on the "Church councils of the Anglo-Saxons." His conclusions were: (1) That the provincial conciliar system of the church was as ineffectual and as irregular at this period in England as elsewhere: (2) that with the exception of the two provincial synods of Hertford and Hatfield under Archbishop Theodore, there were no Anglo-Saxon councils or synods representing the entire church in England; (3) that there is no evidence, by way of church councils, of any such unity of church organization as could do much to advance the political unity of the nations in England; (4) that the earliest synods of Theodore and probably the strictly provincial synods for some time, were called by the archbishop on his own authority, but that later it was on the king's authority that all councils, secular and ecclesiastical, were called, the church councils rapidly becoming assimilated with the witenagemot; (5) that the witenagemot took the place of the provincial synod for all ecclesiastical purposes at an early day, possibly at about 800 A. D.¹

In the session devoted to medieval church history, in which this paper was read, later church councils had an important place. The presidential address which Prof. David S. Schaff, of the Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh, delivered before the American Society of Church History in this session was devoted to the "Council of Constance, its fame and its failure," setting forth its personal aspects, the questions which it settled, and those which it failed to settle—the healing of the papal schism, the failure to reform the church, or to fix the final seat of authority in ecumenical councils.

Dr. Harold J. Laski, of Harvard, in a paper on the "Conciliar Movement," dealt with that movement in its bearings upon fundamental political questions, still urgent: The nature of political au-

¹ Printed in Papers of the American Society of Church History.

thority, the question of sovereignty, the relation between the State and other organizations, the problems connected with representative government, and the problems of internationalism. The important question throughout the movement was that of constitutionalism against autocracy. The papacy refused reform. The conciliar writers believed that only a constitutional government could end the evil. They were led to see that the church is not *sui generis* but has the nature of other associations of men. The federal idea to which they came was overthrown by the conception of a sovereignty which because of its great purposes could know no limits, which refuses to admit a divided allegiance. The failure of the attempt gave birth to ultramontanism, the parent of divine right and state absolutism. But even in failure, the idea that the consent of the governed is a fundamental element in government, the idea that there are rights so sacred that they must not be invaded survived to bear fruit later. The temporary failure was due to the secular forces of the time, demanding centralization.

In the last of the papers of ecclesiastical history, a paper on the "Actual achievements of the Reformation," Dr. Presserved Smith interpreted the Reformation as a culmination of seven revolutionary processes, maturing throughout the latter Middle Ages: A revolt of the national state against the ecclesiastical world state and of Teutonism against Latin culture; the prevalence of the ideals of the bourgeoisie over those of the privileged orders; the change from a pessimistic, other-worldly order, to one optimistic and secular; the growth of individualism; the popularization of knowledge; the triumph of monotheism or monism; and the shift from a sacramental, hierarchical supernaturalism to an unconditioned, unmediated, disinterested, transcendental morality.

The special session for English medieval history was devoted to four papers on the history of English medieval taxation: By Prof. William E. Lunt, of Haverford College, on "Early assessment for papal taxation of English clerical incomes;" by Dr. Sydney K. Mitchell, of Yale University, on the "Taxation of the personal property of laymen down to 1272;" by Dr. Norman S. B. Gras, of Clark University, on the "English customs revenue to 1275;" and by Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, on the "Assessment of lay subsidies, 1290-1332."¹

Mr. Lunt described the valuations made in 1201, 1217, and 1229, and discussed the assessments probably used for the taxes ordered in 1238, 1239, 1245, 1246, 1247, and 1252. Tentatively, he concluded that the three valuations named were apparently the only assessments of English clerical incomes made for papal taxation pre-

¹ All but the second of these papers, that by Dr. Mitchell, are printed below in the present volume.

vious to 1254, and that they probably included only the spiritualities and did not extend to the temporalities. The last of the three, that of 1229, was the most thorough, furnished the precedents for the methods followed in later valuations, and was probably used for the assessment of all papal taxes imposed upon the income of the English papal clergy between 1229 and 1254.

Mr. Mitchell's paper dealt with the machinery created for the new taxation of the personal property of laymen. A special exchequer, modeled after that of Westminster but independent of it, was generally established to deal with the work of each county collector. This system was followed until the time of Edward I, when the work was assigned to the exchequer at Westminster and the wardrobe. In the endeavors after proper valuation, many experiments were made in the local machinery, adaptations and generalizations of devices already in use in the judicial organization of the kingdom, but one feature was constant, a body of royal commissioners, appointed in each county, who had general charge of the assessment and collection of the tax.

In respect to the early history of the English customs revenue, Dr. Gras controverted the current view that the origin of the national customs had lain in a gradual development of the royal right of seizure of goods from merchants, systematized and reduced to money payments. On the contrary he believed the national system to have developed from certain definite customs already existing, through a series of clearly defined actions, in each case an episode in the struggle between localism and nationalism. Among the early taxes on trade he instanced lastage and scavage as having characteristics of national taxes, and two later taxes on wine, cornage and prisage. The decrees or assizes on which these taxes were founded have been lost, but they were all national in being based on foreign trade, imposed on alien and denizen, and apparently imposed originally by the sovereign.

Prof. Willard's paper was an account of the assessment of taxes on personal property in England from 1290 to 1332. Between these two dates the system provided for the appointment in each county of groups of commissioners called taxers, in whose instructions the fundamental principle was that the personal property of each individual was to be valued by men of his neighborhood. Subtaxers reported their data to the chief taxers, who, after general survey, summarized the information in two large rolls for the county, which were brought to the exchequer. There is some uncertainty as to the kinds of personal property which were valued, and as to whether assessments were made from the true value, but apparently there was a good deal of conventional valuation.

In a paper entitled "The association,"¹ Dr. J. Franklin Jameson discussed the development, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of that institution or mode of organization of which the association of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 1774, is a familiar example—a signed agreement to continue in a given course of political action. He traced its English history from the association for the protection of Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, to instances of loyal association of a similar sort under the Hanoverian kings, discussed the Scottish model on which the association of 1584 might have been founded, but showed evidences that its model was rather the Dutch compromise of 1566, which in turn most probably had its model in the French Catholic leagues of 1560 and the years immediately following.

The most generally interesting of all the sessions was doubtless that one which was devoted to a topic uppermost at that time in most minds, recent Russian history.²

In this session, Prof. Alexander Petrunkevitch, of Yale University, described in an illuminating manner the rôle of the intellectuals in the liberating movement in Russia. The real leaders of all Russian parties are intellectuals, since they alone have intelligence to formulate the desires and dreams of the workers. The party programs express the opinions of the leaders, not of the masses; the wording of them is in the language of educated Russia. He described the intellectual position of each of the Russian political parties and its relations to the revolution, and explained why no one of them was able to control the forces which the revolution had unloosed.

Prof. Samuel N. Harper, of Chicago, speaking on "Forces behind the Russian revolution of March, 1917," dwelt chiefly upon two distinct forces, operating through two sets of institutions—political liberalism, which took the initiative, acting through already existing institutions of a somewhat popular character, especially the Duma, and radicalism of a socialistic character, claiming to represent "revolutionary democracy" as opposed to the bourgeoisie, and acting through strictly revolutionary organizations, such as the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The interaction of these forces, the failure of efforts toward coalition, and the chaos resulting from the triumph of revolutionary democracy, were described.

Next followed a vivid account of the "First week of the revolution of March, 1917," by an eyewitness, Prof. Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College. Adverting to the prevalence, before the war, of discontent with the Government, and the frequent talk, in all circles, of the revolution that would follow soon after the war, he

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² The four papers read at this session have been published by the Harvard University Press in a volume: *The Russian Revolution and the Jugo-Slavs.*

declared the present revolution to have been precipitated by the conduct of the Minister of the Interior. Fearing lest the revolutionary spirit should grow too powerful for the Government to contend with, he instigated an uprising in order to suppress it seasonably and prevent worse outbreaks in the future, and so brought on a revolution which he was unable to control.

Finally, in a comprehensive paper on the "Jugo-Slav movement," Prof. Robert J. Kerner, of the University of Missouri, traced the history of the Jugo-Slavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) through an evolution of 12 centuries, from primeval unity, through a political, economic, and social decomposition of a most bewildering character, to national unity and the present demand for political amalgamation.

We may bridge the transition from papers of European history to papers of American history by mention of that on the "Functions of an historical section of a general staff,"¹ read in a section devoted to military history, by Lieut. Col. Paul Azan, of the French Army. The topic gains additional interest for American historical scholars from the recent action of the War Department in creating an historical section in the general staff of the United States Army. Col. Azan described the archives of the French ministry of war, the organization of the historical section of the general staff, its work, and its relations to the Centre des Hautes Études Militaires and the École Supérieure de Guerre in developing the theory of war.

First among the contributions to American history mention should be made of the notable paper by Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, on the "Background of American Federalism."² Its purpose was to show, first, that the essential qualities of American federal organization were largely produced by the practices of the old British Empire as it existed before 1764, and, secondly, that the discussions of the period from that time to 1787, and, more particularly, those of the 10 years preceding 1776, gathered very largely around the problem of imperial organization, and, in that field, around the problem of recognizing federalism as a principle, or of discerning the nature of federal organization, in which so-called powers of government are distinguished one from another. The insistence of the colonists was on the maintenance of the old, uncentralized empire; the contention of the parliamentarians was that a denial of a single power to the Parliament was a denial that it was possessed of any power whatsoever. The result of the actual practices of the old empire, of the argument, of the war, and of the attempted solution in the Articles of Confederation, was the emergence of the federal empire of the United States.

¹ Printed in the *Military Historian and Economist*, April, 1918.

² Printed in the *American Political Science Review* for May, 1918.

The other papers relating to the first 50 years of United States history were those read in joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. That of Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, entitled "To what extent was George Rogers Clark in control of the Northwest at the close of the Revolution?"¹ took up that question as an essential means for determining the importance of Clark's conquests. The author related the history of Clark's designs and movements against Detroit, concluding with the results of his expeditions against the Shawnee strongholds in November, 1782, which in both British and Indian view laid Detroit open to attack.

The essay by Prof. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, on the "Spanish conspiracy in Tennessee," related to the events which ensued in the Tennessee region upon the extinction of the state of Franklin. The conspiracy was that whereby Gardoqui intrigued with John Sevier to secure the allegiance of the latter and his associates to Spain. An important letter of Sevier, from the Archives of the Indies, promising action of this nature, was read.²

In the same session, the "Mission of Gen. George Matthews on the Florida frontier" was described by Prof. Isaac J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, who related Matthews's endeavors in 1810, as secret agent, to persuade Folch to surrender West Florida, his renewal of the attempt in the following year, his unauthorized instigation of rebellion in East Florida, his seizure of Fernandina, and the considerations which forced Madison to disavow his actions.

A paper by Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on "Stephen F. Austin,"³ was devoted to a discussion of Austin's personality, as revealed in his work. His power as a leader was deduced from the control he exercised over the rapidly increasing population of his settlement throughout the whole period from 1821 to 1836, his skill as a diplomat from his ability to hold the confidence of Mexican statesmen and allay their fears of disloyalty on the part of the colonists despite the persistent efforts of the United States to buy Texas.

In a paper of much importance and value, Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University, set forth the "Significance of the North-Central States in the middle of the nineteenth century." The points mainly dwelt upon were the relations of geography and population, the interplay and mixture of varied stocks, the influence of mid-western agriculture, especially of wheat farming, on both west

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² Mr. Henderson's article appears in the April number of the Tennessee Historical Magazine.

³ Printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for June, 1918.

and east, the development of business, the application of eastern capital to banking, transportation, and commerce, the political developments and their relation to the processes of settlement and of economic growth, the formation of a new democratic society in this region, and the influence of the children of the pioneers in a wide variety of cultural fields.

Three papers dealt with the American war period of 50 years ago. Prof. Louis B. Schmidt, of Iowa State College, spoke on the "Influence of wheat and cotton on Anglo-American relations during the Civil War."¹ He developed in some detail Great Britain's dependence on American wheat and cotton. While the blockade withheld southern cotton from shipment to England, northern wheat supplied the deficit which other nations were unable to fill, and, since England had a series of crop failures in 1860, 1861, and 1862, her dependence on American wheat was most acute when the cotton famine was at its height, and may well be regarded as having contributed the decisive influence, overbalancing that of cotton, in keeping the British Government from recognition of the Confederacy.

Secondly, Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in "Notes on American manufactures during the Civil War,"² explained why, though manufacturing in the South was disastrously interrupted, manufacturing at the North prospered during the period of warfare, partly because it had been brought to a stage where the plants were easily transformed into war factories, partly because of wider and more open markets. A surplus of manufactures above both civil and military needs of the Nation was produced, exports to Europe were continued, and the general effect of the war was to accelerate manufacturing and to give it an impetus that was permanent until the panic of 1873.

The third of these papers was one by Prof. Carl R. Fish, of Wisconsin, on the "Restoration of the southern railroads after the Civil War." He described the system under which, beginning in the spring of 1865, repairs and restoration proceeded under military authority. The reconstruction of these roads by the engineering corps of the army, on financial credit advanced through the War Department, solved the immediate transportation problem of the South, as it could have been solved in no other way. Considering the temper of the North toward the South and the American individualist theories of the period, the process which ended in the summer of 1866 was little short of a miracle.

In one of the evening sessions a large audience derived much entertainment, as well as much profit, from a discourse on "A genera-

¹ Printed in the Iowa Journal of History and Politics for July, 1918.

² Printed in the Military Historian and Economist, April, 1918.

tion of American historiography," by Prof. William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, in which the progress of historical writing since the foundation of the American Historical Association in 1884 was set forth, with a light touch and with many humorous turns of phrase, but none the less with much sagacity and insight. Characterizing briefly the work of recent historians, Schouler, H. H. Bancroft, McMaster, Fiske, Henry Adams, Rhodes, Roosevelt, and others, he also exhibited the new factors and features of this latest period—the development of the historical monograph, of the doctoral dissertation, of the cooperative history, and the tendency toward economic and impersonal history.¹

In the same session, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, gave a description, both interesting and instructive, of the "Psychology of a constitutional convention," based on his recent experiences as a member of the constitutional convention of Massachusetts.

Students of Latin-American history, gathered in a special conference, had an opportunity of hearing five papers, most of which are likely to be printed later in the new journal of that specialty.²⁰ An important and original paper, bridging the history of Spain and of Spanish America, was that in which Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, exhibited the "Institutional background of Latin-American history," by showing how the institutions which Spain set up for the administration of her colonial empire were readily derived by adaptation from institutions which she had already been called upon to develop. The progress of southward conquest by the Spanish kingdoms in the Middle Ages required them to originate a system of royal and municipal officials, executive and judicial—*adelantados*, *alcaldes*, *corregidores*, *audiencias*, and councils—which were obvious models for viceroys and provisional governors, municipal organizations, and *audiencias* in the New World.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California, defined with precision, but in a manner impossible to summarize, the history of the "Delimitation of political jurisdictions in Spanish North America," established prior to 1535, indicating the successive changes in those jurisdictions, and sketching the political readjustments resulting from those changes.²

The history of Portuguese America received equal attention with that of Spanish America. Prof. William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, narrated the story of an "Early diplomatic controversy between the United States and Brazil," namely that which Condé Raguet, American *chargé d'affaires* in Brazil from

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² The papers of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Hackett appear in the February, 1918, number of the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*; those by Profs. Manning and Martin in the May, 1918, number of the same journal.

1824 to 1827, waged with the Brazilian authorities over the blockade maintained by Brazil before Argentine ports, during the war over the question of Uruguay. Prof. Percy A. Martin, of Leland Stanford University, showed the "Influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce," beginning with the unsuccessful efforts made in 1850 and with Lieut. M. F. Maury's somewhat truculent memorial of 1853, and described the effects of those efforts and of the work of Tavares Bastos who finally persuaded the Emperor Don Pedro II, in 1866, to sign the imperial decree opening the Brazilian portion of the Amazon to international commerce. Mr. Reginald Orcutt, of Washington, ended the session with a "Review of the history of German colonization in Brazil, from 1827 to 1914."

For those whose interest lies in the field of Far Eastern history, there was a profitable session on the last day of the convention, in which four papers, concerning the recent history of China and Japan and the relations of America to them, were read by Profs. F. W. Williams, of Yale University; Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University; W. W. McLaren, of Williams College; and the Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of New York, respectively. The first spoke of the "Mid-Victorian attitude of foreigners in China." He described the ignorance of social and material conditions in the Chinese Empire on the part of the Europeans who gathered in the five ports thrown open to maritime commerce in 1842 by the opium war, the economic and other sources of irritation, and the effects of the policy which Lord Palmerston followed in Europe in dealing with other powers, and of the extension of that policy to China, in the form of truculence and high-handed imposition, until, after another war, more conciliatory and educational methods of intercourse were proposed by Anson Burlingame, American minister to China, and inaugurator of the first plan for an open-door policy.

Mr. Latourette reviewed in detail the whole development of "American scholarship in Chinese history," lamenting the scantiness of American contributions to that study, in contrast to the excellent work of European scholars, especially French and English, and expressing the earnest desire, which indeed all should share, that the subject should attract more attention in this country. Mr. McLaren's topic was "Twenty years of party politics in Japan, 1897-1917," Dr. Gulick's, the "History of naturalization legislation in the United States, with special reference to Chinese and Japanese immigration," his main historical thesis being that it is only since 1907 that the act of 1875 has been uniformly interpreted by the courts as excluding Japanese from naturalization.

In the business meeting of the association, which took place on the last afternoon of the sessions, the prevailing note was of adjustment

to pecuniary limitations caused by the war. The many subscriptions which are called for from the class of persons chiefly represented in the association have caused an unusual number of members to resign from it or to omit to pay their annual dues, and a serious diminution of revenue is already visible, while the efforts to increase endowment, hopefully undertaken at the beginning of 1917, have been nearly discontinued since the entrance of the United States into the war. The feeling has been that success was not to be expected in times so unpropitious. Yet it is impossible to remain permanently content with anything short of a large increase in the association's scientific activities, for it is impossible not to feel with great earnestness the increased responsibility of America for maintaining the apparatus of the world's civilization. In every European country the sources from which scientific undertakings have been sustained will have been dried up or almost fatally diminished by the war. A recent German educational article sets forth, in plaintive accents, with many statistics, and with much truth, that "our superiority, anchored in the popular education of Germany and in the standard of our culture," will be impaired, that Germany's intellectual development "would be reduced to a wretched condition if Germany were to lose this war, or even if it were to be obliged to conclude a peace of renunciation." In any probable event of the war, America will emerge from it less damaged than any other combatant. When this shattered world resumes with pathetic courage the work of advancing civilization, it were shameful for America not to assume the chief part, if not in the labors of scholarship themselves, at any rate in their sustainment. Hers should be, in all departments of knowledge, the chief funds for the endowment of research.

At the moment, however, the American Historical Association had nothing before it but to pursue a prudent course. The report of the secretary, Mr. Leland, showed an actual membership of 2,654, less by 85 than was reported a year before. That of the treasurer, Dr. Bowen, indicated net receipts, for the year, of \$8,659, net expenditures of \$9,454, a deficit of \$795. The assets were reported as \$28,516. They would have been less than those of the year preceding by the amount of the deficit mentioned, and by a decline of \$200 in the value of certain securities, but these losses had been more than counterbalanced by the payments made into the general endowment fund, for which it was reported that subscriptions amounting to \$3,365 had been made, and \$1,490 had been paid in.

The secretary of the council, Prof. Greene, reported its transactions, as required by the constitution, and a number of recommendations, all of which were adopted by the association. Dr. Bowen, who had been the treasurer of the association throughout the whole 33

years of its existence, having retired from that office, the secretary of the council reported resolutions by which that body endeavored to express its sense of the society's indebtedness to Dr. Bowen for this long period of unselfish and efficient labor, and the association with much warmth of feeling passed resolutions of similar tenor. The Secretary of the council also reported on the work of various committees, and also on the budget and the necessary omission of appropriations to several of these committees. Mr. Shearer reported the results of the conference of historical societies, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, informally, on the latest meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch. Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the board of editors of the *Review*, reported on its transactions and on the policy which it has adopted during war time, and the association took the final steps in adjusting the financial relations between the board and the association. The committee on the Adams prize, unable to report at the time of the business meeting, has since reported an award of the prize to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, of the National Army, for an essay entitled "G. J. A. Ducher: An Essay in the Political History of Mercantilism during the French Revolution."

Upon recommendation by the council, the conditions of award of the two prizes were so modified as to provide that the field of the Winsor prize shall be American history, that of the Adams prize the history of the Eastern Hemisphere; that printed monographs as well as manuscript may be submitted and considered; and that a manuscript to which a prize has been awarded may be printed in the annual reports, publication in separate volumes being discontinued after the present year.

The report of the committee on nominations was presented by its chairman, Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. In accordance with its recommendations, Mr. William R. Thayer, first vice president of the association, was elected president, Prof. Edward Channing first vice president, Mr. J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of France, second vice president. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Prof. Evarts B. Greene, and Mr. A. Howard Clark were reelected to their respective offices of secretary, secretary of the council, and curator. Mr. Charles Moore, of Detroit, president of the United States Fine Arts Commission, was elected treasurer. The new members chosen to the council were Profs. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, Walter L. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University, and William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania. The full list of officers, of members of the council, and of committees appears on a later page. The council elected Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard, a member of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* for the period of six years from the adjournment of the meeting, in succession to Prof. Ephraim Emerton, whose term then expired.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN PHILADEL-
PHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 27-29, 1917.

Wednesday, December 26.

4 p. m.: Council meeting. Green room, Bellevue-Stratford.

Thursday, December 27.

10.30 a. m.: General session—American history. Clover room, Bellevue-Stratford. "The Association," J. Franklin Jameson, Washington, D. C. "The significance of the North Central States in the middle of the nineteenth century," Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University. "Influence of wheat and cotton on Anglo-American relations during the Civil War, Louis B. Schmidt, Iowa State College. "Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1867-1884," Herbert E. Bolton, University of California.

1 p. m.: Joint subscription luncheon by the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the Political Science Association. Ball room, Bellevue-Stratford. Edgar F. Smith, provost, University of Pennsylvania, presiding. Address: "A Government experiment in war publicity," Guy Stanton Ford, of committee on public information.

2.30 p. m.: Ancient history. Joint session with the American Archæological Institute and the American Philological Society. Engineering Building, University of Pennsylvania. Chairman, James H. Breasted, University of Chicago. "The cosmopolitanism of the religion of Tarsus and the origin of Mithra," A. L. Frothingham, Princeton University. Discussion opened by Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University. "Oriental imperialism," A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois. Discussion opened by Morris Jastrow, jr., University of Pennsylvania. "Greek imperialism," W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University. Discussion opened by William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania. "Roman imperialism," paper prepared by the late G. W. Botsford, Columbia University. Discussion opened by S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University. "The decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire," Clifford Moore, Harvard University. Discussion opened by F. F. Abbott, Princeton University.

3.00 p. m.: Conference of Archivists. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street. Chairman—Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library. Subject: "The preservation and collection of war records." "The archives of the war," Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C. "The archives of the United States Food Administration as historical sources," Everett S. Brown, U. S. Food Administration, Washington. "The collection of Catholic war records," Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America. Discussion: R. M. Johnston, Harvard University; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois; Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society; James Sullivan, New York State historian; G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission, and others.

4.00 p. m.: Visit to old Philadelphia and to the American Philosophical Society.

6.30 p. m.: Subscription dinner for those interested in military history and documents. Kugler's restaurant, 1412 Chestnut Street. Topic for discussion: "The historian and the war."

8.30 p. m.: General session—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chairman—Charlemagne Tower. Presidential address: "The editorial function in American history," Worthington C. Ford.

9.30 p. m.: Reception and supper tendered by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the members of the American Historical Association.

Friday, December 28

Sessions at the University of Pennsylvania, Thirty-fourth Street and Woodland Avenue.

10.00 a. m.: Medieval church history. Joint session with the American Society of Church History. Room 205, College Hall. Chairman—David S. Schaff, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. Presidential address of the American Society of Church History: "The Council of Constance: Its fame and its failure," David S. Schaff. "The church councils of the Anglo-Saxons," J. Cullen Ayer, jr., Philadelphia Divinity School. "The conciliar movement," Harold J. Laski, Harvard University. "The actual achievements of the Reformation," Preserved Smith, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

10.00 a. m.: American history. Room 200, College Hall. Joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman—St. George L. Sioussat, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. "To what extent was George Rogers Clark in possession of the Northwest at the close of the revolution?" James A. James, Northwestern University. "The Spanish conspiracy in Tennessee," Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina. "The mission of Gen. George Matthews on the Florida frontier," Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; "Stephen F. Austin," Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas. "Populism in Louisiana in the nineties," M. J. White, Tulane University.

10 a. m.: Military history and war economics. Houston Hall. Chairman—Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University. "Rôle de la Section Historique dans un Etat-Major Général," Lieut. Col. Paul Azan, of the French Army. "Notes on American Manufactures during the Civil War," Victor S. Clark, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C. "The reconstruction of the Southern railroads," Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin. "The work of the commercial economy board," E. F. Gay, Harvard University.

1 p. m.: Luncheon tendered to members of all associations by the University of Pennsylvania. Weightman Hall.

2.30 p. m.: Recent Russian history. Houston Hall. Chairman—Worthington C. Ford. "The Rôle of the Intellectuals in the Liberating Movement in Russia," Alexander Petrunkevitch, Yale University. "Factors in the March Revolution of 1917," Samuel N. Harper, University of Chicago. "The first week of the revolution of March, 1917," F. A. Golder, Washington State College. "The Jugo-Slav movement," Robert J. Kerner, University of Missouri.

3 p. m.: Conference on English medieval history: English medieval taxation. Room 213, College Hall. Chairman—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University. "Early assessment for papal taxation of English clerical incomes," William E. Lunt, Haverford College. "The taxes on the personal property of laymen to 1272," Sydney K. Mitchell, Yale University. "The English customs revenues up to 1275," Norman S. B. Gras, Clark University. "The Assessment of lay subsidies, 1290-1332," James F. Willard, University of Colorado.

4.30 p. m.: Visit to the collections of the University museum.

6-8 p. m.: Supper and smoker tendered by the University of Pennsylvania to the members attending the meetings of the various associations. Weightman Hall.

8.15 p. m.: Joint session with American political science association. Auditorium, University Museum. Chairman—Josiah H. Penniman, vice provost, University of Pennsylvania. "A generation of American historiography," William A. Dunning, Columbia University. "The background of American federalism," Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago. "The psychology of a constitutional convention," Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

Saturday, December 29.

10 a. m.: Conference of historical societies—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chairman—Thomas Lynch Montgomery, State Librarian of Pennsylvania. Secretary—Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y. Business session; election of officers and committees. "The relation of the hereditary patriotic societies and the historical societies, with especial reference to cooperation in publication," Norris S. Barratt, judge of the court of common pleas, Philadelphia. Discussion by William Libbey, Princeton University. Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society. John W. Jordan, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. L. Bradford Prince, Historical Society of New Mexico. "The collection of local war material by historical societies." Discussion by Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society. Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Commission. Robert D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission. G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission.

10 a. m.: Conference of teachers of history. Joint session with the association of history teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. Clover room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Marshall S. Brown, New York University. "The school course in history: Some precedents and a possible next step." Henry Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Discussion by Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College. Lida Lee Tall, Baltimore, Md. Arthur M. Wolfson, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City. Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University. Oscar H. Williams, Indiana State Department of Education. R. M. Tryon, University of Chicago. A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota.

10 a. m.: Conference on far eastern history. Red room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania. "The mid-Victorian attitude of foreigners in China," F. W. Williams, Yale University. "American scholarship in Chinese history," K. S. Latourette, Denison University. "Twenty years of party politics in Japan, 1897-1917," W. W. McLaren, Williams College. "The history of naturalization legislation in the United States, with special reference to Chinese and Japanese immigration," Sydney L. Gulick, New York City. Discussion opened by Hon. John C. Ferguson.

10 a. m.: Conference on Latin-American history. Green Room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Julius M. Klein, Washington, D. C. "The delimitation of political jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535," Chas. W. Hackett, University of California. "The institutional background of Latin-American history," Chas. H. Cunningham, University of Texas. "An early diplomatic controversy between the United States and Brazil," William R. Manning, University of Texas. "The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce," Percy A. Martin, Leland Stanford University. "A review of colonization in Brazil with especial reference to the German migration, 1827-1914," Reginald Orcutt, Washington, D. C.

1 p. m.: Subscription luncheon. Junior room, Bellevue-Stratford. Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, presiding. "The war and the teaching of history."

2.30 p. m.: Annual business meeting. Bellevue-Stratford. Reports of officers and committees. Election of officers.

6 p. m.: Subscription dinner conference for members interested in far eastern history. Franklin Inn Club, Camac and St. James Streets. Subscription dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Kugler's Restaurant, 1412 Chestnut Street.

8.15 p. m.: Joint session with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society.

Gold room, Adelphia Hotel, Chestnut Street below Thirteenth Street. Chairman—Subject: "International federation." "The British commonwealth of nations," Hon. R. H. Brand, deputy vice chairman of the British War Mission. "Pan-German use of history," Wallace Notestein, University of Minnesota. "Economic alliances," Edward P. Costigan, United States Tariff Commission.

SUPPLEMENTARY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Thursday.

1. Louis Aubert, of the French War Commission, will speak at the luncheon on Thursday on "French historians and the war."

2. A reception for the women members of the association will be tendered by the College Club Thursday from 4 to 6.

Friday.

3. The bureau of registration will also be open at the University of Pennsylvania on Friday in Houston Hall.

4. The session on medieval history on Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock will be held in the library of the late Henry C. Lea, 2004 Walnut Street.

5. François Monod, chief of the cabinet of the French War Commission, will speak at the session on Friday evening on "Reflections on the present and future duties of historians toward world democracy."

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE HOTEL BELLEVUE-STRATFORD, PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m., ex-President William A. Dunning presiding.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report. The total membership of the association on December 19, 1917, was 2,654, a loss during the year of 85. Membership losses have been heaviest in New England, in the North Central States, and on the Pacific coast, while there have been slight gains in the South Atlantic, South Central, and West Central States. He reported that, in accordance with action by the council, the secretary of the council and the secretary of the association have been assigned the task of making a special study of the membership of the association with a view to determining the best methods for maintaining and increasing it. He reported the attendance at Philadelphia to be 379. With regard to publications of the association, the secretary reported that the general index to papers and annual reports from 1884 to 1914 was nearly through the press and would be distributed from the office of the Superintendent of Documents during the coming year; that the Annual Report for 1915, in one volume, had been printed and would be distributed from the office of the Superintendent of Documents within the next three months; that the Annual Report for 1916, in two volumes, was in press, as was also the prize essay for 1916, being Richard J. Purcell's "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818." The secretary also reported that it has been impossible, for financial reasons, to publish the proposed quarterly bulletin. He reported that the association had been represented at the congress of history and bibliography, held at Montevideo during the last summer, by Dr. Charles Lyon Chandler; that in reply to an invitation from the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil the council had decided to participate formally in the International Congress of History which is to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922. He reported that 33 members had died during the

year, two of them being life members—Miss Mary Alice Keach and Mr. Robert Lee Traylor.

It was voted that the report of the secretary be received and placed on file.

The treasurer's report was read by the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, and showed the financial condition of the association on December 19, 1917, to be as follows:

Net receipts.....	\$8, 659. 22
Net disbursements.....	9, 454. 51
Excess of disbursements.....	795. 29
Cash on hand.....	2, 424. 35
Other assets.....	26, 091. 87
Total assets.....	28, 516. 22
Increase in assets.....	494. 71

Dr. Bowen made a statement respecting the endowment fund showing that \$3,766 had already been subscribed, of which amount \$1,490 had been paid.

Dr. Bowen offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association approves of the action of the council to raise an endowment fund of \$22,000, of which \$3,365 has already been subscribed, so that the said \$22,000 added to the \$28,000 which the association already possesses will make our total endowment \$50,000; and would direct that a circular with a list of subscriptions inclosed be sent to the members of the association, so that any member, should he so desire, may make a subscription payable one-half July 1, 1918, and one-half payable January 1, 1919.

It was voted that the report of the treasurer be received and placed on file.

The resolution of Dr. Bowen having been laid before the meeting, was seconded by Mr. H. B. Learned. The vote being put, it was adopted.

Dr. Bowen then called attention to the fact that the finance committee estimated that there would be an excess of expenditures over receipts for 1918 of about \$600 and also that there had been an excess of expenditures over receipts during 1917 of \$795. He urged that these deficits should be made up by special subscriptions and stated that he had already secured pledges of about \$900.

The report of the audit committee, Messrs. J. M. Callahan and I. J. Cox, was read, stating that the report of the treasurer and a report thereon of the American Audit Co. had been examined and found to be in correct and satisfactory form.

The secretary of the council read for the information of the association the following resolution adopted by the council upon the occasion of the retirement of Dr. Clarence W. Bowen from the office of treasurer of the association:

Whereas Dr. Clarence W. Bowen has announced his intention not to accept a renomination for treasurer of the association.

Resolved, That the executive council has heard with deep regret Dr. Bowen's determination to retire from the service that he has so long and usefully performed. For 33 years he has guided the financial administration of the association and has guarded its treasury. In that long period the organization has prospered greatly and has widely extended its activities and influence. Dr. Bowen's unselfish and efficient labors have been a powerful factor in the accomplishment of those ends. Zeal and caution have been happily blended in his management of fiscal affairs and in his judgments of the general policy of the organization. The executive council will greatly miss his faithful exhortations to economy, as well as his sympathetic approval of progress. In his well-earned retirement he will be attended by the cordial gratitude and good wishes of all who understand what he has done for the cause of history and the welfare of the American Historical Association.

Mr. D. C. Munro offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of the American Historical Association learn with regret that Mr. Clarence W. Bowen insists upon refusing a reelection as treasurer. By his long and unselfish devotion he has placed every member

under a deep debt of gratitude. Through his careful management it has been possible for the association to carry on its manifold activities.

Resolved, therefore, That a vote of thanks be tendered Mr. Bowen and that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the association.

The resolution was seconded and was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The secretary of the council presented his annual report, in which he included a summary of the more important acts of the council during the past year and a brief survey of the activities of the committees and commissions of the association. He pointed out that the war had affected the work of the council and its committees in various ways. The reduced income from membership fees reported by the secretary and the treasurer had made it necessary to cut off the appropriations usually made to such important committees as the public archives commission, the committee on history in schools, and the committee on bibliography; and also to withdraw the subsidies hitherto given to the History Teacher's Magazine and to Writings on American History. The effect of this action was to leave the latter in a serious situation, which should appeal to the generosity of all who were interested in keeping up the apparatus of historical scholarship.

Members of certain committees, including one committee chairman, had withdrawn from the active service of the association in order to enter, upon public service of various kinds related to the war. In several instances members had been able to make contributions to the national service of a kind definitely related to historical scholarship, as for example, in the Committee on Public Information and the National Board for Historical Service.

Having distinctly in view the present critical situation, the council reported two measures looking to a constructive treatment of certain larger problems. The two secretaries have been instructed to make a new and thorough investigation of the whole problem of maintaining and extending the membership of the association. Furthermore, a special council committee on policy has been constituted for the purpose of securing a fresh consideration of functions which might be regarded as properly devolving upon the American Historical Association as the chief organization of historical scholars in the United States.

It was voted that the report of the secretary of the council be received and placed on file.

The following resolution was offered by Prof. J. H. Breasted:

In view of the large educational, humanitarian, and missionary interests which American organizations have long maintained within the limits of the Ottoman Empire,

Resolved, That the American Historical Association empower its president to appoint a committee of three to urge upon the Government of the United States the importance of adequately safeguarding, during the course of any peace negotiations, the future rights and activities of American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ottoman Empire, having in mind especially:

General education for men and women; professional education, including medical schools and hospitals; training in agriculture, forestry, engineering, transportation and road making, economic geology and mining; geological and geographical explorations, scientific surveys, archaeological excavations, and the legitimate interests of American museums.

It is also recommended that a further function of this committee be to provide for the collection and presentation of all available information which would aid the representatives of the United States in securing the ends suggested in the above resolution.

Upon motion of the secretary of the council it was voted to refer this resolution to the executive council with power to take action relating thereto.

The report of the conference of historical societies was presented by Mr. A. H. Shearer, secretary of the conference. He stated that at the conference held in Philadelphia in connection with the present meeting it had been voted to request the president of the association to appoint a committee to report on

the subject of cooperation between historical societies with respect to publications.

The delegate of the Pacific coast branch not being present, Mr. H. E. Bolton spoke informally and unofficially on behalf of the branch, and reported that it had held a meeting on November 30 and December 1 which had been attended by a number of members of the association from the East.

The report of the committee on nominations presented the final report of that committee to the association in which the following nominations were made:

President—William R. Thayer.

First vice president—Edward Channing.

Second vice president—Jean Jules Jusserand.

Secretary—Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer—Charles Moore.

Secretary of the council—Evarts B. Greene.

Curator—A. Howard Clark.

Members of the council—Henry E. Bourne, Samuel B. Harding, Lucy M. Salmon, George M. Wrong, Herbert E. Bolton, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, William E. Lingelbach.

Committee on nominations—Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de R. Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Nominations were called for from the floor and none offered. It was moved and voted without dissent that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the candidates placed in nomination by the committee.

This was done and they were declared duly elected.

The report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented by the chairman, Mr. E. P. Cheyney.

It was voted that the report be received and placed on file.

The chairman of the finance committee of the executive council, Mr. G. S. Ford, made a statement with regard to the financial condition of the association.

The budget of appropriations for 1918 and the estimate of receipts were presented by Mr. G. S. Ford, chairman of the finance committee of the council, as follows:

Appropriations for 1918.

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$2,000.00
Committee on nominations	75.00
Pacific coast branch	50.00
Program committee	150.00
Conference of historical societies	25.00
Committee on publications	1,000.00
Editorial services	150.00
Cumulative index	250.00
American historical review	5,000.00
Historical manuscripts commission	150.00
Winsor prize committee	200.00
London headquarters	150.00
Military history prize	250.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history	125.00
Bills payable December 19, 1917	28.70
	<hr/>
	9,603.70

Estimated Income.

Annual dues	\$7,050.00
Life members' fees	100.00
Publications	400.00
Royalties	125.00
Investments	1,100.00
Gifts	100.00
Registration fees	150.00
	<hr/>
	9,025.00

It was moved and voted that the budget be adopted as presented.

On behalf of the committee on nominations, Mr. F. M. Anderson offered the following amendment to by-law 2:

Moved, that by-law No. 2 be amended as follows: In the second sentence change the words "1st of October" to "15th of September;" in the third sentence change the words "twenty days" to "one month;" insert the word "business" before the word "meeting," wherever it occurs in the by-law; in the fourth sentence change the words "five days" to "one day" and add at the end of the sentence the words "but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee on nominations shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law."

It was moved by Mr. J. H. Latané to amend the amendment in such a way as to provide that returns of the informal ballot should be made directly to the committee on nominations. After discussion it was voted that the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table.

The original motion was then put and carried and by-law 2 as amended was read by the secretary in the following form:

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

Upon recommendation by the executive council presented by the secretary of the council, the association passed the following votes with respect to the annual meeting of 1918:

Voted, that the next annual meeting be held in Minneapolis; provided, however, that if, in view of the emergency due to a state of war, there appears to the executive council to be sufficient reason for changing the place of meeting or for omitting the meeting altogether, the executive council be, and hereby is authorized to take such action and is directed to notify the association of its decision not later than September 1.

Voted, that if the annual meeting of 1918 is omitted the officers of the association shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the association.

Voted, that, except in respect to the adoption of the annual budget, the secretary of the council be, and hereby is authorized to take the votes of the council by mail, when in the judgment of the president and the secretary, such a procedure is expedient.

On behalf of the executive council, the secretary of the council presented to the association the following rules governing competition for the Winsor and Adams prizes with the recommendation that they be adopted in place of the rules now in force:

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200: the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the

Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the Annual Report of the Association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendixes, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the Annual Report of the Association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

It was moved that the rules as presented by the council be adopted.

The secretary of the association presented the following report from the committee on auditing the treasurer's report for 1916:

We have examined the statement of accounts by the treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, and the report of the Audit Company of America relating thereto and find both accurate and satisfactory.

SIDNEY B. FAY
ALLEN JOHNSON.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

The secretary of the council called the attention of the association to the committee assignments, lists of which had been prepared and distributed to those present.

The secretary of the association announced that the newly elected committee on nominations would, in accordance with the usual practice, organize itself by the election of a chairman.

It was moved by Miss Ruth Putnam and voted that the greetings of the association be sent to the former president, Mr. H. Morse Stephens.

The meeting adjourned at 5 p. m.

WALDO G. LELAND *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Comparative statistics of membership have been placed in printed form before the members of the association; in these it appears that there has been a net loss of 85, which is less than the loss last year, but that there is a loss of 246 in paid-up memberships as compared with the gain of four a year ago. This loss it is to be hoped is more apparent than real, for since December 19, when these statistics were compiled, many membership dues that were in arrears have been paid.

It is but natural, however, in these times of war to expect a certain decrease in our membership and it is encouraging, therefore, to note that the number of new members is not far behind that of last year.

The regional losses have been heaviest in New England, the North Central States, and on the Pacific coast; while there have been slight gains in the South Atlantic, South Central, and West Central States, gains which have been due mainly to the persistent activities of some half dozen members who interested themselves in endeavoring to increase the membership of the association.

It is proposed that during the coming year a careful study of the membership of the association, with especial attention to the problem of maintaining and increasing it, shall be made by the two secretaries. Consequently, there has been no committee on membership appointed for the coming year.

The attendance at the present meeting is 379, which compares favorably with that at other meetings. Indeed, it might have been expected, in view of present-day conditions, that the attendance would be much smaller.

The committee on publications has prepared and presented a complete report on that subject, but as this is not to be read at this meeting it may not be amiss to remark that the General Index to Papers and Annual Reports from 1884 to 1914, which constitutes Volume II of the Annual Report for 1914, has been completed and is now in press; it will probably be distributed during the first half of the coming year. The Annual Report for 1915, in one volume, has been in press for some time and should have appeared before now. It will without doubt be distributed during the spring. The Annual Report for 1916, in two volumes, has been in the hands of the Public Printer for some months. The second volume is a collection of letters mainly addressed to R. M. T. Hunter and edited for the Historical Manuscripts' Commission by Prof. Charles H. Ambler. The essay to which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in 1915, "The Leveller Movement," by T. C. Pease, has been printed and distributed. It will be noted that the appearance of the volume has been greatly improved. The essay which received the Justin Winsor prize in 1916, "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818," by R. J. Purcell, is nearly through the press.

It will be remembered that at the annual meeting in Cincinnati the council announced its intention of publishing a quarterly bulletin provided arrangements could be made to finance such an enterprise. A certain amount was generously pledged by those in attendance at Cincinnati, but in view of the very heavy burden under which the treasury has labored during the past year it has seemed unwise to the finance committee of the council to inaugurate any undertaking not absolutely necessary which should increase that burden. The project is, however, merely suspended and it is earnestly hoped that in another year or so it may be put into execution.

Attention is again called to the fact that the association has a stock of publications valued at several thousand dollars. The finance committee is anxious to dispose of as much of this stock as possible and it is probable that some plan for selling it will be devised and put into operation during the coming year.

During the past year the association was represented by Dr. Charles Lyon Chandler at the Congress of History and Bibliography held at Montevideo. In response to an invitation from the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil the council has decided to participate formerly in the International Congress of American History which is to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922, in connection with the celebration of the centenary of Brazilian independence. The form that this participation will take is to be determined by a committee of five, of which Prof. Bernard Moses is chairman, which has

been appointed. It is the policy of the association to do all in its power to foster a solidarity of interest among the historical scholars of North and South America.

While the association is not officially engaged in any war activities, the historical scholarship of the country is, nevertheless, coming to the fore in work of all sorts. Many of our members are now in uniform. Others are working in one capacity or another for the National or State Governments. Still others are devoting their time and efforts to the work of such bodies as the National Security League and the National Board for Historical Service which latter is composed entirely of members of this association. One member of the council is engaged in Young Men's Christian Association work with troops at Camp Gordon, and other members of the association are writing or lecturing to general audiences and to soldiers. The association may justly feel that in all these activities it has its part since the spirit of service and cooperation which prompts them has been carefully fostered by it during all the years of its existence.

Thirty-three of our members have died during the year. Two of these were life members—Miss Mary Alice Keach and Mr. Robert Lee Traylor. A complete list of deceased members is herewith given:

George E. Adams.
Elizabeth Talbot Belt.
Josiah H. Benton.
James H. Blodgett.
George W. Botsford.
Ora Butterfield.
Rt. Rev. Charles E. Cheney.
John H. Cuffman.
George Perrin Davis.
Theodore N. Ely.
Henry Ferguson.
Simeon Gilbert.
Samuel Hart.
Horace E. Hayden.
George H. Howison.
Mary Alice Keach.
A. L. Keister.

Charles A. Kent.
Stuart L. B. Kinzer.
Virgil P. Kline.
Blanche Leavitt.
Henry M. Leipziger.
Wayne MacVeagh.
Nathaniel Paine.
George L. Rives.
Henry A. Sill.
Arthur F. Strome.
Mary K. Talcott.
Robert Lee Traylor.
Mrs. Audrey Updike.
A. D. Wetherell.
Frank S. Witherbee.
P. Henry Woodward.

Respectfully submitted,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

STATEMENT OF TREASURER, DECEMBER 19, 1917.

Balance on hand December 19, 1916..... \$3, 219. 64

Receipts to date:

Annual dues—

2,252 at \$3.00.....	\$6, 756. 00
1 " .75.....	. 75
1 " 2.00.....	2. 00
1 " 2.94.....	2. 94
5 " 3.05.....	15. 25
9 " 3.10.....	27. 90
5 " 3.15.....	15. 75
2 " 3.25.....	6. 50
1 " 3.50.....	3. 50
1 " 4.00.....	4. 00

————— \$6, 834. 59

Life membership dues.....	50. 00
Dividend on bank stock.....	240. 00
Interest on bond and mortgage.....	900. 00
Loan C. W. Bowen.....	1, 642. 00

Receipts to date—Continued.

Publications—		
Prize essays.....	318.36	
Papers and reports.....	48.70	
Writings on American History.....	40.90	
Royalties	134.27	
		542.23
Gift for London headquarters.....		50.00
Miscellaneous—		
Lists of members.....	40.00	
Amount paid for copy of American Historical Review for member of As- sociation .....	.40	
Cash from unknown source.....	2.00	
		42.40
		10,301.22
Total receipts to date.....		13,520.86
Total disbursements to date.....		11,096.51
Balance on hand December 19, 1917.....		2,424.35

DISBURSEMENTS, DEC. 19, 1916, TO DEC. 19, 1917.

Expense of administration.

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 66, 69, 71, 74, 75, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 141, 152, 154:

Itemized as follows—

Salary of assistant.....	\$950.00	
Additional assistance and services of all kinds	177.10	
		\$1,127.10
Postage.....		226.47
Telegrams, messenger service, express, money- order fees, notary fees.....		24.19
Stationery and supplies.....		109.15
Furnishings.....		18.67
Printing and duplicating.....		35.00
Auditing treasurer's report, 1916.....		20.00
Collection charges		2.55
Miscellaneous		1.75
Express charges on account of Winsor Prize Committee		7.98
		\$1,572.86

Executive council, vouchers 135, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155:

Itemized as follows—

Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of
executive council, Dec. 1, 1917—

W. G. Leland.....	14.96	
H. E. Bourne.....	38.31	
G. S. Ford.....	15.55	
E. B. Greene.....	55.76	
S. B. Harding.....	12.20	
Lucy M. Salmon.....	3.10	
U. B. Phillips.....	39.94	
G. M. Wrong.....	29.63	
Charles Moore	29.59	
		239.04

Secretary of the council, vouchers 28, 29, 43, 142, 143:

Itemized as follows—

Services	3.90	
Postage	5.00	
Printing	13.50	
Stationery	13.75	
		36.15

Committee on nominations, vouchers 108, 130, 131, 137, 138, 156:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	10.00	
Postage -----	27.00	
Telegrams -----	1.50	
Printing -----	34.00	
Supplies -----	5.00	
		77.50

Annual meetings.

Committee on program, 1917, voucher 140:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	15.00	
Postage -----	31.14	
Stationery -----	12.25	
Printing -----	65.00	
		123.39

Conference of historical societies, vouchers 54, 132, 157:

Itemized as follows—

Postage -----	14.80	
Express -----	.78	
Printing -----	37.75	
Miscellaneous -----	.39	
		53.72

*Publications.*Committee on publications, vouchers, 30, 38, 44, 45, 46, 61,
62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 78, 85, 86, 90, 102, 110, 111, 139:

Itemized as follows—

Printing and binding -----	844.53	
Wrapping and mailing -----	33.18	
Postage and express -----	49.30	
Storage and insurance -----	109.33	
Advertising -----	11.00	
Miscellaneous -----	7.15	
		1,054.49

Editorial services, vouchers 37, 50, 60, 91, 98, 115, 123, 153 ----- 138.55

Cumulative index.

Vouchers 76, 133 ----- 750.00

American Historical Review.

Vouchers 47, 48, 49, 67, 80, 93, 94, 95, 103, 104, 109, 151 ----- 4,261.20

Standing committees.

Historical manuscripts commission, voucher 70:

Itemized as follows: Stationery ----- 6.70

Public archives commission, vouchers 84, 124, 134:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	\$2.85	
Postage -----	4.85	
Expense of preparing report on archives of Idaho -----	75.00	
		82.70

Committee on membership, voucher 31:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	3.50	
Postage -----	6.50	
		10.00

Committee on bibliography, voucher 158:

Itemized as follows: Services ----- 5.00

Prizes and subventions.

Adams prize committee, voucher 79:

Itemized as follows—

Amount of prize ----- 200.00

Author's share of expense of printing additional
pages, to be deducted ----- 75.00

Amount paid author ----- 125.00

Writings on American history, voucher 119:

Appropriation for 1917 ----- 200.00

History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 68, 99:

Appropriation for 1917 ----- 200.00

Committee on finance.

Vouchers 22, 23:

Itemized as follows: Printing ----- 50.00

Funds held in trust.

Voucher 24:

London headquarters ----- 150.00

Payment of loan.

Voucher 116 ----- 1,642.00

Bills payable Dec. 19, 1916.

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 1, 2, 3, 4, 25, 26:

Services ----- \$33.25

Printing and duplicating ----- 20.50

Furnishings ----- 4.00

57.75

Executive council, voucher 5:

Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of
executive council, Dec. 2, 1916: Lucy M. Sal-
mon ----- 2.80

Committee on program, 1916, voucher 6:

Expense of printing and mailing program of
annual meeting, 1916 ----- 173.50

Committee on nominations, vouchers 7, 8:

Telegrams and telephone ----- 1.65

Printing ----- 6.00

7.65

241.70

Conference of historical societies, voucher 9:

Services ----- 8.50

Mimeographing ----- 4.25

Postage ----- 7.00

19.75

Editorial services, voucher 10:

Proof reading ----- 1.00

General committee, vouchers 11, 12, 13, 14:

Services ----- 16.50

Postage ----- 7.80

24.30

Committee on bibliography, voucher 15:

Services ----- 8.87

Committee on history in schools, voucher 16:

Services ----- 12.00

Postage ----- 5.00

Express ----- .29

17.29

Winsor prize committee, voucher 17:

Express ----- 5.30

318.21

Net receipts ----- 11,096.51

Net disbursements ----- 8,659.22

Excess of disbursements over receipts ----- 9,454.51

----- 795.29

The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29, 1917 to Dec. 19, 1917.-----	201.87
20 Shares American Exchange National Bank stock at \$220.-----	4,400.00
Cash on hand (National Park Bank of New York)-----	2,424.35
Endowment fund on deposit in Central Trust Co. of New York.-----	1,490.00

Total assets -----	28,516.22
Assets at last annual report.-----	28,021.51

An increase during the year of.-----	494.71
Among the assets of the association should be included:	
Publications in stock, estimate.-----	6,438.00
Furniture, office equipment, etc., estimate.-----	250.00

	6,688.00

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *December 29, 1917.*

REPORT OF THE AUDIT COMMITTEE.

We have examined the above report and also a report thereon by the American Audit Co. and find them to be correct and in satisfactory form.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

I. J. COX.

THE AMERICAN AUDIT CO.

Mr. C. W. BOWEN,
Treasurer American Historical Association,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We have audited the accounts and records of the American Historical Association from December 20, 1916, to December 19, 1917, and submit our report herewith, including the following exhibits:

Exhibit A.—Assets as at December 19, 1917.

Exhibit B.—Receipts and disbursements from December 20, 1916, to December 19, 1917.

We verified the cash receipts as shown by the records and the cash disbursements with the receipted vouchers on file and found the same to agree with the treasurer's report.

The balances on deposit in banks, according to certificates from the banks, were reconciled with the check-book balances, and found to agree with the treasurer's report, except 11 cents in the endowment fund.

We inspected in New York the bond and mortgage on New York real estate and the stock certificates representing the 20 shares of the American Exchange National Bank.

Respectfully submitted,

THE AMERICAN AUDIT CO.,

By C. R. CRANMER,

Resident Manager.

Approved:

F. W. LAFRENTZ,

President.

Attest:

[SEAL.] A. F. LAFRENTZ, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 22, 1917.*

EXHIBIT A.—*Assets as at December 19, 1917.*

Cash on hand: National City Bank of New York, N. Y.....	\$2, 424. 35
Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City.....	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above.....	201. 87
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, New York City at \$220.....	4, 400. 00
Endowment fund: Cash on deposit at Central Trust Co., New York City.....	1, 489. 89
Inventories: (Not verified by The American Audit Co.):	
Publications in stock.....	6, 438. 00
Furniture, office equipment, etc. (estimate).....	250. 00
Total assets.....	35, 204. 11

EXHIBIT B.—*Statement of receipts and disbursements from Dec. 20, 1916, to
Dec. 19, 1917.*

Receipts:	
Annual dues.....	\$6, 834. 59
Life membership.....	50. 00
Dividends on stock, American Exchange National Bank.....	240. 00
Interest on bond and mortgage on real estate, 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City.....	900. 00
Publications.....	407. 96
Royalties.....	134. 27
Gift to London headquarters.....	50. 00
Receipts, services, etc., list of members.....	40. 00
Miscellaneous receipts.....	2. 40
Total receipts, account 1917.....	\$8, 659. 22
Loans by C. W. Bowen.....	1, 642. 00
Total receipts.....	10, 301. 22
Cash on hand Dec. 20, 1916.....	3, 219. 64
	13, 520. 86
Disbursements:	
Secretary and treasurer.....	\$1, 572. 86
Executive council.....	239. 04
Secretary of the council.....	36. 15
Committee on nominations.....	77. 50
Committee on program, 1917.....	123. 39
Conference of historical societies.....	53. 72
Committee on publications.....	1, 054. 49
Editorial services.....	138. 55
Cumulative index.....	750. 00
American Historical Review.....	4, 261. 20
Historical manuscripts commission.....	6. 70
Public archives commission.....	82. 70
Committee on membership.....	10. 00
Committee on bibliography.....	5. 00
Adams prize.....	125. 00
Writings on American history.....	200. 00
History Teacher's Magazine.....	200. 00
Special committee on finance.....	50. 00
Held in trust.....	150. 00
Total disbursement, account 1917.....	\$9, 136. 30
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1916.....	318. 21
Payment of loans, C. W. Bowen.....	1, 642. 00
Total disbursements.....	11, 096. 51
Cash on hand Dec. 19, 1917.....	2, 424. 35
	13, 520. 86

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

On behalf of the public archives commission I have the honor to submit a report for the year 1917.

The report of the commission for 1916 was transmitted to the publication committee in season and is in press. With the publication of this report there will be available several more chapters treating of phases of the science of archives. These and those that have appeared in former reports make an almost complete series of tentative presentations toward the proposed "Primer." The commission judges that it may well rest its labors at this stage and await future developments, under more propitious circumstances, for bringing the proposed work to completion in its final form.

Prof. Thomas Maitland Marshall, formerly of the University of Idaho, and now of the department of history in the University of Colorado, was appointed an adjunct member of the commission for 1917. He has prepared a "Report on the Public Archives of Idaho," typewritten on 80 pages, letterhead size. His survey was confined to the archives in the old and new capitol buildings at Boise. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions; but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Likewise, boards and commissions whose records are not at Boise have been listed.

Prof. Charles Edward Chapman, of the University of California, made in 1916 a partial survey of a number of important archives of South America, including Buenos Aires, Santiago and Lima. The results he embodied in an article on "South America as a Field for an Historical Survey." This article forms an appendix to the report of the public archives commission for 1916. It has also been printed as "Document X" in a pamphlet entitled, "A Californian in South America," of which only 200 copies were issued for private distribution.

The State of California, under the auspices of the California historical survey commission, has been making a survey of the county archives. During the past summer the Michigan historical commission began a survey of the State archives in the executive department and the department of state at Lansing, to be continued this winter; and a survey of the county archives is to be undertaken during the summer of 1918. It appears that the Legislature of Michigan has appropriated \$800,000 for a new State building, in which the Michigan historical commission will have offices and accommodations for its records, including the centralization of the State archives, and for a pioneer museum. The substantial new building provided for the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul is about completed. A self-appointed body of citizens prepared a very informing "Report on the Condition of the Public Records of the State of New Jersey," which was used in an endeavor to secure legislation during the winter of 1917. This report has been reprinted as an appendix to the public archives commission report for 1916, with the consent of our publication committee and by permission of the New Jersey committee.

A conference of archivists has been organized for Thursday afternoon, December 27, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. A paper will be read by Mr. Waldo G. Leland on "The Archives of the War." This paper will be introductory to a discussion of the subject in all aspects. Invitations have been sent out, and among the acceptances received are those of Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, representing Illinois; Dr. James Sullivan, of New York; Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of North Carolina; Mr. George

S. Godard, of Connecticut; Dr. Solon J. Buck, of Minnesota; Dr. George N. Fuller, of Michigan; and Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University.

For the year 1917 the executive council appropriated \$50 as a budget for the public archives commission. As a report on the Idaho archives could be secured only if arrangements were made at once with Prof. Marshall, since he was to remove from that State in the summer, the chairman of the commission requested him to proceed. Prof Marshall's expenses amounted to \$75 and he waited several months to be reimbursed. It was only through an additional grant in October of \$40 by transfer from the committee on publications on authorization of the executive council that the public archives commission was able to certify the payment of Prof. Marshall's bill.

The total budget of the commission was therefore \$90, of which \$75 went for the Idaho report; for typewriting the report of 1916 and carbons \$2.85; for postage used \$1.85; for postage in advance \$3—a total of \$82.70; leaving a balance unexpended of \$7.30.

The chairman of the commission was offered two contributions but deemed it inadvisable to accept them without authorization by the executive council. This raises a question. Could not provision be made by the executive council for the acceptance of voluntary contributions for special objects so that these contributions may be paid over to the treasurer of the association and be held as an addition to the budget for the particular object for which the money has been designated by the donor or donors?

The experience of the year of 1917 would seem to suggest an appropriation for 1918 of not less than \$100.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR H. PALTSITS, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 1, 1917.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Since their last report to the executive council, the board of editors have completed the transfer of the Review to the association by assigning the existing contract between the board of editors and the Macmillan Co. to the association. This assignment was carried out by entering upon the back of the old contract a form of transfer previously approved by the Macmillan Co., its signature by the members of the board of editors and its acceptance by the association, testified to by the signature of the secretary and application of the association's seal. The board also executed a bill of sale to the association of the tangible effects of the Review and received an acknowledgment of its receipts from the secretary, Mr. Leland.

As it is the feeling of the board that a special duty has been laid upon it by the entrance of the United States into the war, and as this feeling may not, in the absence of explanation, be shared by all members of the association, the board desires to lay before the council its conception of its duty in the management of the Review at this time and of the course of action by which that duty should be fulfilled. It is possible for an historical journal to ignore the war, on the ground that it is not yet practicable to form solid judgments respecting any of its events, for want of adequate materials, and for want of proper perspective and of proper serenity of mind. On the other hand, it would be possible to follow the course of filling its pages, both those which are devoted to formal articles and those devoted to book reviews, to patriotic, but none the less partisan, argumentation against Germany.

We do not think it necessary to follow either of these two courses. We do not wish that the American Historical Review shall contain in 1917 and 1918

anything that we or the members of the association shall regret in 1927 or 1928, as having been written under the influence of the passions of the hour. We feel no desire, and see no need, to disregard in war time the canons imposed on historical writing by universal judgment in times of peace and well understood to be valid at all times.

We may, however, with entire propriety enlighten our public by good articles on any of the numerous historical matters that help to explain the war and the actions of individual nations in it, or that clarify the public intelligence respecting present-day problems by bringing into full view the experience of the United States in preceding wars. We consider it our patriotic, as well as our scientific duty, a service to the cause of the United States as well as a service to the cause of history, to print such articles, and we have taken pains to elicit them.

Thus, in our July number we printed an article by Prof. Fay on the "Beginnings of the Standing Army in Prussia," one by Prof. Fish on the "Northern Railroads in April, 1861," and one by Prof. Ramsdell on the "Confederate Government and the Railroads." In our October number we had an article by Prof. Hayes entitled "The History of German Socialism Reconsidered." In the January number we will print articles by Dr. Justin H. Smith on "American Rule in Mexico in 1846-1848;" by Prof. J. G. Randall on "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," and by M. Serge Goriainov, formerly archivist of the ministry of foreign affairs in Petrograd, on "The End of the Alliance of the Emperors," an important chapter in the diplomatic history of the years between 1881 and 1890. These will serve as examples of the kind of article to which we have had reference in the exposition of policy made above. As to what shall be said in such articles, writers are given the usual freedom, and have shown no disposition to abuse it.

If it be said that the effect will be to shift the center of gravity of our numbers to a much later date in history than in the years preceding, we reply that in our judgment the times justify the change, that it corresponds to a shift, for the time at least, in the public interest, and that we shall thereby be more useful. We may add that to change our emphasis in such a way is to do no more than redress a balance which has long lain unreasonably far in the other direction. After the issue of our first 20 volumes we publish figures showing that out of 397 articles published only 8 have related to the history of Europe since 1815. As we should at any time have been glad to publish more articles on this modern period, the fault must be charged to the indifference of the historical profession in America to its exploitation. A prodigious increase of interest in it is now being manifested; the editors of the Review wish to do their part in meeting and sustaining that interest.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY,

Chairman.

December 29, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Only a small sum was allotted to this committee for its work during the present year, so small as merely to cover the necessary cost of correspondence. For that reason, if no other, it has not been possible to develop any new lines of work or to make any considerable progress on the lines of work already in hand.

The outbreak of war has placed unusual burdens upon most of the members of the committee, so as to turn their attention away from their personal problems of research.

The outbreak of war has also brought special problems to the attention of the committee or its members. The chairman was one of those summoned to the conference in Washington at the end of April, which organized the National Board for Historical Service. In the discussions at that time, it was recognized that a certain amount of work of a bibliographical character would be necessary. At once the chairman was called upon to furnish a list of readings on the causes and issues of the war, which was published in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for June. During the summer, the board, acting especially through Prof. Hull, took up the preparation of a fuller bibliography of somewhat similar scope, which should be accompanied with critical annotations on the several books. This work was carried nearly to completion by Prof. Hull, the chairman of the committee, Prof. Lybyer, and one or two others who assisted in some measure. The matter of printing has been delayed because of certain difficulties in making satisfactory arrangements. At present it is planned to make the work complete to the close of the calendar year, for printing early in 1918.

Prof. Shearer reports the completion of the *Bibliography of American Historical Periodicals*, and that it will be printed in the proceedings of the American Library Institute for 1917.¹ Prof. Rockwell reports that it is out of the question to undertake the *Bibliography of American Church History* along lines which he suggested in the last report of the committee. The other members of the committee, with the exception of Dr. Steiner, either have nothing to report, or merely report progress with their several lines of work. Dr. Slade, of the Library of Congress, has felt that the demands on his time have made it necessary to ask to be relieved from the committee. It seems to the chairman that either he or some other person from the staff of the Library of Congress should be continued upon the committee.

Dr. Steiner has in charge the work on the *Bibliography of American Travel*, which was initiated by a special committee of the association and later transferred to this committee. With the assistance of Mr. Dielmann, of the Peabody Library, in Baltimore, Dr. Steiner has collected a large number of title slips, and it is suggested that during the coming year the committee may arrange for the passing of this collection of slips about among the more important libraries, for the purpose of getting additional titles. When this shall have been done, it will be necessary to decide whether to print a title-a-line list as a preliminary edition, or whether to prepare at once the material for final publication.

As for some years previous, the chairman has during the present year contributed bibliographical notes with regard to European publications to each of the quarterly issues of the *American Historical Review*.

While it is understood that the council of the association will find it impossible to place any appropriation at the disposal of this committee for the year 1918, yet the chairman wishes to emphasize the necessity of liberal appropriation for this committee by the association if any work of importance is to be completed and published. The preparation and publication of bibliographies is a laborious and somewhat expensive task, and can only be carried to completion through the support of such a body as the American Historical Association or through some form of private contributions. Unless it seems probable that the association will be prepared within a reasonably short time to make adequate appropriations for the work of this committee, it is doubtful whether it is desirable to maintain the committee in existence at all, instead of merely in abeyance, as is the proposition for the coming year. So much

¹ Also printed in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1916, Vol. I, pp. 477-484.*

work, however, has been done on the Bibliography of American Travel, and the work is so important for students of American history, that it seems desirable that provision of some sort should be made in the near future for the completion and publication of this work at least.

The committee, even though nominally in abeyance during the coming year, will obviously be glad to be of any service to the association or to the National Board for Historical Service which it may be able to render to the cause of historical research or the interests of the Nation in the present situation.

The expenditures of the committee during the year 1917 have been \$5 for stenographic services, for which a bill is inclosed. This leaves a balance of \$5 from the appropriation of \$10 placed at the disposal of the committee for the year.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 14, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

To the American Historical Association.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit to your consideration the following report covering the year 1917. As chairman of the committee on publications, I have had oversight of these matters: I. Annual reports (in part) for 1914, for 1915, and for 1916. II. The Justin Winsor prize essay of 1916 entitled "Connecticut in transition: 1775-1818," written by Dr. Richard J. Purcell, now at St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minn.

I. The first volume of the 1914 report was distributed in March, 1917. It contained the proceedings and papers of the Chicago meeting. The second volume, consisting of an elaborate index of the papers and reports of the association for a period of 30 years (1884-1914), is now going slowly through the press. It is in page proof and should appear during the coming year. It seems probable that the report for 1915—the proceedings and papers of the Washington meeting—will appear early this coming spring, for corrected page proof and index were sent to the printer in October. The last report, that of 1916, consists of two volumes: Volume I will contain proceedings and papers of the Cincinnati meeting; Volume II will be the twelfth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is made up of the "Correspondence and papers (1826-1885) of Robert M. T. Hunter," edited by Prof. Charles H. Ambler, of Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. This latter work has now been revised in accordance with suggestions brought to your attention last year, and to some slight degree amplified. Altogether, then, there are four volumes now in the hands of the Public Printer which should all appear by next autumn. By that time we may hope to have our slate satisfactorily cleared unless unforeseen burdens are put upon the shoulders of your publications committee.

May I call your attention to a cursory analysis of the contents of Volume I of the 1916 report, together with a few comments? It will contain about a dozen papers read at the Cincinnati meeting, excluding the presidential address (as usual) and all papers that appear in print elsewhere. Five papers read at Cincinnati have appeared in the *American Historical Review*¹; two were taken by the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*²; three others went to the

¹ C. W. Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the railroads"; J. S. Reeves, "Two conceptions of the freedom of the seas"; S. B. Fay, "The beginnings of the standing army in Prussia"; J. A. Robertson, "The Philippine Islands since the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; and A. L. Cross, "The English criminal law and benefit of clergy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."

² J. A. James, "Spanish influence in the West during the American Revolution"; and J. R. Robertson, "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865."

Political Science Quarterly,¹ the Yale Review,² and the Journal of International Law,³ respectively. Four papers⁴ appeared together in a small volume brought out last spring by the Harvard University Press, entitled "Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century and Claimants to Constantinople." Six papers⁵ for reasons best known to their respective authors were withheld from consideration—one or two of them, perhaps, being printed elsewhere. It was thought best to reject four papers. Although the Cincinnati program was unusually distinguished for the numbers of papers, yet the report of 1916 contains only about the average number of papers usually gathered.

I should like to make at this point a first query: Is it not desirable to print in our annual report the presidential address, which in a conspicuous way is apt to mark the occasion of every meeting? This address, to be sure, always reaches our members through the Review. It would reappear months later in the report. On the other hand, it would mark the volume and so increase its value as a work of reference.

II. There is no need this year of long comment regarding the prize essay. It will appear in the same garb as was given to Dr. Pease's "The Leveller Movement." It is longer than that work and will probably be rather more expensive, inasmuch as it will contain three charts. The sales of Dr. Pease's essay thus far (December 19) amount to just 194 copies, for which the association has received \$199. The total cost of the Pease volume, including wrapping, mailing, and postage, is close to \$860. Dr. Purcell's volume is likely to cost somewhat more.

During the past two years the editor, aided by Mr. Leland, has been unable to place the manuscripts of the essays in the hands of the printer before mid-August. Under good conditions, manuscripts then started can be got into page proof by October 15. Experience shows that the making of an index by more or less untried authors is a matter of at least two months. I wish very much that the making of the index for the prize essays could be regularly left to some expert such as can easily be found in the Washington office. The reason against this plan is a tradition that seems to be associated with these prizes, to the effect that it is good for the writer to try his inexperienced hand on this rather delicate matter. To be promptly published, these essays should be ready for the printer not later than June 1 of the year following the prize; the index should as a rule be done by an expert and not by the author. This recommendation means simply that the prize essay could appear without failure early in December of every year, and that a month or two of time would in every case be saved.

Last year you appropriated for editorial purposes \$250, an addition of \$50 over the preceding appropriation (\$200). I transferred to the Public Archives Commission for a report on the archives of Idaho from this amount \$40, leaving \$210. Of this latter amount, I have expended already (Nov. 21) for the reading of proof (chiefly) \$123.60. The balance now on hand is accordingly \$86.40, most of which will be used within a month or so.

¹ A. M. Schlesinger, "The uprising against the East India Company."

² C. Seymour, "The ententes and the isolation of Germany."

³ W. E. Lingelbach, "England and neutral trade in the Napoleonic and present wars."

⁴ C. D. Hazen, "The Congress of Vienna"; W. R. Thayer, "The Congress of Paris"; R. H. Lord, "The Congress of Berlin"; and A. C. Coolidge, "Claims upon Constantinople: national, geographical, and historic."

⁵ Laura A. White, "Robert Barnwell Rhett and South Carolina, 1826-1852"; R. P. Brooks, "Howell Cobb and the crisis of 1850"; A. B. White, "Was there a common council before Parliament?" Ernest A. Smith, "The influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the northern border States"; and R. C. McGrane, "The Pennsylvania bribery bill of 1836"; also E. C. Semple's paper (see program).

Confining attention to the prize essays, the annual output for the year (Dec. 19, 1916-Dec. 19, 1917) in cost has been \$996.52. Receipts have been \$315.86. This means a net loss of \$680.66. Of this loss the storing and insurance item alone is \$109.33, which is slowly increasing with our increase of stock.

The estimated value of the prize essays now on hand is \$3,513. These essays consist of 4,209 copies—1,426 bound copies and 2,783 unbound copies. The following tabulation reveals the number of copies sold since last year:

Notestein's Witchcraft (611+7).....	618
Carter's Illinois Country (552+12).....	564
Krehbiel's Interdict (510+7).....	517
Cole's Whig Party (415+20).....	435
Turner's Negro in Pennsylvania (406+9).....	415
Brown's Baptists, etc. (347+8).....	355
Williams's Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy (317+33).....	350
Barbour's Earl of Arlington (267+18).....	285
Muzzey's Spiritual Franciscans (186+7).....	193
Pease's Leveller Movement.....	194
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total sold, 1916-17.....	315

The estimated value of all other publications held by us, including papers, annual reports, church history papers, and writings on American history, amounts to \$2,925. Three of the essays have sold thus far upward of 500 copies—those by Notestein, Carter, and Krehbiel. Of the others, Cole and Williams are still comparatively "good sellers." The editions of Williams and Pease were limited to 750 copies. It might be desirable to limit still further the edition to 500 copies. I am inclined to believe that such an edition would supply the demand for some years to come of Dr. Purcell's new volume in the series.

Advertising the prize essays seems thus far to have cost the association about \$227. Might it not be desirable to study this particular problem rather carefully with a view to the possibility of forcing greater sales? The sum of \$200, appropriated for this special purpose, might be judiciously spent over a year or so for advertising purposes, I think. Yet I still have grave doubt about the desirability of maintaining the series. My opinion as expressed last year still seems to me reasonable. While the two prizes have encouraged young doctors to get their doctoral dissertations into print under the favoring auspices of this association, one is safe in saying that this work, done by youthful specialists trained at various universities, would have been printed under other auspices and have reached very nearly the same limited reading public. Twenty-five years ago this method of encouragement was justified. It is, I think, no longer so.

In conclusion, I should like to make two or three suggestions of a constructive nature. These suggestions, if feasible, mean the expenditure in future of such moneys as can be spared for larger tasks than have heretofore been done. As far back as November 24, 1908, an "assistant committee on the documentary historical publications of the United States Government," headed by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and composed of eight other members—Messrs. C. F. Adams, C. M. Andrews, W. A. Dunning, A. B. Hart, A. C. McLaughlin, A. T. Mahan, F. J. Turner, and J. F. Jameson—made a brief but notable report on the needs regarding the better organization and publication of documentary materials, papers (official and unofficial), and a considerable variety of matter of interest to students of social, economic, and political history, at present either in the archives of the Government or in private hands. So far as I know, this report led to no significant results. It was certainly remarkable

enough to merit far more attention than apparently it gained from this association. My thought in citing it is merely this, that such an excellent step toward putting this association in touch with widespread needs, some of them of a national character, ought not at this time to be overlooked. The present national emergency has already enlarged our horizon and must, if wisely met, strengthen the hope of widening the scope of our publication efforts.

While the National Board for Historical Service is not formally related to this association, it developed out of it, and is certain to quicken our efforts and to react upon the aims of our best-endowed members. The war is bound to bring new needs to the light—there must be in future much careful collecting of papers, arranging these for use, making them accessible. And this work should be to some extent directed by the well-equipped members of this association. The problem is to get ourselves recognized to a greater extent by the Government so that we may be useful. Tasks which we set about must be worth doing, and carefully planned. In the summary of chief recommendations made or suggested by Mr. Ford's committee, I note, among others, such enterprises as these: (1) A collection of State trials; (2) the correspondence of John Adams; (3) plans of colonial union previous to the Congress of 1774; (4) a reprint of at least the first three volumes of the Executive Journals of the Senate; (5) the papers of Andrew Jackson; (6) the papers of Jefferson Davis; etc. To-day other subjects, especially in the fields of diplomacy, foreign relations, military and naval history, and Government administration will readily suggest themselves. Some of this work will undoubtedly be done in the course of years through private enterprise. Some of it must probably be done by the Government. I wish, however, to suggest that careful study of this committee report to-day might lead to the projection of tasks that this association would heartily approve. Such tasks would strength our position, I think, in the eyes of public men and men of affairs. At any rate such tasks as I have in mind and have tried to suggest may make better worth while the time of the chairman of the publication committee, heretofore chiefly spent on the annual reports and the prize essays. The time spent on the annual reports I do not begrudge. The time spent on the prize essays is relatively very much more than that spent on the reports. In my judgment you are spending altogether too much money of the association and asking too much of my time as chairman of the publication committee for this particular work.

Respectfully submitted.

H. BARRETT LEARNED.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The conference of historical societies met last December at Cincinnati and discussed various papers. In order to record the proceedings while they were still fresh in the minds of those who attended and while they were still wanted by those who could not attend, a booklet was published in February containing the proceedings and reports of societies.

Arrangements for the next conference at Philadelphia are practically completed. The program has worked itself out in a satisfactory manner and a copy has been in Prof. Ames's hands since November 10.

At the coming conference an important part of the business will be to organize. For this purpose a committee on financial contributions and voting powers has been appointed with Dr. S. J. Buck as chairman; a committee on needed officers and committees with Prof. B. F. Shambaugh as chairman; a committee on the nomination of chairman with Mr. Frank H. Severance as chairman.

My plan now is to publish a report of the conference in January or February, as in 1917, and a list of all known historical societies and their agencies in the United States and Canada with such facts as are known about them. It is gratifying to report that already 107 societies have answered the questionnaire, which is 17 more than in any previous year, and additional answers may be expected up to January 1. Evidently the societies do not wish to be left out of the proposed handbook.

The one unsettled matter is that of contributions. The conference was fostered for years by the American Historical Association, but hoped after last year's action of the council to become independent financially. It must be remembered, however, that the conference is very intangible. It has no definite membership as yet. The attendance fluctuates with always a certain interested number who are regularly present, mainly men from the State societies and a large number of casual attendants from the neighborhood of the meeting place. The subjects discussed are of value to those attending and if the present plan of immediate publication can be carried out they will be of value to distant societies. In the aggregate the papers at the conferences referring to historical societies and their problems would form a good-sized book, which, with considerable editing, might eventually be published separately. Discussions, however, are not enough to bind the societies together. Committees may do something in that line, but my idea is that the proposed annual handbook will do more. The cost of this is uncertain and financial backing very uncertain. The plan to organize provides for contributions of 1 cent per member from societies. Already about eight societies have signified their intention of contributing, but it has been deemed wise, after consultation, not to ask for these contributions for 1917. They will begin after Dr. Buck's committee report has been adopted. My hope is that the first year \$50 or \$75, perhaps more, will come from the societies. My expectation is that about \$100 will, if economically expended, provide for postage, handbook, notices, etc., for 1918.

Under the circumstances as noted, I am forced to ask the council for an appropriation of not less than \$25 for 1918, in order to carry over the work of the conference and provide for a probable inertia on the part of the societies in beginning to make contributions.

Respectfully submitted.

A. H. SHEARER, *Secretary.*

NOVEMBER 22, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

To the Council of the American Historical Association:

The committee on membership begs to submit the following analysis of the statistics of the membership of the association together with a report of its activities during the year 1916-17.

Your committee has made no effort to carry on a general campaign for new members in the past year, partly because the war with its many claims upon the interest of people seemed to make it inadvisable, and partly because adequate funds were not voted for such a campaign. The work of the committee has, therefore, consisted chiefly in personal efforts on the part of individual members, and in some cases with highly gratifying results.

In normal times it has been demonstrated that there is a fairly steady accession to the membership year by year to offset deaths and withdrawals. But these are abnormal times. War-time economy has made serious inroads on the membership of scientific and social organizations. With our association this has manifested itself not only in resignations, but in a reluctance on the part

of men and women who would normally become members, from joining at this time. Many replies to our invitations to become members urge this objection.

In view of this, the decrease in membership during the year from 2,739 to 2,642—that is, of 97—is not at all extraordinary. Even this I am confident will be materially reduced by the addition of new names between this and the new year, though the results of the local campaign in connection with the Cincinnati meeting were not successful.

An analysis of the membership shows the following interesting distribution by regions:

New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut), 448. Additions, 10 (3 in New Hampshire, 4 in Massachusetts, 3 in Connecticut, and none in Maine and Rhode Island); altogether too small.

North Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia), 798. Additions, 51 (23 in New York, 4 in New Jersey, 22 in Pennsylvania, none in Delaware and Maryland, and 2 in District of Columbia).

South Atlantic (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida), 141. Additions, 12 (4 in Virginia, 2 in North Carolina, 1 in South Carolina, 4 in Georgia, and 1 in Florida). Compare with 10 additions in New England; comparatively this represents three times as large an increase.

North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin), 533. Additions, 42 (13 in Ohio, 3 in Indiana, 5 in Illinois, 12 in Michigan and 9 in Wisconsin). Evidence that general invitations such as were issued last year do not succeed even when the annual meeting is held in the region.

South Central (Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia), 91. Additions, 14 (1 in Alabama, 4 in Kentucky, 1 in Tennessee, 8 in West Virginia). This represents the interested cooperation of Mr. McConnell, a member of the committee, and demonstrates clearly the kind of effort that brings results.

West Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas), 276. Additions, 28 (1 in Arkansas, 4 in Minnesota, 2 in Iowa, 4 in Missouri, 2 in North Dakota, 1 in Nebraska, 2 in Oklahoma, 9 in Kansas, 3 in Texas).

Pacific Coast (Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California), 260. Additions, 15 (California 9, 2 in Idaho, 3 in Utah, 1 in New Mexico).

Territories (Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands), 6. No changes.

From this analysis of the distribution of the membership a number of deductions suggest themselves. One in particular has impressed your committee, namely, the indifference of the rank and file of the association's membership in securing the normal additions year by year from among the graduate students and the teachers of history.

Additions from this source represent a much healthier and permanent growth of the association than the more or less temporary additions obtained through a whirlwind campaign in connection with the annual meeting. For this reason they should be on the conscience of all the active members of the association. That they are not, save in a few cases, is evident from the statistics. How otherwise account for only four additions from Massachusetts, and five from Illinois, States with several large universities and graduate schools?

In the estimation of your committee, an earnest effort should be made to impress the needs of the association in this particular upon its members.

In regard to the composition of the committee for 1917-18 it is understood, I believe, that a new chairman, preferably from the region of the next annual meeting, be appointed. The West Central States should have a stronger representation on the committee. Dr. Melvin, of Kansas, has done excellent work, as have Prof. Hulme and Dr. Gutsch, of Texas.

The falling off in the membership of New England from 542 in 1913 to 448 in 1917 suggests the appointment of one or two active persons in that region. This year the committee lost a promising young member through the resignation of Mr. George, who enlisted in the Army early in the summer.

In my previous report I spoke of the desirability of working out a plan for associate membership with a possible difference in the annual dues, and a substitution of the History Teacher's Magazine for the review or annual report. There seemed to be difficulties that made it unwise for the council to take the matter up at that time. Despite this, however, I am convinced that the association's sphere of influence could and should be very widely extended by some such plan for coordination through joint membership with the many active history teachers' associations of the country. The war has revealed the potentiality of the teachers of history throughout the country in the work of educating public opinion, and it seems to your committee a rare opportunity to bring them together under the ægis of the American Historical Association at this time.

A further analysis of the membership by States with the vital statistics is appended.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. E. LINGELBACH, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 1, 1917.

Statistics of membership, 1917, by States.

	Nov. 21, 1917.	New members Nov. 21, 1917.
Alabama.....	9	1
Alaska.....		
Arizona.....	3	
Arkansas.....	4	1
California.....	160	9
Colorado.....	14	
Connecticut.....	95	3
Delaware.....	11	
District of Columbia.....	88	2
Florida.....	5	1
Georgia.....	22	4
Hawaii.....		
Idaho.....	5	2
Illinois.....	190	5
Indiana.....	50	3
Iowa.....	43	2
Kansas.....	34	9
Kentucky.....	24	4
Louisiana.....	16	
Maine.....	20	
Maryland.....	54	
Massachusetts.....	272	4
Michigan.....	92	12
Minnesota.....	50	4
Mississippi.....	5	
Missouri.....	49	4
Montana.....	11	
Nebraska.....	24	1
Nevada.....	4	
New Hampshire.....	29	3
New Jersey.....	82	4
New Mexico.....	7	1
New York.....	372	23
North Carolina.....	30	2
North Dakota.....	4	2
Ohio.....	117	13

Statistics of membership, 1917, by States—Continued.

	Nov. 21, 1917.	New members Nov. 21, 1917.
Oklahoma.....	10	2
Oregon.....	17	.....
Pennsylvania.....	191	22
Philippine Islands.....	4	.....
Porto Rico.....	2	.....
Rhode Island.....	25	.....
South Carolina.....	25	1
South Dakota.....	8	.....
Tennessee.....	30	1
Texas.....	34	3
Utah.....	12	3
Vermont.....	7	.....
Virginia.....	59	4
Washington.....	24	.....
West Virginia.....	23	8
Wisconsin.....	84	9
Wyoming.....	3	.....
Canada.....	33	1
Cuba.....	3	.....
South America.....	2	2
Foreign.....	51	1
Total.....	2,642	176

Statistics of membership, general.

	1916	Nov. 21, 1917.
Total membership.....	2,739	2,642
Life.....	117	115
Annual.....	2,388	2,307
Institutions.....	234	220
Total paid membership.....	2,378	1,736
Delinquent, total.....	361	906
Since last bill.....	.....	892
For 1 year.....	.....	14
Loss, total.....	431	273
Deaths.....	40	23
Resignations.....	118	73
Dropped.....	273	177
Gain, total.....	244	176
Life.....	1	1
Annual.....	235	170
Institutions.....	8	5
Total number of elections.....	172	161
Net gain or loss.....	+13	-97

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

To the Council of the American Historical Association:

In accepting the honor conferred upon me by the American Historical Association at the Cincinnati meeting last year I expressed to the secretary of the council a conviction that the scope of the problem assigned to the committee on history in schools should be enlarged. It seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, essentially futile to define the field of history for the high school without defining at the same time the field of history for the elementary school. The Madison conference of 25 years ago gave excellent reasons for dealing with both fields, and recent changes in school organization suggest additional reasons. The old plan of eight years for the elementary school and of four years for the high school is breaking down. We are substituting in some cases the 6-6 plan that is, six years for elementary education and six for

secondary education; and in many more cases the 6-3-3 plan—that is, six years for the elementary school, three years for the junior high school, and three years for a senior high school. This readjustment carries obvious opportunities for reconstruction of the whole history program for schools and creates for those whose duty it is to consider such matters obvious responsibilities.

With the approval of the secretary of the council I therefore submitted to the committee the question: "Shall we accept as our field for investigation and report the entire 12 years of school work?" A majority replied in the affirmative, but there were some very earnest protests from the minority. An informal conference of western members held in Chicago in April resulted in the acceptance of the broader field, agreement on fundamental principles of procedure, and a variety of somewhat contradictory suggestions for the application of the principles. The conclusions were laid before an informal conference of eastern members held in New York in May, and after an extended discussion reduced, with some important modifications, to a fairly definite and coherent plan. Almost immediately after this conference the chairman fell into the hands of the "medical faculty," and further work was kept waiting upon the expectation that he would soon be in condition to submit a full statement for formal action by the committee. As events have turned out, this proved exceedingly unfortunate. The full statement is still to be made and its date is still uncertain. It is now entirely clear that another chairman should have been found early in the summer. With deep regret, but with a sense of duty which has long oppressed my conscience, I therefore beg to be released from any further connection with the active work of the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY JOHNSON,
Chairman.

NOVEMBER 30, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE.

Prof. L. M. Larson, chairman of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, reported March 4, 1918, that the prize had been awarded to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, of the National Army. The subject of his essay is "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

To the members of the American Historical Association:

The committee on nominations recommends the election of the following officers for the year 1918:

President, William Roscoe Thayer.

First vice president, Edward Channing.

Second vice president, Jean Jules Jusserand.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer, Charles Moore.

Curator, A. Howard Clark.

Secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene.

Members of the council, Lucy M. Salmon, Samuel B. Harding, Henry E. Bourne, George M. Wrong, Herbert E. Bolton, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, William E. Lingelbach.

Members of the committee on nominations, Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. deR. Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Further nominations may be made over the signatures of not less than 20 members, but all such nominations must be in the hands of the chairman not later than 12 o'clock noon on December 28, 1917. Nominations may also be made from the floor of the annual business meeting.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, Hanover, N. H.,
Chairman.

CHARLES H. AMBLER, Parkersburg, W. Va.,
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, Indianapolis, Ind.,
H. BARRETT LEARNED, Washington, D. C.,
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, Chicago, Ill.,
Committee on Nominations.

DECEMBER 3, 1917.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 1, 1917.**

The council met at 10 a. m., and continued its session during the day, with a short recess at the lunch hour. Present: President W. C. Ford, Vice President W. R. Thayer, Messrs. Leland, Bowen, Miss Salmon, Messrs. Bourne, G. S. Ford, Harding, Moore, Phillips, Wrong, G. B. Adams, Dunning, Jameson, Turner, and the secretary. At the request of the president, the chair was taken by Vice President Thayer, and later by Mr. Jameson.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting: Messrs. Dutcher, Johnson, Learned, Lingelbach, and Paltsits. Mr. E. P. Cheyney attended as chairman of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, and Mr. F. J. Teggart, as the representative of the Pacific coast branch.

The minutes of the meeting of December 29, 1916, were read and approved.

The secretary of the association presented his report, showing that the membership of the association on November 15, 1917, was 2,642 as against the enrollment, at corresponding dates, of 2,719 in 1916 and 2,989 in 1915. The possibility of further decrease as a result of the war was pointed out. The report was received and ordered to be placed on file.

On motion of Mr. Leland, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to prepare for an appropriate representation of the American Historical Association at the International Congress of the History of America to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922.

The secretary of the council reported that, in accordance with action taken by the council at its meeting of December 29, 1916, the president of the association had named the following members of the four executive committees then authorized:

Committee on the docket, President W. C. Ford, chairman; E. B. Greene, E. C. Barker, G. L. Burr, A. C. McLaughlin.

Committee on meetings and relations, President W. C. Ford, chairman; W. G. Leland, G. M. Wrong, U. B. Phillips, W. A. Dunning.

Committee on finance, G. S. Ford, chairman; Charles Moore, C. W. Bowen, W. G. Leland, E. B. Greene.

Committee on appointments, President W. C. Ford, chairman; H. E. Bourne, S. B. Harding, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, E. B. Greene.

He also reported the appointment of Mr. F. H. Hodder in place of Mr. W. E. Dodd, who had declined to serve on the Winsor prize committee.

The committee on appointments was authorized to select the members of the program committee for the annual meeting of the association in 1918.

The treasurer of the association presented his usual preliminary report, which was received and ordered placed on file. It showed the financial condition of the association on November 21, 1917, to be as follows:

Net receipts-----	\$7, 403. 95
Net disbursements-----	7, 564. 20
Excess of disbursements-----	160. 25
Cash on hand-----	3, 059. 57
Other assets-----	24, 732. 99
Total assets-----	27, 792. 56
Decrease in assets-----	228. 95
Endowment fund-----	1, 490. 00

The secretary of the council reported briefly on the work of the following committees: Historical manuscripts committee, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, conference of historical societies, committee on history in schools, committee on the military history prize, committee on program, and committee to cooperate with the national highways association.

Reports from the following committees were presented by the chairmen in person: Public archives commission, board of editors of the American Historical Review, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, committee on membership, and committee on headquarters in London. Mr. Jameson reported for the committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, that the index which had been prepared by Mr. Matteson was now in press. All these reports were ordered received and placed on file.

The following recommendations of the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine were referred to the council committee on finance:

1. That a subsidy from the American Historical Association be continued although, if thought best, reduced in amount.
2. That the number of issues of the magazine be cut down from ten to nine, omitting the issue for September.

On behalf of the committee on finance, Mr. G. S. Ford reported that the committee had examined the contract of the board of editors of the American Historical Review with the Macmillan Co., together with the indorsement made on the said contract by the board of editors and the president and secretary of the American Historical Association, transferring all rights in the said contract from the board of editors to the American Historical Association, and found the indorsement satisfactory. The committee also reported that it had approved a bill of sale transferring to the association the tangible properties and the good will of the Review. The action of the committee on these matters was approved by the council.

On the recommendation of the committee on finance, it was voted to recommend to the association for final approval the following plan for the administration of the funds of the American Historical Review:

1. That the treasurer of the American Historical Association be requested to institute a separate fund called the American Historical Review fund, to be used for purposes of the Review, consisting at its inception of the balance now possessed by the board, and now transferred by it to the treasury of the association;
2. That Macmillan's monthly payments of \$200 and any payments of profits by that firm under their contract be hereafter paid to the treasurer of the association and by him placed to the credit of the American Historical Review fund;
3. That in order to meet the payments which the treasurer has to make to the Macmillan Co. for numbers of the Review sent to members at 40 cents each the council of the association at each annual meeting appropriate to the Ameri-

can Historical Review fund a sum sufficient to cover a payment of \$1.60 for each of the estimated number of members to receive the Review during that year, such estimate to be certified by the secretary of the association.

4. That all such payments as have heretofore been made by the treasurer of the board be hereafter made by the treasurer of the association on warrant from the managing editor.

The committee on finance also reported a tentative budget for the year 1918, showing that the loss of income from membership dues would make necessary a considerable reduction in expenditures, and that after eliminating items to which the association was not already committed, there appeared a considerable excess of estimated expenditures over the estimated receipts. To prevent such a deficit, it was proposed to raise a guarantee fund of about \$1,000. In accordance with these recommendations, the following votes were agreed upon as temporary measures made necessary by war conditions:

1. That the usual November meeting of the council be omitted in 1918.

2. That the appropriations for the public archives commission, the committee on bibliography, and the committee on history in schools be suspended for the year 1918.

3. That the subsidy of the History Teacher's Magazine be withdrawn.

It was pointed out that some provision was now being made through other agencies for the furtherance of the interests involved in these measures of retrenchment.

The other budget recommendations of the finance committee were provisionally agreed to, with the exception of that relating to the Writings on American History, which was referred back to the committee for reconsideration.

The treasurer having made a statement showing that a considerable number of gifts had already been made for increasing the endowment funds of the association, the chairman of the finance committee reported that the committee did not think it advisable at this time to press the campaign for an increase of the endowment by sending a general and urgent appeal for subscriptions. In view, however, of the financial condition of the association, the committee recommended that a full statement be given to the members by way of suggestion to those who might feel able to make contributions at this time. The committee also expressed its approval of Mr. Bowen's suggestion that he and other members of the association, who might be so disposed, should continue to solicit gifts wherever there seemed to be a prospect of success.

The finance committee reported further that it had not seemed practicable to proceed this year with the issue of the proposed quarterly bulletin.

It was voted that the next meeting of the council be held in Philadelphia on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 26, 1917, notice of the exact hour and place to be given later.

It was voted to recommend to the association that the annual meeting for 1919 be held in New Haven.

It was voted that certain requests presented by the Council of Church Boards of Education and the Board of Education of the Northern Baptist Convention be referred to the committee on meetings and relations for report at the next session of the council in Philadelphia.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Leland, that the question of the advisability of appointing a special committee on policy be placed on the docket for the council meeting in Philadelphia.

It was also voted to place on the docket for that meeting the question of asking the association to take action authorizing the council, as a war measure, to suspend the meeting of the association in 1918 and provide in some other way for the transaction of the routine work of the association,

The item on the docket relating to the possibility of a special fund for research was then presented by Mr. Jameson, who spoke briefly on the new responsibility placed upon American scholars, and particularly the members of this association, by the European war.

On behalf of the special committee appointed to consider a change in the conditions of award for the Adams and Winsor prizes, Dr. Dunning presented resolutions which were adopted, with amendments, as follows:

Resolved, That the terms of award of the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams prizes be modified so as to provide:

1. That the amount of the prize in each case be \$200 (as at present).
2. That the publication of the prize essays in the present form be discontinued.
3. That competition for the prizes be open to monographs, submitted either in manuscript or after publication, provided that the date of publication has been within two years preceding the award.
4. That the competition be limited to monographs in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere who have not previously published any considerable work or won an established reputation.
5. That a monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association.

Resolved, That the modified system of competition go into effect for the Winsor prize in 1918 and the Adams prize in 1919.

Resolved, That a committee consisting of the chairman of the committee on publications and the chairmen of the two prize committees be appointed to revise the published announcements of the prizes, in accordance with these resolutions.

The motion to adopt the last resolution having been made by Mr. G. B. Adams, a ruling was asked on the question whether an ex-president of the association, not a voting member, was competent to make a motion. On this question the Chair ruled affirmatively, and on appeal from his decision the Chair was sustained.

It was voted that the recipient of the Adams prize in 1917 be asked to waive his right of publication under the rules hitherto in force.

It was voted to recommend to the committee on publications that the presidential address be hereafter included in the annual report of the association.

The council adjourned at 4.30.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLE- VUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 26, 1917.

The council met at 4 p. m. Present: Messrs. Bourne, Bowen, Clark, G. S. Ford, Harding, Jameson, Leland, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. In the absence of the president and vice presidents the chair was taken by Mr. Jameson.

The minutes of the meeting of December 1 were read and approved.

The report of the finance committee was presented by Mr. G. S. Ford, together with the treasurer's statement for December 19, 1917.

The budget for 1918 was agreed to as follows, subject to final approval by the association:

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES.

Secretary and treasurer	\$2,000.00
Committee on nominations	75.00
Pacific-coast branch	50.00
Program committee	150.00
Conference of historical societies	25.00

Committee on publications.....	\$1,000.00
Editorial services.....	150.00
Cumulative index.....	250.00
American Historical Review.....	5,000.00
Historical manuscripts commission.....	150.00
Winsor prize committee.....	200.00
London headquarters.....	150.00
Military history prize.....	250.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history.....	125.00
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1917.....	28.70
	9,603.70

ESTIMATED INCOME.

Annual dues.....	\$7,050.00
Life members' fees.....	100.00
Publications.....	400.00
Royalties.....	125.00
Investments.....	1,100.00
Gifts.....	100.00
Registration fees.....	150.00
	9,025.00

On the recommendation of the board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine it was voted to approve the reduction of the issues of that magazine from ten to nine on the understanding that the necessary adjustments would be made with the individual subscribers.

It was voted that a definite effort be made by a special committee or otherwise to dispose of the stock of publications of the association now stored in the office of the secretary.

It was voted that the treasurer be instructed to send a bill for the October number of the Review to members whose dues remain unpaid on the 1st of June.

It was voted that in view of the present financial situation the board of editors of the American Historical Review be requested to consider ways and means of reducing expenses of publication.

It was voted that the board of editors of the American Historical Review be authorized to negotiate with the Macmillan Co. respecting the price at which the Review is furnished to members of the association, with the understanding (1) that the price per number be 40 cents, as at present; (2) that the association guarantee the publishers against the deficit on account of the publication of the Review in 1918 to an amount not exceeding 10 cents for each copy furnished to members of the association. (Provided for in the budget.)

It was voted to appoint a special council committee, of five members, on policy, with instructions to report to the council at its next meeting respecting the future scientific activities of the association. The committee on appointments was instructed to present nominations for this committee.

The president of the association was authorized to appoint an audit committee of two members.

Mr. C. H. Van Tyne, treasurer of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, attended the meeting and presented a report on the finances of the Review.

The council adjourned to meet at 10 a. m. on Friday, December, 28.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLEVUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 28, 1917.

The council met at 10 a. m. Present: President W. C. Ford, Messrs, Adams, Bourne, Bowen, Dunning, G. S. Ford, Harding, Jameson, Leland, McLaughlin, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. At the request of President Ford the chair was taken by Mr. McLaughlin.

It was voted to reconsider the action of the council at its meeting of December 29, 1916, by which it was agreed to recommend that the annual meeting of the association of 1918 be held in Minneapolis. It was then voted to recommend to the association: (1) That the meeting be held in Minneapolis: *Provided, however*, That if, in view of the emergency due to the state of war, there appears to the executive council to be a sufficient reason for changing the place of meeting or omitting the meeting altogether, the executive council be authorized to take such action and directed to notify the association of its decision not later than September 1; (2) that if the annual meeting of 1918 is omitted the officers of the association shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the association; (3) that, except in respect to the adoption of the annual budget, the secretary of the council be authorized to take the votes of the council by mail, when, in the judgment of the president and the secretary, such a procedure is expedient.

On motion of Mr. Dunning, the council adopted the following resolutions respecting the retirement of Mr. Clarence W. Bowen from the treasurership of the association:

Whereas, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen has announced his intention not to accept a renomination for treasurer of the association,

Resolved, That the executive council has heard with deep regret Dr. Bowen's determination to retire from the service that he has so long and usefully performed. For 33 years he has guided the financial administration of the association and has guarded its treasury. In that long period the organization has prospered greatly and has widely extended its activities and influence. Dr. Bowen's unselfish and efficient labors have been a powerful factor in the accomplishment of these ends. Zeal and caution have happily blended in his management of fiscal affairs and in his judgments of the general policy of the organization. The executive council will greatly miss his faithful exhortations to economy, as well as his sympathetic approval of progress. In his well-earned retirement he will be attended by the cordial gratitude and good wishes of all who understand what he has done for the cause of history and the welfare of the American Historical Association.

It was voted that the work of the committee on membership be temporarily assigned to a special committee consisting of the two secretaries with instructions to make a careful study of the whole situation and with authority to add to their number if desired.

It was voted to appoint members of committees and commissions as follows:

Historical manuscripts commission.—Justin H. Smith (chairman), D. R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Lincoln, M. M. Quaife.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Frederic L. Paxson (chairman), E. S. Corwin, F. H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell, Oswald G. Villard.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Ruth Putnam (chairman), C. D. Hazen, R. H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Conyers Read.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits (chairman), E. C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, G. N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.

Committee on bibliography.—George M. Dutcher (chairman), F. A. Golder, Adelaide R. Hasse, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, Bernard C. Steiner.

Committee on publications (all ex-officio except the chairman).—H. Barrett Learned (chairman), George M. Dutcher, E. B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, W. G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on membership.—Work of the committee temporarily assigned to a special committee consisting of the two secretaries, with authority to choose other members.

Committee on history in schools.—J. M. Gambrill (chairman), Victoria A. Adams, Henry L. Cannon, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, J. A. James, D. C. Knowlton, A. C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, R. M. Tryon, J. H. Van Sickle, W. L. Westermann.

Conference of historical societies.—A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board, History Teacher's Magazine (to serve three years from January 1, 1918).—Henry Johnson (chairman), Margaret McGill.

Member board of editors American Historical Review (to serve six years from January 1, 1918).—Charles H. Haskins.

Committee on program thirty-fourth annual meeting.—Appointments deferred.

Committee on local arrangements.—Appointments deferred.

Special committee on policy.—Carl Becker, W. E. Dodd, G. S. Ford, C. H. Haskins, D. C. Munro. (The committee to choose its own chairman.)

It was voted that the selection of the committee on program and the committee on local arrangements be deferred until March 1.

It was voted that a special committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Munro, Leland, and Greene, be appointed to confer with similar committees of other organizations respecting possible modes of cooperation in national service.

It was voted to authorize the committee on headquarters in London to approve proposals of the London committee respecting the use of those quarters as a reading room for Americans in London.

The secretary presented a communication from Prof. F. J. Teggart in regard to the possibility of cooperation between the American Historical Association and other scientific organizations in securing the continuance of certain forms of scholarly cooperation, interrupted in Europe as a result of conditions during, or immediately preceding, the present war. It was voted to refer this communication to the committee on policy.

The secretary presented a report from Mr. Learned, chairman of the special committee appointed to revise the published announcements of the Winsor and Adams prizes in accordance with the votes of the council of December 1, 1917, embodying a revised statement which was agreed to as follows, for submission to the association:

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the give.. year. In the case of a printed monograph, the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement.

The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words, if designed for publication in the Annual Report of the Association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairman of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The council adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLE-
VUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 29, 1917.**

The council met at 5 p. m. Present: Messrs. Bolton, Bourne, Dunning, Harding, Lingelbach, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. In the absence of the president and vice presidents the chair was taken by Mr. Dunning.

It was voted to refer to a special committee consisting of the president and the secretaries a communication from Profs. Edward Channing, William Macdonald, and Herbert E. Bolton, respecting the records of the census office in London.

Certain resolutions presented at the annual meeting of the association by Prof. J. H. Breasted and referred to the executive council for action were, after amendment, agreed to as follows:

In view of the large educational, humanitarian, and missionary interests which American organizations have long maintained within the limits of the Ottoman Empire,

Resolved. That the American historical association empower its president to appoint a committee of three to urge upon the Government of the United States the importance of adequately safeguarding, during the course of any peace negotiations, the future rights and activities of American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ottoman Empire, having in mind especially:

General education for men and women; professional education, including medical schools and hospitals; training in agriculture, forestry, engineering, transportation and road making, economic geology and mining; geological and geographical explorations, scientific surveys, archaeological excavations, and the legitimate interests of American museums.

It is also recommended that a further function of this committee be to provide for the collection and preservation of all available information which would aid the representatives of the United States in securing the ends suggested in the above resolution.

It was voted to request the treasurer to prepare for the consideration of the council a memorandum indicating the methods by which the financial procedure of the association may be brought into conformity with the votes of the association at its annual meeting of December 29, 1916.

Adjourned.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

Statistics of membership.

I. GENERAL.

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total membership.....	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654
Life.....	125	122	120	117	115
Annual.....	2,516	2,578	2,587	2,388	2,318
Institutions.....	202	213	219	234	221
Total paid membership.....	2,490	2,176	2,374	2,378	2,132
Delinquent, total.....	363	737	552	361	522
Since last bill.....	282	610	391	361	508
For one year.....	71	127	161	.....	14
Loss, total.....	316	205	277	431	306
Deaths.....	37	30	32	40	33
Resignations.....	182	102	168	118	96
Dropped.....	97	73	77	273	177
Gain, total.....	313	275	290	244	221
Life.....	1	2	.....	1	.....
Annual.....	297	260	277	235	214
Institutions.....	15	13	13	8	6
Total number of elections.....	321	182	273	172	191
Net gain or loss.....	3	70	13	-187	-85

II. BY REGIONS.

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.....	542	549	511	483	445
North Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.....	821	803	831	816	802
South Atlantic: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.....	143	153	155	148	149
North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.....	583	607	600	558	529
South Central: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia.....	105	109	101	85	90
West Central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas.....	280	300	312	275	237
Pacific Coast: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California.....	259	276	305	280	258
Territories: Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands.....	8	11	11	8	5
Other countries.....	102	105	100	86	89
	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654

III. BY STATES.

	December, 1913.	December, 1914.	December, 1915.	December, 1916.	December, 1917.	New members, Dec. 19, 1917.
Alabama.....	14	17	14	10	9	1
Alaska.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	1	1	2	3	.....
Arkansas.....	11	8	8	4	4	1
California.....	156	167	190	169	158	11
Colorado.....	10	10	13	15	14	.....
Connecticut.....	97	110	100	99	94	3
Delaware.....	2	3	9	12	11	.....
District of Columbia.....	83	85	102	93	86	2
Florida.....	6	5	8	5	6	1
Georgia.....	26	28	23	21	21	4
Hawaii.....	1	1	2	2	.....	.....
Idaho.....	4	4	5	4	5	2
Illinois.....	208	222	224	208	190	6
Indiana.....	61	61	58	61	50	3
Iowa.....	45	52	52	46	43	4
Kansas.....	27	28	37	28	36	10
Kentucky.....	32	32	26	21	24	4
Louisiana.....	25	23	20	19	16	.....
Maine.....	24	24	23	24	21	1
Maryland.....	56	53	50	55	56	1
Massachusetts.....	346	340	319	295	268	4
Michigan.....	96	102	105	95	90	14
Minnesota.....	39	44	48	49	51	5

Statistics of membership—Continued.

III. BY STATES—continued.

	Decem- ber, 1913.	Decem- ber, 1914.	Decem- ber, 1915.	Decem- ber, 1916.	Decem- ber, 1917.	New members, Dec. 19, 1917.
Mississippi.....	10	9	9	6	3	.....
Missouri.....	48	53	50	49	50	4
Montana.....	7	8	10	9	10	.....
Nebraska.....	23	26	31	28	24	1
Nevada.....	4	4	6	5	5	1
New Hampshire.....	30	29	29	29	30	4
New Jersey.....	73	74	85	84	85	8
New Mexico.....	3	3	6	6	8	2
New York.....	404	391	393	383	373	25
North Carolina.....	33	31	30	30	30	2
North Dakota.....	6	5	5	3	4	2
Ohio.....	132	128	122	110	115	13
Oklahoma.....	5	8	12	8	10	2
Oregon.....	31	32	30	24	17	.....
Pennsylvania.....	203	197	192	189	191	26
Philippine Islands.....	5	6	5	4	3	.....
Porto Rico.....	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Rhode Island.....	37	36	30	28	25	.....
South Carolina.....	23	31	33	28	22	1
South Dakota.....	8	7	5	8	8	.....
Tennessee.....	33	37	35	31	31	2
Texas.....	43	46	44	33	41	9
Utah.....	6	7	8	10	12	3
Vermont.....	8	10	10	8	7	.....
Virginia.....	55	48	61	64	70	15
Washington.....	34	35	32	30	23	.....
West Virginia.....	16	14	17	17	23	9
Wisconsin.....	86	94	91	84	84	10
Wyoming.....	2	5	4	6	3	.....
Canada.....	37	38	39	34	33	1
Cuba.....	2	2	2	2	2	.....
South America.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Foreign.....	63	65	59	50	52	2
	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654	221

REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA.

A.

Abbott, Frank Frost.	Ambler, Charles H.	Andrews, Mrs. Arthur
Abel, Annie Heloise.	Ames, Herman V.	Irving.
Adams, Ephraim Douglass.	Anderson, Frank Maloy.	Appleton, William W.
Adams, G. B.	Anderson, J. F.	Arragon, Reginald F.
Adams, Victoria A.	Anderson, Mary M.	
Allen, Freeman H.	Andrews, Arthur Irving.	

B.

Bacot, D. Huger, jr.	Bartlett, Marguerite G.	Bowen, Clarence W.
Baird, Andrew Browning.	Bayley, Frank W.	Bradford, John E.
Baird, Mildred.	Becker, Carl.	Brand, Carl Fremont.
Baker, John W.	Bedell, Rev. F. M. C.	Brand, Hon. R. H.
Balch, Thomas Willing.	Belcher, Katharine Fisher.	Brandt, Lida R.
Baldwin, Alice M.	Benton, Elbert J.	Breasted, James H.
Bancroft, Frederic.	Benton, George W.	Brown, Everett Somerville.
Barbour, Violet.	Bond, Beverley W., jr.	Brown, Louise Fargo.
Barker, E. C.	Bevkemeier, Mary Lena.	Brown, Marshall S.
Barlow, Burt E.	Biddle, Edward.	Brown, Samuel H.
Barnes, D. G.	Bieber, Ralph Paul.	Buck, Solon J.
Barnes, Harry E.	Boucher, C. S.	Burnham, Smith.
Barnes, Viola F.	Bourne, H. E.	Byrne, E. H.

C.

Cadwallader, Laura H.	Christian, Asa Kyros.	Coolidge, Archibald Cary.
Caldwell, Grace F.	Church, Frederic C.	Corwin, Edward S.
Caldwell, Wallace E.	Clark, A. Howard,	Cotterill, R. S.
Callahan, J. M.	Clark, Arthur H.	Coulomb, Charles A.
Carman, Harry J,	Clark, Victor S.	Coulter, E. Merton.
Carpenter, William S.	Clauder, Anna Cornelia.	Cox, Isaac Joslin.
Carter, Clarence E.	Cochran, M. Hermond.	Cox, Laura J.
Chambers, Raymond.	Colvin, Caroline.	Crofts, F. S.
Cheyney, E. P.	Colwell, P. R.	Cunningham, Charles H.
Chitwood, Oliver P.	Connor, R. D. W.	Curtis, Eugene N.

D.

Davenport, Frances G.	Dietz, Frederick C.	Douglas, C. H.
Davis, Alice.	Dilks, Clara G.	Duncalf, Frederic.
Dawson, Edgar.	Dodd, W. F.	Duniway, C. A.
Deats, Hiram E.	Dodd, William E.	Dunning, William A.
Demarest, Elizabeth B.	Donnan, Elizabeth.	Dutcher, George M.
Denoyer, L. Philip.	Doughty, Annie W.	Dutcher, Mrs. George M.

E.

Eddy, William W.	Egan, Joseph M.	Evans, Jessie C.
Edwards, Martha L.		

F.

Farr, Shirley.	Fisk, Harvey E.	Foster, Herbert Darling.
Fay, Frances Marion.	Fite, Emerson D.	Fox, Dixon Ryan.
Fay, Sidney B.	Flippin, Percy Scott.	Fox, George L.
Ferguson, William Scott.	Ford, G. S.	Fox, Leonard P.
Ferry, Nellie Poyntz.	Ford, W. C.	

G.

Gallinger, Herbert P.	Goodykoontz, Colin B.	Greenfield, K. Roberts.
Gallinger, Mrs. H. P.	Gould, Clarence P.	Griffis, William Elliot.
Garwood, L. E.	Gras, Norman S. B.	Grizzell, E. D.
Gerson, Armand J.	Gray, H. L.	Grose, Clyde Leclare.
Gibbons, Lois Oliphant.	Gray, William Dodge.	Guilday, Rev. Peter.
Gilbert, William Elbert.	Greene, Evarts B.	
Golder, F. A.	Greene, Garton S.	

H.

Hall, Clifton R.	Harper, Samuel N.	Hodgdon, Frederick C.
Hamilton, J. G. de R.	Hart, Albert Bushnell.	Hoekstra, Peter.
Hammond, Otis G.	Haskins, Charles H.	Hormell, Orren C.
Hanna, Mary Alice.	Hayes, Carlton J. H.	Howe, Samuel B.
Hannah, Ian C.	Haynes, George H.	Howland, A. C.
Harding, Samuel B.	Hazen, Charles Downer.	Hull, Charles Henry.
Haring, Clarence Henry.	Healy, Patrick J.	Hull, William I.
Harley, Lewis R.	Hearon, Cleo.	Hunt, Agnes.
Harlow, Ralph V.	Heckel, Albert K.	Huttmann, Maude A.
Harper, Mrs. Lillie Du Puy Van Culin.	Hellweg, Edgar D.	
	Henderson, Archibald	

I.

Ingalsbe, Grenville M.	Irish, Florence C.
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J.

James, J. A.	Jenkins, Charles Francis.	Johnson, Allen.
Jameson, John Franklin.	Johns, Clarence D.	Johnston, Robert M.

K.

Kellar, Herbert A.	Kilgore, Carrie B.	Knowlton, Daniel C.
Kelsey, Rayner Wickersham.	King, Charles M.	Kollock, Margaret R.
Kerner, Robert Joseph.	Knapp, Charles M.	Konkle, Burton Alva.
	Knipfing, John R.	

L.

Lamberton, Clark D.	Lincoln, Anna T.	Longacre, Caroline.
Latané, John H.	Lindley, Harlow.	Lord, Eleanor L.
Latourette, K. S.	Lingelbach, William E.	Lough, Susan M.
Lawson, Leonard A.	Lingham, Clarence H.	Lowrey, L. T.
Learned, H. Barrett.	Lingley, Charles R.	Lunt, W. E.
Leland, W. G.	Livermore, Col. W. R.	
Lewis, Caroline.	Logan, John H.	

M.

McConnell, J. Moore.	Magoffin, Ralph V. D.	Montgomery, Thomas
McDonald, James G.	Manning, William R.	Lynch.
Macdonald, Norman.	Marsh, Harriette P.	Morgan, W. T.
McDuffie, Penelope.	Martin, A. E.	Morison, Samuel E.
McGrane, Reginald Chas.	Melchoir, D. Montfort.	Mowbray, R. H.
McGregor, J. C.	Merritt, Elizabeth.	Munro, Alice B.
McKinley, Albert E.	Mims, Stewart L.	Munro, Dana C.
McLaughlin, A. C.	Mitchell, Isabel.	Munro, William Bennett.
McLaughlin, Robert W.	Mitchell, Samuel C.	Musser, John.
MacLear, Anne Bush.	Mohr, Walter H.	Muzzey, David S.
McMaster, John Bach.	Moore, Charles.	Myers, Albert Cook.
McQueen, Alice E.	Moore, Clifford H.	Myers, William Starr.
McQueen, L. I.	Moore, David R.	
Mace, W. H.	Moore, J. R. H.	

N.

Neely, Thomas B.	Northrop, Amanda Carolyn
Newkirk, Alice M. F.	Notestein, Wallace.
(Mrs. Walter M.)	

O.

Oberholtzer, Ellis P.	Olmstead, A. T.
Ogg, Frederic A.	Osgood, George W., jr.

P.

Paine, Mrs. Clarence S.	Pierce, Elizabeth D.	Prentice, W. K.
Paltsits, Victor Hugo.	Pitman, Frank W.	Preston, Helen G.
Paullin, C. O.	Pitman, Mrs. Frank W.	Price, Ralph Ray.
Paxson, Frederic L.	Platner, Samuel Ball.	Priddy, Mrs. Bessie Leach.
Perring, Louise F.	Potter, Mary.	Prince, L. Bradford.
Peterson, A. Everett.	Powell, Thomas Reed.	Pulsifer, William E.
Phillips, Paul C.	Prentice, Leigh Wells.	Putnam, Ruth.

R.

Randal, James G.	Richardson, Ernest C.	Robinson, Chalfant.
Randall, Mrs. J. G.	Riley, Franklin L.	Robinson, Morgan P.
Randolph, Bessie Carter.	Risley, A. W.	Rogers, Elizabeth Frances.
Read, Conyers.	Robertson, James A.	Rogers, Robert William.
Renninger, Warren D.	Robertson, Mrs. James A.	Russell, Elmer B.

S.

Salmon, Lucy M.	Shaw, Caroline B.	Soule, Harold W.
Sanford, E. M.	Shearer, Augustus H.	Spofford, Ernest.
Saurwalt, Alma V.	Shipman, Henry R.	Staples, Thomas S.
Schapiro, J. Salwyn.	Shotwell, J. T.	Steeffel, Lawrence D.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier.	Siebert, Wilbur H.	Steele, Esther C. M.
Schmidt, Louis Bernard.	Sioussat, Mrs. Albert.	Steele, Rev. James Dal-
Schmitt, Bernadotte E.	Sioussat, St. George L.	las.
Schurz, William Lyttle.	Smith, Justin H.	Stephens, F. F.
Schuyler, Livingston R.	Smith, Preserved.	Stevens, Ernest N.
Schuyler, Robt. Livingston.	Smith, R. R.	String, William Paxson.
Scott, Nancy E.	Smith, Theodore Clarke.	Stryker, Florence E. L.
Seal, H. C.	Smith, William Roy.	Sullivan, James.
Seligman, Edwin R. A.	Snow, Alpheus H.	Surrey, N. M. Miller.
Severance, Frank H.	Snowden, Louise Hor-	Sweet, William Warren.
Shambaugh, Benjamin F.	tense.	

T.

Tall, Lida Lee.	Thompson, C. Mildred.	Turner, Edward Ray-
Taylor, Bertha M. B.	Thorndike, Lynn.	mond.
(Mrs. M. Stanton).	Townsend, Mary E.	Turner, Frederick J.
Teggart, F. J.	Townsend, Prescott W.	Turner, Joseph Brown.
Textor, Lucy Elizabeth.	Trimble, William J.	Turner, Morris K.
Thallon, Ida Carlton.	Tryon, R. M.	Tyson, M. A.
Thome, Anna.		

U.

Updyke, Frank A.

V.

Van Nostrand, J. J., jr.	Vaughn, E. V.	Vincent, John Martin.
Van Tyne, C. H.	Villard, Oswald Garrison.	

W.

Walmsley, Jas. Elliott.	Whipple, Mary Ella.	Wilson, Martin L.
Ware, Edith E.	White, Albert B.	Wing, Herbert, jr.
Warfield, Ethelbert D.	White, Fred C.	Wood, William Hamilton.
Wellman, Henry G.	Williams, F. W.	Wriston, Henry M.
Wendell, Hugo C. M.	Williams, Helen W.	
Wertenbaker, T. J.	Williams, Mary Wil-	
Wharton, Anne Hol-	helmine.	
lingsworth.	Wilson, George G.	

Y.

Yeager, William A.	Young, Levi Edgar.	Young, Mary G.
Young, Helen L.		

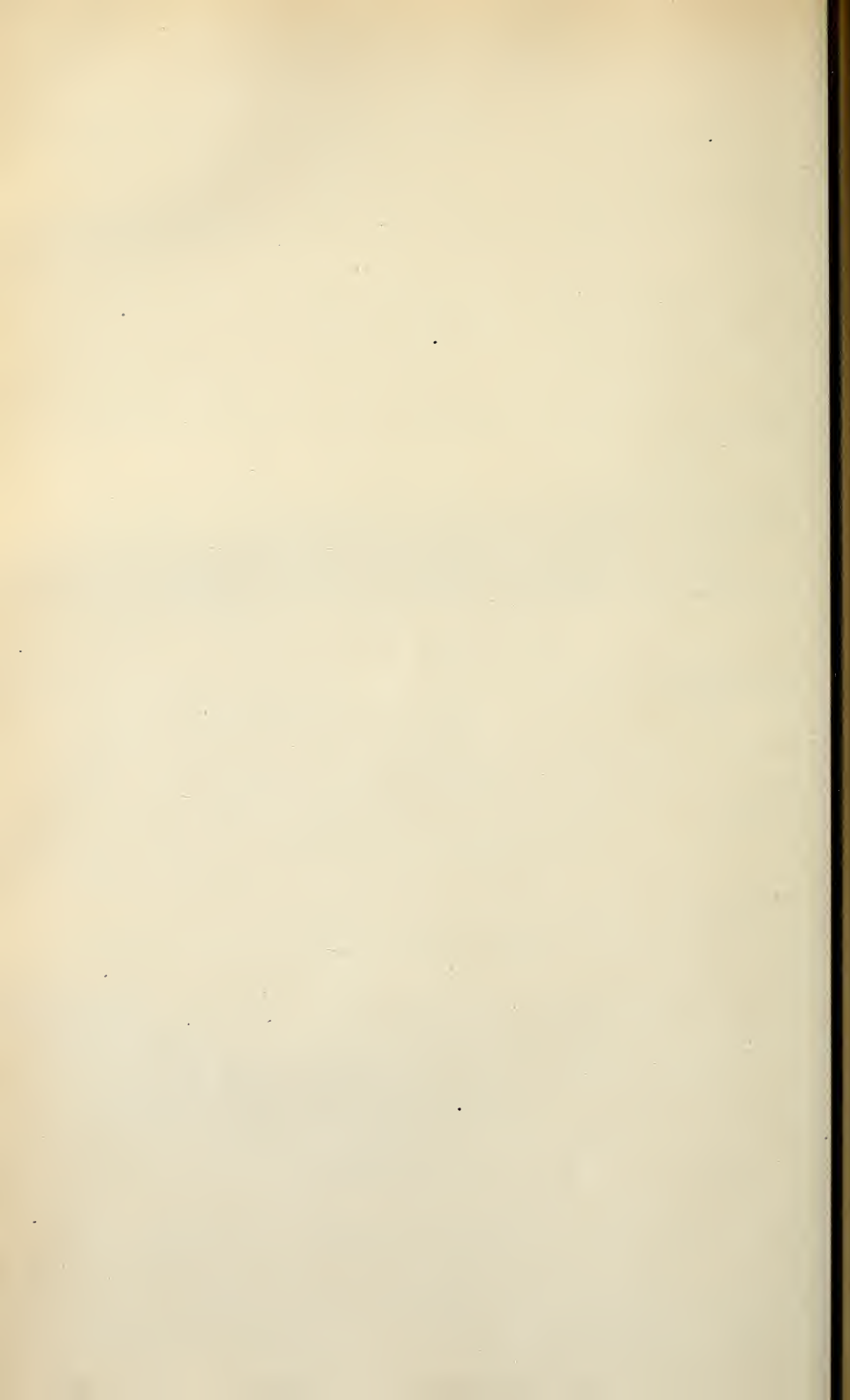
Z.

Zéliqzon, Maurice.	Zook, George F.
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II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

BERKELEY, CAL., NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 1, 1917.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS,
Secretary of the Branch.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, Berkeley, Friday afternoon, November 30, and Saturday morning and afternoon, December 1, 1917. The morning session convened at 9.30, the afternoon sessions at 2.30, all in room 211, Wheeler Hall. The annual dinner Friday evening and a special luncheon Saturday noon were at the Faculty Club, Prof. H. Morse Stephens, presiding. In the absence of both the president of the Pacific Coast Branch, Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford University, and the vice president, Prof. Levi E. Young, of the University of Utah, Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, was called to the chair for the first regular session, and Profs. Ephraim D. Adams and Arley B. Show, of Stanford University, for the second and third sessions, respectively.

At the opening of the Friday afternoon session it was voted, on motion of Prof. Stephens, that the good wishes of the Pacific Coast Branch be telegraphed to Dr. C. W. Bowen, now retiring from his office as treasurer of the American Historical Association after a long period of service. The first paper of the afternoon was presented by Prof. Richard F. Scholz, of the University of California. It was entitled "The Foundations of Cæsarism and the Republican Tradition in Europe," and gave a new interpretation of the noted Ancyra inscription relative to the deeds of Augustus. Prof. Scholz held that the *res gestae* of this inscription is in theory an account of the principate of Augustus justifying its constitutional acts; that the posthumous deification of Augustus gave authorization and approval to these acts; and that deification thus preserves the republican tradition of the responsibility of the princeps to the Roman people. Mention was made of the fact that Tiberius was adopted *rei publicae causa*. For final ratification the will of Augustus was dependent on the senate, the representatives of the Roman people, legal authorization being attained after Augustus's death. The first temple to the new imperial cult was erected at Ancyra in 29 A. D., and this inscription was recovered from its wall. The conclusions reached were: (1) That the *res gestae* is a report of the princeps to the senate; (2) that it was ratified by the act of deification; (3) and that the deeds therein recounted were a sufficient justification

for apotheosis. The speaker held that the document deals solely with the public acts of Augustus and that all other persons mentioned stood in line of succession after him, their relationship in each case being specified. The arrangement of the three main sections is topical, not chronological. In the view of Prof. Scholz this is the fundamental document which established Cæsarism.

Prof. Charles W. Spencer, of the University of Nevada, in the paper which followed spoke on "Tendencies toward independence in the early eighteenth century." By the way of introduction he showed that contemporaries believed something to be amiss in the relations between England and her colonies and that the difficulty has usually been sought in the absence of machinery of representation in a common assembly, a situation which surrounded imperial interests with an atmosphere of mere bargaining. The scheme for mutual understanding implied mutual benefits. In their local struggles the colonies were not engaging in constitutional calisthenics, developing strength for liberty, but merely bargained for local advantage. Passing to his main theme, the speaker stated that there were difficulties quite apart from those inhering in the question of the injustice of the system itself. The agencies for the enforcement in America of the acts of trade and navigation were absolutely inadequate. Under the defects of the administrative system it was inevitable that incidents of an oppressive and blackmailing nature should arise. Some of these were cited, and it was maintained that they gave the impression of capriciousness. It is a question how far they figured in the interminable struggle of governors and assemblies, but in the crisis of the period 1709-1715 the conduct of New Yorkers was regarded in Great Britain as evincing dangerous separatist tendencies.

In an address, the last of the session, bearing the title "England and America," Prof. Oliver H. Richardson, of the University of Washington, spoke of the importance of an appreciation of the work of England and of cementing friendly relations. He stated that England, the founder of the first constitution, stands as the champion of democracy. She has given representative government and liberty enshrined in the common law. Four times in 400 years Europe has been threatened with the establishment of universal monarchy. The Armada, La Hogue, and Blenheim and Trafalgar worked the defeat of such attempts. Great Britain first established freedom of the seas. Never since Cromwell has she sought to be a military nation. She has not taken neutral lives nor sunk neutral ships. She seeks to solve her own particular problem, but it is at the same time the problem of the world. We owe Great Britain respect and a fair representation of her history.

After the conclusion of this address, the chairman announced the personnel of committees on nomination, resolutions, and auditing.

Dr. James A. Robertson spoke on behalf of the American Hispanic Historical Review, the first number of which is soon to appear, and the secretary spoke in the interest of the American Historical Association. Adjournment was then taken.

At the annual dinner in the evening the president's address in his absence was deferred to a later session. An unusual number of distinguished visitors being present, they were welcomed in brief addresses by Prof. Stephens, who presided, and by Prof. E. D. Adams. Those who were called upon and responded were Prof. William M. Sloane, of Columbia University, delegate of the American Historical Association; Prof. Edward Channing, of Harvard University; Dr. E. L. Stevenson, of New York; Prof. William Macdonald, formerly of Brown University; and Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The attendance at the dinner, 63, was unusually large.

The opening paper of the Saturday morning session was presented by Prof. Franklin D. Daines, of the Utah State Agricultural College, and dealt with "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870."¹ After explaining that under Joseph Smith the right of supreme direction in ecclesiastical and temporal affairs had already been established by the head of the Mormon Church, and showing how the Mormon belief in continuous revelation both divine and satanic was accountable for a tendency to regard all opposition as satanic, Prof. Daines spoke of the relations of the Utah pioneers with the United States Government. Having sought asylum for their people where there were none but savages to trouble them, their leaders believed that isolation was necessary to recruit their strength and declared that for this 10 years were necessary. It was in this period that their judicial, military, and ecclesiastical institutions were perfected.

The Mormons, according to the speaker, were not disappointed at being in the jurisdiction of the United States, as Brigham Young had expected this. His original aim was local self-government during a brief period of exile until they might return to Missouri. Both he and his followers held the Federal Government responsible for their ills in Missouri and Illinois and believed in the satanic opposition of the United States. The Mormons asserted that the United States had no right to send officials to govern them. In 1856 Young said they were bound to become either a sovereign State in the Union or independent. The sending of an army by Buchanan in 1857 increased bitterness of feeling in Utah. Prof. Daines held that during the Civil War the Mormons were loyal, but their loyalty needs interpretation, being that toward an ideal government nowhere in existence. In 1862 was adopted a constitution for the

¹ Printed in the present volume.

State of Deseret. This was in operation six years, its legislature solemnly adopting the laws passed by the Territorial Legislature of Utah. With the approach of the railway, concern over the entering of new influences led to the boycotting of merchants and the adoption of Zion's Mercantile Association.

In his paper, "A forgotten pioneer of American history, John Gilmary Shea," Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, of Palo Alto, dealt chiefly with Shea's activities in relation to the history of French missions. A paper of O'Callahan's in 1847 first called his attention to the importance of the Jesuit Relations. Shea had mastered Spanish in a mercantile house and French was spoken in his own home. After spending five years in a theological seminary before he realized that he was not intended for the priesthood, he married. At the age of 29 he brought out his first work. From 1852 until his death in 1892 not a single year passed without the publication of one of his articles or books. Not only was he very active in preparing for publication the noted set of Jesuit Relations collected by the Lenox Library and covering the years 1632-1672, but he traced manuscript material later than 1672 and published it in 25 little volumes, soliciting subscriptions for one at a time to finance the publication of the next one. The pioneer work of men like Shea and O'Callahan has never received due credit, although Thwaites gave them appreciation for the edition of the Jesuit Relations published by the Quebec Government.

Shea's work is also illustrated in his edition of Miller's account of New York province and city, in which he brought out many unknown facts. His book on the Catholic missions, 1529-1855, is the standard one on the subject. His work on the Spanish side is quite as important as that on the French side. He realized the importance of preserving the Indian languages before it was too late and was willing to undertake the work which Treubner of London took off of his hands. Among the native languages of the Pacific coast which he has preserved are those of the lower Santa Clara Valley, the Yakima language and those of British Columbia. In the year of his death Shea brought out the fourth of the five projected volumes of his history of the Catholic Church in America. He was the founder of the Catholic Historical Society of the United States, and was among the first to place the missionary of the exploration period in his proper place among historical workers.

The third paper of the morning was that of Prof. Percy A. Martin, of Stanford University, whose topic was "The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon River to the world's commerce."¹ Prof. Martin, after stating that lack of knowledge of the Amazon and its tributaries from 1500 to 1900 was due partly to the jealously exclusive policy of Brazil and partly to the slow begin-

¹ Printed in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* for May, 1918.

nings of steam navigation in the interior water of South America, proceeded to outline the relations of the United States to the question for some two decades prior to the opening of the Amazon. Secretary Clayton was balked in an attempt to send a ship to explore the Amazon, and two lieutenants of the Navy, Herndon and Gibbon, were in 1852 sent to Peru to explore its upper waters. The publication of their report had a decided influence, but these beginnings bore no immediate fruit because of the opposition of the Brazilian Government. A Peruvian-Brazilian treaty in 1854 restricted the use of the Amazon to the use of the citizens of these two Governments. An account was given of the activities of Lieut. Maury, superintendent of the Hydrographic Office, who was influenced to take up the matter by the report of Herndon and Gibbon, and through whose influence was held at Memphis a convention which adopted a bombastic memorial declaring that the opening of the river was essential to the prosperity of the United States. This was followed by propaganda in the Washington press which Herndon published under a pseudonym. Its republication in Brazil appeared to confirm Portuguese suspicions and to prove that the United States entertained schemes of annexation. From that time it was impossible to negotiate a treaty with Brazil. The extended notice given the matter in one of President Pierce's messages shows the hold it had taken on the popular mind. In conclusion were presented the steps by which after 1860 the Brazilian Government was led to open the river to the world's commerce.

In an address on "The collection of war materials," State Librarian Milton J. Ferguson, of Sacramento, described the library facilities soon to be created by the erection of new buildings at Sacramento and spoke of the gathering of war materials such as bulletins, magazines, and propaganda of the various belligerent powers as well as publications of the various departments of the United States Government.

After a brief intermission a business session was called to order with Prof. E. D. Adams in the chair. The auditing committee, consisting of Lieut. L. P. Jackson and Rev. Joseph Gleason, reported that they had inspected the vouchers and other records of expenditure made by the secretary-treasurer and had found them in good order. The report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, Edgar E. Robinson, T. C. Knoles, and F. D. Daines, subsequently reported resolutions, which were adopted, asserting the appreciation of the Pacific coast branch of the world situation, with the United States a participant in the war for democracy, and pledging the members to serve the Nation in every way in its hour of need; expressing the gratitude of the branch to the University of California for acting as host on this occasion

and especially to the committee on arrangements, Dr. Priestley and Dr. Leebrick, for their efforts on behalf of the comfort and pleasure of those in attendance; extending thanks to the program committee for the very enjoyable papers and discussions provided, and to the several readers for service so well performed; and expressing pleasure that the sessions had been graced by the attendance of so many visitors from the parent association.

Prof. H. E. Bolton, chairman of the committee on the bibliography of Pacific coast history, reported that the members of the committee had provided him with but little information as to local materials and funds available, but that the general task is clearly immense, involving some work in the East as well as in the West. He further reported that the main undertaking is that of finding funds, and estimated the cost of necessary labor at from \$10,000 to \$20,000. Since the bibliography committee of the parent society has no funds for its own work, considerable aid from the parent society is out of the question. Some bibliographical work is already being done in the Bancroft Library. California materials in publications are being listed by Dr. Chapman, who is also listing published articles on Latin America. Another bibliography, that on early western travels, is being prepared by Mr. Hill, and still another, covering recent materials on Mexico, by the Mexican Commission. The chairman suggested that parts of this work be published in the reports of the American Historical Association and that, if continued, the committee may organize work and seek funds. This report of progress was accepted, and the committee as constituted was continued.

The committee on nominations, of which H. E. Bolton was chairman, associated with whom as members were E. D. Adams, O. H. Richardson, C. W. Spencer, and R. G. Cleland, reported the following named as officers for the ensuing year:

For president, Rev. Joseph M. Gleason.

For vice president, Oliver H. Richardson.

For secretary-treasurer, William A. Morris.

For the council, in addition to the above, R. C. Clark, Edward Maslin Hulme, Waldemar C. Westergaard, and Miss Edna H. Stone.

On motion, the nominations were closed and the secretary instructed to cast the ballot for these nominees, who were declared elected. Prof. E. B. Krehbiel was elected delegate of the Pacific coast branch to attend the meeting of the council of the parent association at its approaching meeting at Philadelphia. Under the head of new business it was voted that a committee of the Pacific coast branch be appointed by the new council to cooperate with the California State Library in giving direction to local agencies for the collection of war materials. The meeting then adjourned.

After a luncheon, at which the speaker was Prof. William M. Sloane, of Columbia University, the afternoon session was called to order and Prof. E. E. Robinson read the annual address of the president, Prof. Krehbiel, reading of which was postponed from the previous evening.¹ The title of the address was "The European commission of the Danube," and it dealt with the organization and work of this body from 1856 to the outbreak of the present European war. The working principle was shown to be cooperation as contrasted with the usual rivalry of ambassadors. The conclusion reached was that an international administrative agent is the most effective means of bridging the gap between nations. A Hague legislature would have an exceedingly difficult task, but an administrative body would not have to lay down coordinated rules to control the whole world. An administrative agent has all the advantage of the common law known to England and escapes the codified law of the continent.

The regular program of the teachers' session for the afternoon was then taken up. The general question for consideration was one under investigation by a commission of the California High School Teachers' Association, and bore on the European history covered by high-school students, whose course can include but one year in the European field.

The first paper was presented by Miss Jane E. Harnett, of the Long Beach High School, the chairman of the commission. Miss Harnett showed from incomplete statistical returns of an investigation made by the commission and covering the cases of 4,787 graduates of California high schools in the year 1917, that 45 per cent had studied two years of European history, 28 per cent one year only, and that 27 per cent had studied no European history. The problem was found to be more acute in cities and in schools establishing the newer vocational courses. Of the high-school students who had studied but one year of European history, 888 had either ancient history or the new combined course, 299 medieval and modern history, 71 English, and 72 general history. The greater demand for a one-year course comes from southern California. The main objections offered to such a course are the probability of its drawing students who would otherwise take a two-year course and the impossibility of adequately teaching European history in one year. The problem of the student who takes one year is bound up with that of the student who takes none. Miss Harnett suggested, (1) that there is no possibility of requiring all high-school students to take two years of European history; (2) that the question to be settled is that of a more satisfactory arrangement of a course for one-year students; (3) that this raises the issue of the possibility of the real

¹ Published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXII, 38-55, March, 1918.

profitableness of a one-year course; (4) that history is to be considered as a life current, explaining the problems of the present.

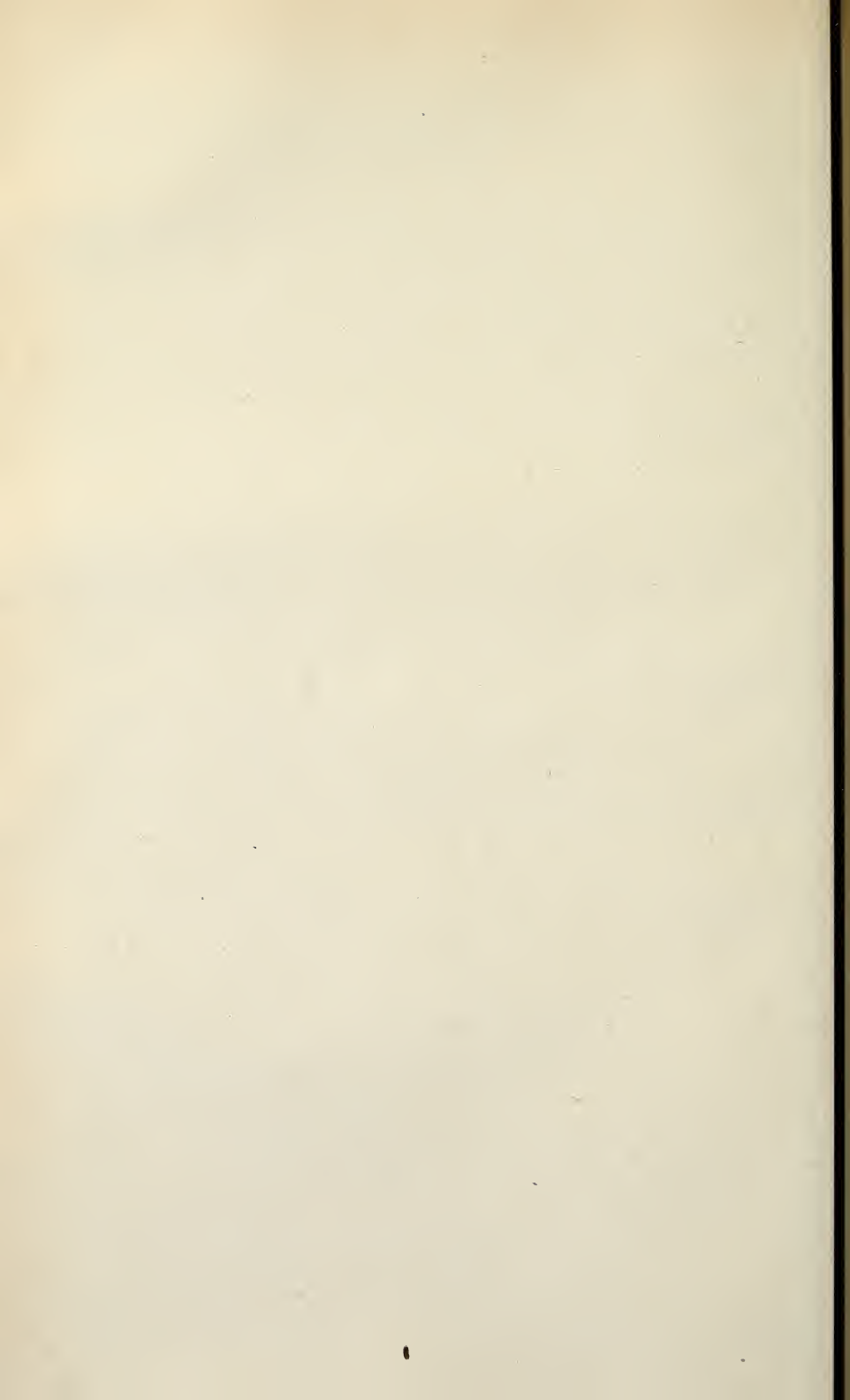
Miss Harnett held that the ordinary citizen can not have an education which will permit his drawing on the facts at his command. Curiosity in the past must be awakened and the student stimulated to the utmost use of his powers. He is to feel that the problems of the present are his, and must search in the past for these currents. The one-year course, therefore, can not be a mere condensation of the two-year course. The problem must be one tracing something of present-day interest. No fixed course can be mapped out, for this depends upon interest and the ability of the teacher to direct. The child can best learn to marshal facts through the problem method and the socializing of the recitation. This kind of one-year course is likely to lead to several one-year courses. As to the question of text books, it may be said that several will be required as well as the library. But one must not look to a text-book to give him conclusions worked out.

In the paper which followed, Miss Agnes E. Howe, of the State Normal School, San Jose, also gave statistics showing that a large number of high-school students take no history beyond the first year. She held that there is too much of the question and answer method based on the textbook, and that almost the only faculty developed is memory. Attention was urged to the needs of the large percentage who have to earn their own living. A one-year course of biographical studies on interesting subjects was suggested, but it was held that teaching ability must be the determining factor in making the selection.

The discussion which followed the presentation of these papers and which preceded adjournment was spirited. The secretary held that whatever need the larger schools found for experiment with new high-school courses such as Miss Harnett advocated, it is not practicable in the smaller and many of the medium-sized schools and should not be recommended to schools of the type wherein the qualifications of the history teacher are of necessity uncertain. Prof. Show regarded such a course to be current events with an historical background; applying to high-school work the method of historical research. He did not believe that the demand for change came from the history people, nor that a scrappy course would take the place of a steady diet. He held that the ordinary high-school student is as much interested in Julius Caesar as in Abraham Lincoln, and objected to history teaching from the standpoint of our own lives as self-centered in conception, whereas immersion in the life of the past would bring enlargement of life. Subsequently he stated that the type of history advocated went out about

1830, and in answer to a question as to whether decline of interest in history in schools is not due to failure of the old type of course, said that he attributed it in considerable part to new and mistaken views of history.

Prof. Bolton reaffirmed the view that what is more remote is sometimes more practical. Dr. T. J. Jones, of the Bureau of Education, protested against the conception of facts for facts' sake and urged that facts be selected to meet the needs of the pupils. Prof. E. J. McCormac urged that history in schools is too often just "one thing after another" and that pupils should be taught to do intelligent thinking. He held that good teachers should be permitted to do the type of work advocated by Miss Harnett. Mr. J. G. Iliff of the Stockton High School discounted the emphasis on the necessity of a superior teacher for this type of work, and, after describing the course which he gives in American history, denied that he was teaching current events. Dr. K. C. Leebrick asserted that the important question is whether students have been taught to think, and held that history taught by the newer methods is the better preparation for college work. Prof. W. S. Thomas, school examiner for the University of California, also emphasized the needs of children, holding that facts are worthless unless worked into life. He stated that the teaching of history is nearly dead and that children's power to think has been damaged by high-school methods. Prof. T. C. Knoles objected to teaching ninth and tenth-grade students what their teachers learned in college, and Lieut. L. P. Jackson advocated the necessity of working to scale whatever the time allowed and whatever the period covered.



III. EIGHTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES
COMMISSION, WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, *Chairman,*
476 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

CLARENCE W. ALVORD,
Urbana, Ill.

SOLON J. BUCK,
Minneapolis, Minn.

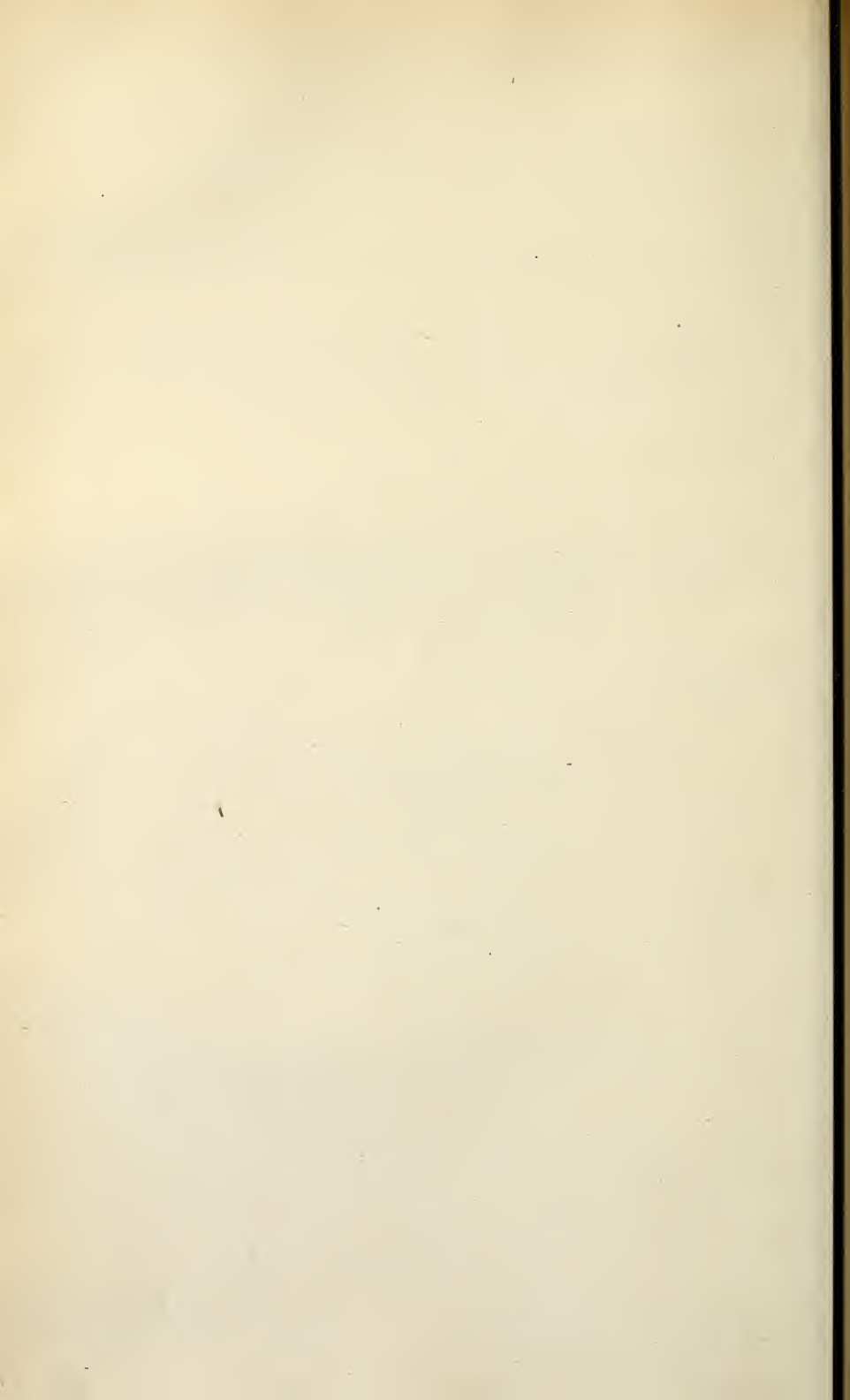
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK,
Washington, D. C.

GEORGE N. FULLER,
Lansing, Mich.

GEORGE S. GODARD,
Hartford, Conn.

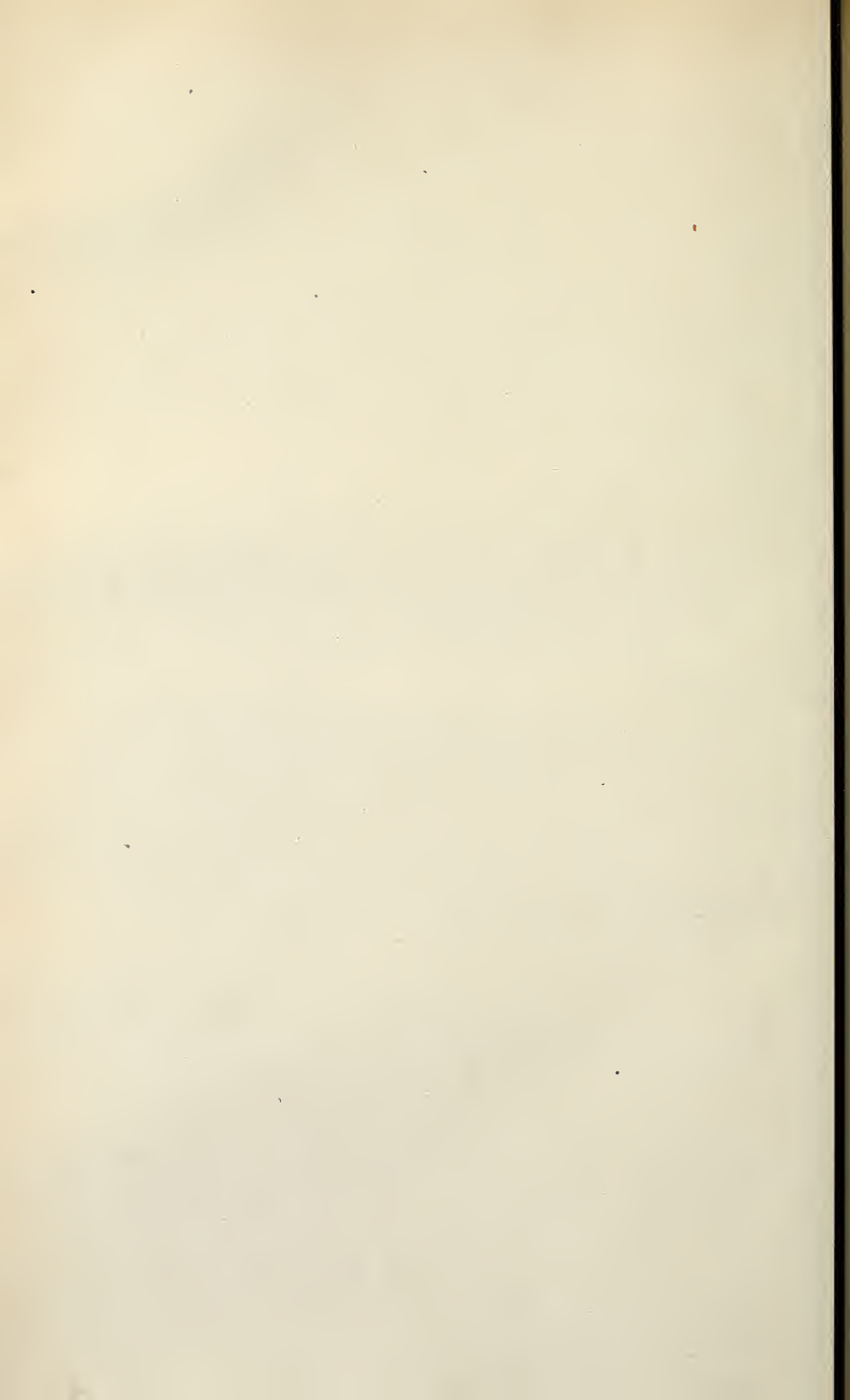
PETER GUILDAY,
Washington, D. C.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Montgomery, Ala.



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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit its report for the year 1917.

The report of the commission for 1916 was transmitted to the publication committee in season and is in press. With the publication of this report, there will be available several more chapters treating of phases of the science of archives. These and those that have appeared in former reports make an almost complete series of tentative presentations toward the proposed "Primer." The commission judges that it may well rest its labors at this stage and await future developments, under more propitious circumstances, for bringing the proposed work to completion in its final form.

Prof. Thomas Maitland Marshall, formerly of the University of Idaho, and now of the department of history in the University of Colorado, was appointed an adjunct member of the commission for 1917. He has prepared a "Report on the public archives of Idaho," which forms Appendix B of the commission's report. His survey was confined to the archives in the old and the new capitol buildings at Boise. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions; but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Likewise, boards and commissions whose records are not at Boise have been listed.

Prof. Charles Edward Chapman, of the University of California, made in 1916 a partial survey of a number of important archives of South America, including Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima. The results he embodied in an article on "South America as a field for an historical survey." This article forms an appendix to the report of the public archives commission for 1916. It has also been printed as Document X in a pamphlet entitled: "A Californian in South America," of which only 200 copies were issued for private distribution.

The State of California, under the auspices of The California Historical Survey Commission, has been making a survey of the county archives. It has already issued a "Preliminary Report," which is divided into three parts. The first part gives a general account of the work done by the commission to November, 1916; the other parts relate to the county archives. The work of the Arkansas Historical Commission is set forth in its "Publications" for 1917. Its aims are defined in Bulletin, pp. 21-23. A new Georgia Historical

Association was organized at Atlanta, on April 10, 1917, of which Dr. R. P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, is secretary-treasurer. In the published proceedings of its first annual session are several sections of archival interest, such as "The Condition of Georgia's Archives," by Mrs. Maud Barker Cobb; "Georgia's Most Vital Need: A Department of Archives," by Lucian L. Knight; and a "Check List of Georgia Archival Material in Certain Offices of the State Capitol," by Mrs. Cobb. During the past summer the Michigan Historical Commission began a survey of the State archives in the executive department¹ at Lansing; and a survey of the county archives is to be undertaken during the summer of 1918.

It appears that the legislature of Michigan has appropriated the generous sum of \$800,000 for a new State building, in which the Michigan Historical Commission will have offices and accommodations for its records, including the centralization of the State archives and for a pioneer museum. The substantial new building provided for the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul has been completed and occupied.

A self-appointed body of citizens prepared a very informing "Report on the condition of the public records of the State of New Jersey," which was used in an endeavor to secure legislation during the winter of 1917. This report has been reprinted as an appendix to the public archives commission's report for 1916, with the consent of our publication committee and by permission of the New Jersey committee.

A conference of archivists, the eighth in succession, was organized for Thursday afternoon, December 27, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The proceedings of this conference are printed herewith as Appendix A.

Although nearly every State legislature was in session in the year 1917, the amount of legislation enacted, affecting archives, was small. The following laws, exclusive of sundry enactments defining the nature of proceedings to be made matters of record, represent the total of archival legislation during 1917:

ARIZONA.

Chapter 18, house bill 43. Approved March 6, 1917. Act providing for the destruction of the records of the juvenile courts, under certain restrictions. Records to be destroyed after the expiration of the period for which the defendant has been placed on probation, or within two years after his discharge, except where he has been, within this period, convicted of any offense against the laws of this or any other State.

¹The results have since been printed in the Michigan History Magazine, vol. 2, pp. 238-256.

COLORADO.

Chapter 104, senate bill 115. Approved April 21, 1917. Providing that photographic copies of records be deemed recording.

DELAWARE.

Chapter 80. Approved April 19, 1917. Act amending section 24 of chapter 49 of the revised code relating to coroner's records. Coroners ordered to keep a record, character of which is described, and to index same. Record to be delivered by the coroner to his successor.

FLORIDA.

Chapter 7335. Approved June 1, 1917. Act amending sections 1831 and 1832 of general statutes relating to keeping of circuit court records. Kind and character of records to be kept by the clerks of the circuit courts, with specific provision that all must be indexed.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Chapter 19. Approved February 21, 1917. Act relative to the manner in which records of cities and towns shall be kept. Defining the words "in books" where they relate to records as not prohibiting the keeping of the record in separate or loose leaves, provided same are afterwards bound in permanent book form.

MISSOURI.

Chapter 101. Revised statutes 1909. Approved April 10, 1917. Amending by adding a section, to be known as 10432a, to chapter 101, providing that whenever records are to be transcribed into new books, or rebound, that photographic copies of same shall be deemed transcribing, and may be bound as such transcribed records.

For the year 1917, the executive council appropriated \$50 as a budget for the public archives commission. As a report on the Idaho archives could be secured only if arrangements were made at once with Prof. Marshall, the chairman of the commission requested him to proceed. Prof. Marshall's expenses amounted to \$75, and he waited several months to be reimbursed. It was only through an additional grant in October of \$40, by transfer from the committee on publications on authorization of the executive council, that the public archives commission was able to certify the payment of Prof. Marshall's outlay. The total budget of the commission was therefore \$90, of which \$75 went for the Idaho report; for typewriting the report of 1916, and carbons, \$2.85; for postage used, \$1.85; for postage in advance, \$3—a total of \$82.70; leaving a balance unexpended of \$7.30.

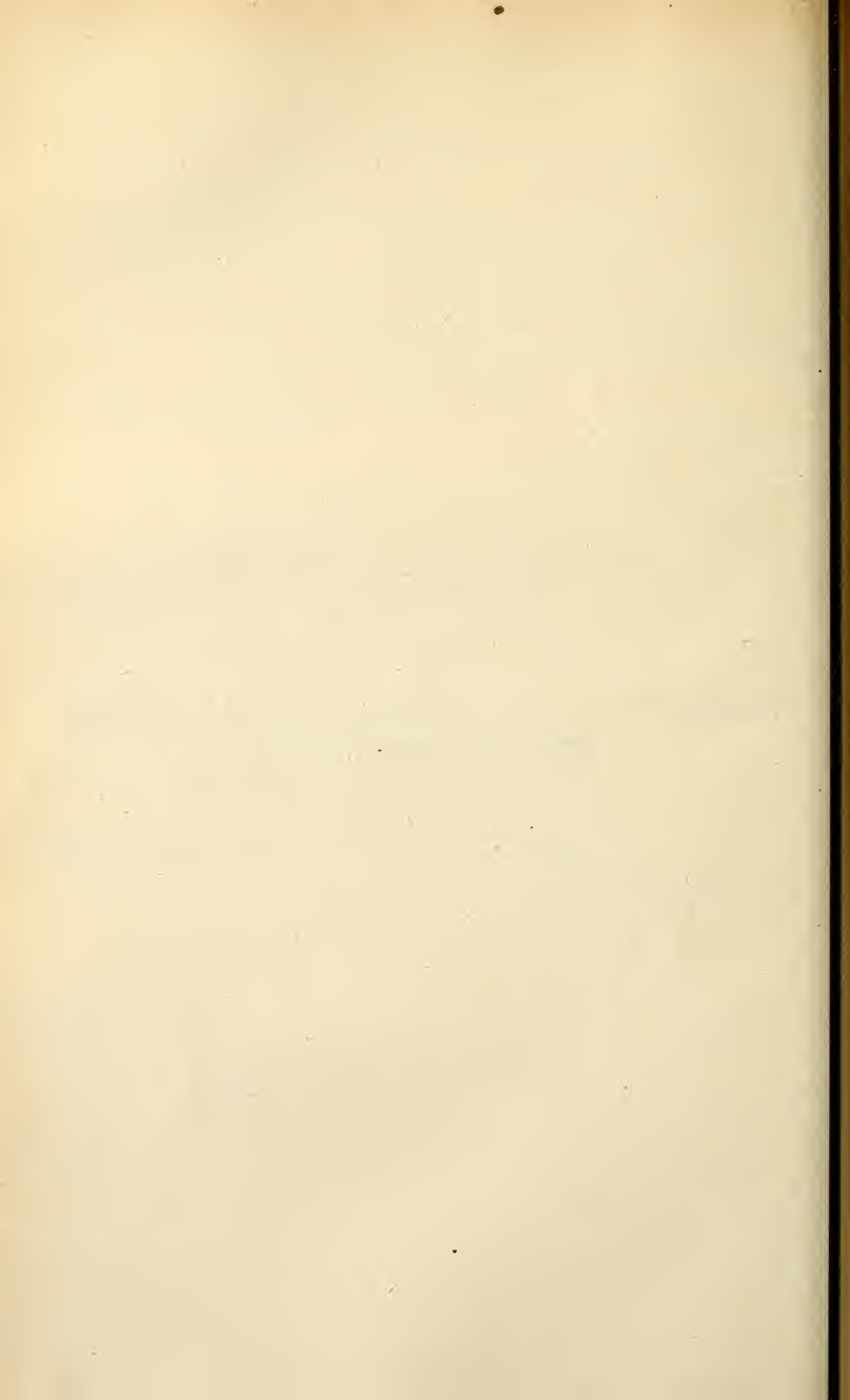
The chairman of the commission was offered two contributions of money, but deemed it inadvisable to accept them without authorization by the executive council. This raises a question in finance. Could not provision be made by the executive council for the acceptance of voluntary contributions for special objects, so that these contributions may be paid over to the treasurer of the association, to be held by him as an addition to the budget for the particular object for which the money has been designated by the donor or donors? It is conceivable that funds may be made available in this manner for work that can not now be carried on and for which there is a sound basis in need and demand.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,
CLARENCE W. ALVORD,
SOLÒN J. BUCK,
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK,
GEORGE N. FULLER,
GEORGE S. GODARD,
PETER GUILDAY,
THOMAS M. OWEN.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The Eighth Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, Pa., on Thursday afternoon, December 27, 1917. The program, which follows, was carried out successfully. About 50 persons were in attendance.

PROGRAM.

Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.

General subject: "The preservation and collection of war records."

"The archives of the war," Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.

"The archives of the United States Food Administration as historical sources," Everett S. Brown, U. S. Food Administration, Washington, D. C.

"The collection of Catholic war records," Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America.

Discussion: R. M. Johnston, Harvard University; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois; Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society; James Sullivan, New York State Historian; George N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission, and others.

The CHAIRMAN. The conference will please come to order. I think it might be desirable to state to those who are in the habit of looking for the annual report of the public archives commission, that the last report issued was for 1914. The report for 1915 has been, for a long time, in the hands of the Government Printing Office at Washington. The latter report of the commission contains a report on the public archives of California, a report on the public archives of Vermont, and other matters. I am assured by the secretary of the American Historical Association that as soon as the congestion in the Government Printing Office is over, this material will be in the hands of the members of the association. The report for 1916, which contains the account of the conference held last December, in Cincinnati, embraces papers on the restoration and repair of manuscripts, by Mr. Berwick; on the housing of archives, by the architect in the Federal architect's office, and other materials that were presented then, or held in the traveling bag of the chairman, detained for many hours on the way to Cincinnati.

This report will also contain a reprint of an interesting report made particularly for legislative uses in the State of New Jersey, and which describes the condition and vicissitudes of the archives in that

State. The report for 1917 is expected to contain the proceedings of this conference, and a report on the public archives of the State of Idaho, by Prof. Marshall.

We come now to the conference of to-day. The general subject is "The preservation and collection of war records." It was felt that a body like the public archives commission, serving as the agent of that greater body of American historical scholarship, represented in the American Historical Association, should not fail to signalize in this conference the great need of preserving the official documents and papers produced by Government, whether Federal, State, or local, as well as by those extra-official bodies which in times like these associate themselves with the necessary welfare of the Government, and so you will see on the program that various phases of this subject are to be presented by those who have given thought to particular problems, and who are able to suggest to us, representing different centers of gravity in the Nation, ideas that may be carried home and put into practice. It gives me pleasure, therefore, to announce as the one who is to present the first paper on the archives of the war, the secretary of the American Historical Association, who is also the secretary of the national board for historical service. I present Mr. Leland.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE WAR.¹

By WALDO G. LELAND.

It is my purpose this afternoon to call your attention especially to the desirability of immediate provision for the preservation of all the official records of the war activities of the country—national, state, and local. I shall confine this paper chiefly to the official records, or archives in the strictest sense of the word, because this is a gathering of official archivists, and because the problem of collecting and preserving the many varieties of nonofficial material is to be discussed at another conference.

One has only to make a hasty survey of the national and state archives for the periods of our earlier wars to discover how incomplete they are. The published "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" seem indeed to be measurably complete so far as military operations are concerned, but when it comes to making a study of the economic and social history of the Civil War the historian is obliged to go far afield in his search for sources. It is, of course, true that at the present time there are many agencies of the National Government which not only did not exist, but were not even dreamed of in 1861; and we should hardly expect to find as great a variety of official records for the earlier period when government was less complex, and when war was not so much the mobilization of an entire nation as it is to-day.

It may be expected as a matter of course that the records of the executive departments and permanent offices of the National Government will be as carefully preserved for the present war period as at any time during the last decade. They are protected by law from unauthorized destruction and we may look with confidence therefore to having access at some future time to the complete records of the departments of State, Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, Justice, Commerce, Labor, War, and Navy, and the other regular establishments. All of these will have masses of records bearing most directly upon the war. The Department of Agriculture, for example, will have the records of its efforts to stimulate the production of food crops; the Department of the Interior will, to mention a single instance,

¹ The manuscript of Mr. Leland's paper having been lost, the text here printed represents a rewriting of the article.

have the records of the Bureau of Mines, which is cooperating with the Army in the production of gas for the chemical warfare service. The Department of State already has the records of our administration of the interests of most of the belligerents before we ourselves entered the war. The Department of Labor will have, in the records of the employment service, most valuable material on the enlistment and distribution of labor in the war industries. In the Department of Justice the Bureau of Special Investigation, or the "Secret Service" as it is now popularly designated, is accumulating masses of material and reports respecting the activities of alien enemies and other suspected persons, in comparison with which the corresponding records for the Civil War in the Department of State are insignificant. In the Treasury Department will be found not only the records of the successive Liberty loans, but the archives of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance; while the Department of Commerce, through its Bureau of Domestic and Foreign Commerce, gathers information of all sorts relating to commercial conditions.

By no means of secondary interest will be the records of the temporary war boards and administrations. None of these comes nearer to the everyday life of the Nation than the Food Administration, the historical value of whose records will be described to you by Mr. Brown. The Shipping Board, engaged in one of the most spectacular and gigantic enterprises ever undertaken by any government, will have archives that will doubtless be a favorite hunting ground of the historian for many years. The Council of National Defense with its hundreds of committees engaged in an effort to effect the complete economic and industrial mobilization of the Nation, is accumulating records of a sort never before brought together, which should throw a flood of light upon the country's resources and manufactures; especially is this true of the records of the War Industries Board. The Committee on Public Information has in its files letters by the hundred thousand, from all parts of the country, which illustrate the state of public sentiment and the reaction of individuals to the conditions of war. Other organizations and offices, such as the Red Cross, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board, and the Alien Property Custodian, need only to be mentioned to suggest the nature and value of their archives.

The military and naval records of the war are in a class by themselves. The records of the local draft boards alone will contain such a mass of detailed information respecting millions of men of draft age that we shall undoubtedly be able to have a far better and more accurate picture of ourselves in the years 1917 and 1918 than it has ever, until now, been possible to draw. Already we are realizing unpleasant facts with regard to illiteracy, disease, and physical

defects, which are as astonishing as they are distressing to a people that has prided itself on its intelligence and on its hardy manhood.

It is earnestly to be hoped that in the reorganization of the General Staff, now being effected, some place may be found for an historical section or branch which shall insure the proper collection and organization of the military records and, if possible, their speedy utilization for historical purposes. It is already clear that the military records alone will present a problem in storage of unexampled magnitude. It is hardly too much to expect that the accumulation for the war period of records in the War Department, the cantonments, the American Expeditionary Forces, the draft boards, etc., will greatly exceed the previous accumulation of 120 years. The absolute necessity, therefore, for an archive building becomes more apparent than ever.

There is a class of records, not governmental in origin, but national in scope and of great importance, that should be carefully preserved. These are records of semi-public organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the American Library Association, etc., which are charged by the Government with the performance of certain functions. Other organizations, devoted to educational propaganda, such as the American Security League, must possess records which will be of great service to the student in estimating the spirit of the times. The National Board for Historical Service, to mention a minor example, has files of correspondence with members of the historical profession in all parts of the country, and these letters, many of them of considerable length, contain interesting and valuable observations with respect to public sentiment and educational needs.

Turning to the archives of the States and their subdivisions, we find accumulations of records that constitute an invaluable supplement to the records of the National Government. The State Councils of Defense, with their subordinate county councils, deal with all phases of State and local war activity and their records should be carefully preserved. States in which cantonments are located come into close contact with the organization of the military forces, and this should be reflected in the records of the adjutant general's office, as well as in those of other departments of the State government. State employment services are cooperating with the national service in securing labor for war industries and State departments of agriculture are actively engaged in stimulating production and in increasing the acreage under cultivation. The policy of the National Government decentralizing many activities has resulted in the closest cooperation between National and State Governments, rendering the records of the latter of even more than usual importance at the present time.

It is encouraging to note the very general tendency on the part of State historical agencies to take active measures for the collection and preservation of all kinds of material that may serve to record and illustrate the war activities of the States and local communities. As these measures have to do quite as much with the collection of nonofficial material, which would otherwise be hopelessly lost after a few years, as with the preservation of official records, I should wander beyond the prescribed limit of my subject were I to describe them at any length. A few typical cases should, however, be noted. The State historian of New York has sent circulars to the clerks of all counties, cities, towns, and villages calling upon them to make a special effort to collect material illustrating war history of their respective communities:

To county, city, town, village clerks:

The present war affords an excellent opportunity for you to gather and keep written and printed material relating to the activities of the citizens of your community in their relation to the war, whether these activities are carried on by individuals, committees, or other groups. If such material is not gathered now, the history of the part played by your locality in the war and in preparation for it is likely to be lost.

Will you not, therefore, take the initiative in this matter and either on your own account or as the member of an organized committee take steps to accumulate the following, in so far as they relate to the war:

(1) Documents: Official, such as municipal ordinances, proclamations of mayors, notices of boards, etc.; semiofficial, resolutions of public meetings, labor unions, church societies, etc.; issued by public service corporations, announcements, notices, orders, etc.

(2) Posters (recruiting and other), programs of concerts, meetings, fairs, price lists, advertisements.

(3) Propaganda material.

(4) Clippings from local newspapers, pamphlets.

(5) Photographs or prints of local events, soldiers, bodies of troops, etc.

(6) Manuscript material, letters, diaries, sermons, addresses.

(7) Miscellaneous.

You may file these collections in your own archives or forward them to this division for preservation.

We hope that you will take action along these lines and let us know when you have done so. We also express the wish that if you have any suggestion to make to this office you will feel free to do so.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES SULLIVAN,
*Director, Division of Archives and History,
State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.*

The Council of Defense of the State of Washington has organized a Department of Historical Service which has asked the County Council of Defense to organize a War History Committee in each county and has published the following circular of suggestions:

[State Council of Defense, Department of Historical Service, Edmond S. Meany, Seattle.]

UNIVERSITY STATION,
SEATTLE, WASH., 24 October, 1917.

HISTORICAL SERVICE DURING THE WAR.

The National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., has appealed to the State Council of Defense for cooperation in the State of Washington. In response to this appeal, the State Council of Defense, through the County Councils of Defense and such other volunteer agencies as are available, will undertake the work as outlined.

Every veteran of the American Civil War has long realized how important would have been the service if each county had saved the records of enlistments, drafts, battles, casualties, and evidences of public opinion from the beginning to the end of the war. Such work would have served not only to satisfy a wholesome public interest in such events during the time of conflict and for the years immediately following, but such records would have sufficed to answer important questions for many years thereafter. They would also have aided in making more accurate and more vital the national history and, above all, they would have been of immense value in any crisis like the present.

By earnest cooperation it is now possible for the State of Washington to join with the other States of the Union in accomplishing this important national work for the present and for the future. Each county should have a committee of at least three persons who are willing to give freely the long and patient hours necessary. The local newspapers, always patriotic, may surely be counted upon for assistance to the limit of their abilities.

The County Councils of Defense are being asked to name a war history committee in each county. These committees will then be expected to go back at least to the time of the declaration of war, April, 1917, and collect every record, such as newspaper clippings, photographs, letters, manuscripts, posters, and other evidences of possible historical value.

As the records are gathered they should be placed for permanent preservation in the most adequate and most central public library within the county. This will keep the collections closest to the home folks of those who make the records on distant land or sea or in the air. If any county should have no adequate library as place of deposit, the State University of Washington will gladly volunteer to render that part of the service.

The following suggestions may be of assistance to those who undertake the work:

CLIPPINGS.

Whenever a clipping of article or editorial is made from a newspaper or magazine, be sure to attach to it at once the name of the paper and its date, as very essential parts of the record. In order to give sequence to the collection, it would be well to keep the clippings in some receptacle until you feel that you have a proper beginning. Since many newspapers print large and valuable illustrations, it would be well to choose large sheets, preferably of tough manila paper, on which to paste the clippings, with the name and date of the paper neatly attached. When the collection is completed these sheets, uniform of course in size, can be bound in permanent form.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Each photograph should have written on its back at once as full information as possible. Brief titles may be used if the pictures are to be placed in albums or frames, but for ultimate value the fuller record on the back should not be omitted.

POSTERS AND PROGRAMS.

This form of record is probably more elusive than any of the others. They seem so plentiful and common at the time that few think of saving them. Who would not now prize a program announcing Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg? In a few years our own local programs and posters will have a real and intimate interest. A collection of them is well worth saving in each county.

LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Means must be devised to collect and save as many letters and manuscripts as the committees can secure. This will be difficult, but it is not impossible. In starting thus early there is one good way that may be suggested: Let the War History Committee in each county write to some of their leading men in the Army or Navy and get some letters as to their experiences. The present writer has a bundle of precious letters obtained in that way from leaders in the Spanish-American War. And as the work progresses friends who receive valuable letters may be induced to add them to the local collections.

INDEXES.

As this work proceeds, sample index cards will be sent to each War History Committee so that a uniform system of indexing may be established. This will add very much to the value of each collection.

VOLUNTEER WORK.

There will be expenses connected with the assembling and care of such materials. No public funds are available for such expenses. It is believed, however, that, among those who are privileged or who are compelled to remain at home in times like these, there will be interest and enthusiasm enough to render adequately the important service outlined above.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety has forwarded to all the county directors the following request from the Minnesota Historical Society:

The records of the public safety work in your county should be preserved for historical purposes. This material will one day be of great service in writing a most important chapter in the history of our State and Nation. The historical records desired are the following:

1. Preserve all records of proceedings, account books, letter files, and other records developing in the conduct of the organization's activities. Make the record as full and detailed as possible, bearing in mind that what is commonplace to-day may be of peculiar interest to-morrow.

2. The county director and each local representative of the Public Safety Commission should file and preserve all letters and papers received by him in his official capacity.

3. Preserve copies of all official, printed, mimeograph or typewritten matter, notices, circulars, and letters.

4. Whenever there is a change of officials, see that the retiring officer turns over to his successor all the records and papers in his office with these instructions.

5. When the commission's work is done, all these records and papers are to be sent to the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. The public safety archives of the whole State are to be made a permanent record.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has addressed the following letter to the sheriffs of the State:

RALEIGH, N. C., *June 5, 1917.*

DEAR SIR: Many of the sheriffs of North Carolina are sending notices, posters, circulars, etc., relative to the registration of June 5, under the selective draft law. If you have done anything of this sort, will you not kindly mail to me a copy of each notice, circular, poster, etc., which you have issued?

The North Carolina Historical Commission is attempting to collect all such material possible, bearing upon North Carolina's part in the war, to be preserved for the use of the future historian of the State. Such material as that referred to above will some day be of considerable historical value as showing the efforts made by the officials of the State and counties to perform their parts in this great national crisis.

I hope, therefore, that you will consider this request of sufficient importance to deserve your attention and favorable response.

Very truly, yours,

R. D. W. CONNOR.

The cases cited are but illustrations. The example is spreading, and it is clear that many States will eventually have collections of war materials that will be of the utmost value to the future historian.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now have the paper by Prof. Everett S. Brown, of the United States Food Administration, Washington.

ARCHIVES OF THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION AS HISTORICAL SOURCES.

By EVERETT S. BROWN.

In discussing the records of the Food Administration it will perhaps be wise to describe briefly its organization. It is highly proper that the Food Administration should be considered as a war organization, and that its records should be regarded as war records. In every instance where the Food Administration has been officially referred to, its status has never been considered other than that of a temporary war measure. For instance, when on May 19, 1917, President Wilson issued his first statement of the administration's food-control program, he said: "The proposed food administration is intended, of course, only to meet a manifest emergency and to continue only while the war lasts." The enacting clause of the food control law, approved August 10, contains the words, "That by reason of the existence of a state of war, * * *"; and section 24 provides: "That the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have terminated, and the fact and date of such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President."

Because of its temporary nature, it was decided by Mr. Hoover, the United States Food Administrator, to treat the entire question of administration of the food control law as one of a series of problems. As each new problem arises a man is selected to deal with it. When a problem demands a more or less permanent staff, a head is selected to devote his entire time to the subject, or commodity, as the case may be. In this way a number of divisions have been established, each of which keeps records and data of its own particular activities.

The principal records of the Food Administration may be summed up under the following heads:

PRINTED DOCUMENTS.

First under this heading come the Government documents, such as the text of the food control law, the Congressional Record for the debate on the bill, and the reports of investigating committees.

An important series of printed documents is the one issued by the Food Administration, beginning with the President's statement of

May 19, telling the need for food control and naming Mr. Hoover as head of the organization to be formed, and containing important speeches of Mr. Hoover and members of his staff.

Then, too, there are various printed bulletins issued by the conservation library, or other divisions of the Food Administration.

NEWSPAPER RELEASES.

All important statements and information which the Food Administration wishes to make public are mimeographed and released to the newspapers. These releases form one of the most valuable sources for the writing of the history of the Food Administration. They are issued as a numbered series. These releases are placed in folders, and a table of contents giving the number, date, and title of each, is pasted on the outside. To facilitate still further the use of the releases a card subject index is kept. Going back to the first statements of Mr. Hoover upon his arrival in this country from Europe, in May, a complete record of the Food Administration is thus available.

DAILY PRESS REPORT TO MR. HOOVER.

A brief summary of the principal newspaper stories and editorial comments is sent to Mr. Hoover every day. Accompanying the summary goes a digest of the clippings used in making up the report. These daily reports would be of great assistance to anyone wishing to trace the trend of newspaper opinion on the food question.

Copies of these reports are kept on file according to date.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS.

In order to keep in touch with newspaper opinion and to make out the reports already noted, a press clipping section is maintained. Aside from the big dailies which are received regularly, clippings are purchased from clipping agencies in different parts of the country. These clippings are sorted according to subject matter and sent to the various chiefs of divisions. After having been read by these men the clippings are returned to the press clipping section for filing. The clippings are filed according to date, being pasted on loose sheets of paper. An alphabetical arrangement by State, city, and paper is maintained. News items and editorials are kept in separate folders under the name of the particular paper.

A card subject index of the articles on the Food Administration contained in the New York Times is kept, and assists greatly in running down news items. Such an index of all newspaper clippings would require too great an expenditure of time and labor for the benefit to be derived therefrom.

LETTERS.

Every letter received, together with a copy of the answer, is filed by the division to which the letter was sent. A second carbon copy of every letter sent from any department or section of the Food Administration is preserved in the general filing room. There are, therefore, on record two copies of every letter which goes out.

SPECIAL DATA.

Some of the divisions of the Food Administration are of such importance from the historical point of view that a short description of their organization and records seems imperative in this connection.

The first of these, the States Administration Division, has to do with the relations between Federal and State Governments. On Mr. Hoover's recommendation, Federal Food Administrators in the States and island possessions have been appointed by the President. They form a link between the United States Food Administration at Washington and all State activities relating to food matters. They are the official representatives of the Food Administration.

The States Administration Division keeps constantly in touch with the Federal Food Administrators in the States. It handles all correspondence with them. This correspondence, therefore, will in the future have a distinct historical importance.

Within the State there is also a definite organization, although there is no one fixed form for all of the States. A typical State organization is as follows:

The president of the largest bank in each county is asked to call in a representative of each bank in his city, the editors of the leading newspapers, and the chief executive of the commercial club, to nominate for county food administrator the most active and aggressive man in the county, who will give his services without compensation and who will devote considerable time to the work. These nominees are appointed by the Federal Food Administrator of the State.

A meeting of the county administrators is then called. Each one is asked to appoint a committee to assist him, this committee to include one person from each town in the county. All publications are distributed through these committees. They are also charged with the duty of investigating complaints regarding the violation of the food laws in their respective counties, and reporting to the Food Administrator for the State the cases which prove to be well founded.

Another very important division is that which handles statistics. It is engaged in collecting and collating data on the production, consumption, movement, and prices of food material both in the United States and in European allied and neutral countries.

Mimeographed information service bulletins are prepared and distributed to heads of divisions and to Federal Food Administrators in the States.

Weekly reports on retail prices of staple commodities are received from all parts of the country, and monthly reports from manufacturers and dealers in food commodities, who are under license. The information contained in these reports will be tabulated so as to show profits, overcharges, and speculations in the various trades. The data so collected will constitute perhaps the most complete statistics ever gathered in any country relative to its food manufacturing industries.

The last of these special divisions is that of coordination of purchases. The functions of this division are to purchase foodstuffs (other than grains, which are purchased through the United States Food Administration Grain Corporation for the Allies), and to harmonize the purchases of the Allies, the Army, the Navy, and the Food Administration, of the most important staple food supplies and to cooperate with the Army and Navy, and other Government departments in an endeavor to coordinate, so far as practicable, their purchases of such food supplies.

Under the contracts between the United States Treasury and the Allies all food purchases must be made with the approval of, or by, the United States, and this power has been delegated to the Food Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. We will pass now to the next paper, "The collection of Catholic war records," by the Rev. Peter Guilday, editor of the Catholic Historical Review, and professor at the Catholic University of America, Washington.

The Rev. PETER GUILDAY. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I regret that illness has prevented me from preparing a paper upon the subject which has been given to me. When the National Catholic War Council was inaugurated last April the first committee to be started was the Committee on Historical Records. This committee was directed by the administrative committee of bishops to bend every effort to secure immediately, and to preserve, an accurate and complete record of all Catholic American activity in the present war. In all the preliminary meetings of the council, this part of this work was constantly emphasized. It was seen that unless provision was made at once for the history of Catholic patriotism and effort in this war, the church would be guilty of a neglect which can never be remedied and of a mistake which can never be retrieved. The purpose of the Committee on Historical Records was to secure every record and document and the description of every kind of spiritual and patriotic service which would assist the future historian in telling the story of Catholic activity in the war. In the matter of collecting

these Catholic war records two things have been begun—the compilation of the census of Catholic men and women in the service of the United States and the collection of every possible kind of historical material. Aiding and assisting the national committee are the diocesan committees, which act as central boards in directing the work of collecting war history material throughout the diocese. This means that the national committee functions through 104 subcommittees, the chairmen of which are appointed by the bishops of the dioceses. In each one of these ecclesiastical centers workers have been appointed to keep files of service lists, promotions, honors, decorations, etc., and a casualty list of the diocese is also being kept. It is from the parish, however, that the diocesan war council receives its most thorough cooperation. Here, the pastor is not only the leader and guide, but it is from him that the parochial committee on historical records will receive its best inspiration.

There are in the United States about 16,000 parochial units, and an appeal is being made to each one of these units to secure as accurately as possible all material of importance from the families of the men in the service, which can later be used in writing the history of the war. It is the hope of those in charge of this work that this project may eventually be the basis for the foundation of a national Catholic archives. For the first time in the history of the church in this country the Catholic body has been awakened to the realization of how important and necessary is such a central archival home. Outside of the three national councils of the bishops, held in 1851, 1866, and 1884, there has never been any concerted movement on the part of the church in the United States. Those who were instrumental in forming the National Catholic War Council hope to see it continue after the war is over for just such practical purposes as that of creating a national Catholic archival center. It is thought by the leaders that once the collection of war material is completed and properly housed, the hierarchy and the Catholic public will then appreciate the crying necessity of a central bureau where the sources and materials for the study of Catholicism in the United States may be brought together for the use of students, both Catholic and non-Catholic. At present, however, all our energies are being expended to gather in a complete record of Catholic activities during these days of storm and stress to the Nation. I wish again to express my regret that I have been unable on account of illness to prepare a paper describing this work more in detail. This, however, is being done, and within a short time a "handbook" will be published giving an exact idea of the scope of the historical committee's work.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had a letter from Prof. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, in which he stated that he felt that he ought to conserve his energies for his work, the work he has on hand, and

therefore he has not come to this meeting. He had intended to take part in the discussions at this meeting. I received, a few hours ago, a telegram from Mr. Godard, of Connecticut, in which he stated that he was sick with the grip. I was almost prevailed upon by necessity to stay away myself; but I have come on with a cold, which is evident from my speech, and for which I apologize; a sense of duty impelled me to come here. We have with us Prof. Johnston, of Harvard University; Mr. Connor, of the North Carolina Historical Commission; Dr. Buck, of Minnesota; and Dr. Sullivan, of the division of archives and history, New York. I think that any one of the gentlemen just named might now engage in the discussion. After these gentlemen have spoken, anyone in the audience may take part, as we wish to have a consensus of opinion and advice, as Mr. Leland suggested, with respect to the problem of war records and material.

Prof. JOHNSTON. I feel that I should not get up on my feet and try to tell you archivists anything on this subject, and the only reason I am presuming to address you on this occasion is because of the request of Mr. Leland; he suggested that I should do so. Another reason is, because I am so deeply interested; indeed I am boiling over with indignation on this question of a national building for archives and documents, and before the war began it seemed that our hopes might be realized. We are suffering very severely in consequence of not having such a building, and I think that now that the war has come on it is perfectly outrageous. This matter should not be neglected, and I don't really think that it is a difficult thing at the present time for the Government to undertake the erection of a national archive building. I think it would be a matter of economy. You can always leave the ornamental front until afterwards; all that you need is concrete and plenty of glass. It would be an economy to have such a place in which to store the new documents; and it would be an enormous economy to substitute a handful of trained archivists for the staff of Government clerks who are handling those documents inefficiently in a few buildings in Washington at the present time. It should be done if for nothing else than as a war economy. It is a perfectly fair argument that the building for public archives is a present-day necessity. I don't know that I can add very much to this discussion; but you can see that I feel very strongly on this subject. Not being an archivist, and dwelling in a remote part of the country, far from the center of affairs, I have not been able to do much, yet I have pitched in and done what I could, and I think that is what everyone should do. I want to tell you of one or two steps forward that I have taken, which I hope will lead to other steps that may eventually bring about the much desired result.

We had a dinner about four weeks ago—a dinner at which almost all of the patriotic societies of Massachusetts were represented by their presiding officers, and at which Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Prof. Turner, and myself were present; we put forward the case for the public archives building. Now as we all know, patriotic societies are pretty generally not making use of archivists and historians as they should, but on the other hand, they are deeply interested in the records of the past, and they wanted to know something about it. Now, that meeting was of a most hopeful character. I am accustomed to speak pretty plainly about things and I told them of the attempt to organize the records of the war; I told them things that I think some of them did not altogether like, but the response on the whole was excellent; we passed a resolution on this subject, and that resolution is being submitted to all the patriotic societies throughout the country, especially in the Southern States, and the support of these societies will be enlisted. Another step—I got in touch with a member of the Commercial Economy Board, working with the Council of National Defense, and we have now some one working for us at Washington. You all know of the work that Mr. Leland is doing. I think this is a very practical and workable proposition. Several of the most influential members of the Council of National Defense were approached with the idea of seeing how they would view this, regarding the right representation that should be made. Now that is just an example of what a person living in a remote part of the country tried to do, but I think if everybody would be stirred up, if we could get the people interested, sooner or later we could get hold of the right man in Washington or somewhere out West, to take hold of the thing, use influence, and get it done. I think we have been talking about this for some time and the time has now come for action.

Mr. CONNOR. It has been suggested that I should say something about the collection of war archives and war material from the viewpoint of the State organization—the collection of State material rather than that of the Nation. I should say that in my own efforts along that line I have found that some valuable work has been accomplished through two different organizations—one the North Carolina Historical Commission, of which I am secretary, and the other the State council of defense, the historical committee of which I have been made chairman, so that I work through these two organizations. In some cases I find I can get a certain class of matter better through the historical commission, and other matters better through the State council of defense. In some cases we have issued a number of appeals to people engaged in war work, urging upon them the necessity of collecting war material and the importance of the preservation of such material now, rather than

to wait later, when much of it will be destroyed. We have asked them in a general way to collect materials, such as illustrate the mind of the people, their points of view toward the war, local as well as State events and activities, the effect of the war on social, educational, economic, agricultural, political, religious conditions, personal achievements or sacrifices, or distinguished services of individuals, and we have grouped those general descriptions under ten or a dozen different headings. The great difficulty is that the average person does not appreciate the importance of documents of the moment, at the time at which they are issued. They do not think a document has any historical value until it is a hundred or two hundred years old; it is a fact we must impress upon their minds, that the documents of to-day will be of great historical value in the future, and that these documents are of great historical value now, greater than those of former national crises.

I shall not go into all of the details, but I will give you an illustration of what we are asking of them. We are asking them first of all to keep official documents, municipal ordinances relating to the war, proclamations and other public papers of the governor, sheriffs, mayors, and other public officials; documents issued by State or local boards of food conservation, and other public boards and commissions growing out of the war or relating to the war, posters of the Red Cross, Liberty loans, etc. The second, semiofficial documents. Among them we have, for instance, the classification of documents issued by the various committees on the Liberty loans. Now, I have recently requested the chairman of the campaign committee of the State to write for me a complete report of the work of his committee in connection with the Liberty loan campaigns, both the first and the second, which would come under this heading. The third is public-service documents, which include public-service corporations, mills, factories, etc.; educational material, showing the effect the war has had on schools; economic material, quotations from local markets, advertisements showing the effect of a state of war on economic conditions.

We also urge the making of photographs wherever possible, and I had quite an interesting photograph recently. A dealer had received a shipment of sugar of about 60,000 pounds, and as soon as it was rumored, about two or three hundred people gathered, and they stayed there; there was always a crowd there, and they were demanding sugar, so I had a picture taken of the crowd, showing the sentiment. Another division, propaganda material, including circulars, letters, advertisements, resolutions of meetings, etc.; pictorial material, pictures of military affairs. In regard to that, it seems to me inadvisable just now to collect, i. e., to make a list of soldiers and

sailors, to try to keep up with them individually, as that will be done by the War Department, and done better than the local organization could do it. Of course, if anything unusual comes up with any of the boys a record should be made of it. Another division is devoted to military material, manuscript material (such as letters received from friends or relatives at the front or in camps), diaries, and sermons and public addresses. Another classification relates to woman's work; women doing Red Cross work, nursing, knitting, etc.; and, finally, newspaper clippings from the local papers. I have attempted to get a report from each county through a county collector. Just what the results will be I do not know. It really is too early to say. We have not as yet received any great amount of material, but what we have received is all more or less of value; but I think that the total results are going to be very good. For instance, I received promises from the food administrator, the fuel administrator, and also from the heads of other war organizations, to turn over to me at the close of the war all the records of their offices, providing the National Government at Washington permits them to do so, and the State council of defense will do the same. The counties will preserve all such records and correspondence and turn them over to the North Carolina Historical Society at the close of the war; so that all of these results have been accomplished up to the present time. They are not great, but I think that the promise of the future is exceedingly bright and encouraging.

Dr. BUCK. I trust that Mr. Connor will keep the picture of the hungry mob demanding sugar out of the hands of the German propaganda, as its circulation in Germany might be considered as giving aid to alien enemies. At the present time it is not necessary to call attention to the distinction between archives and other material for history, and yet there has been considerable confusion, I think, in the discussion this afternoon with reference to these two subjects, and of course the collection of both is of very great importance. I am going to confine my remarks to the collection of official archives, official records of governmental activities. In the State of Minnesota we have an organization corresponding to the Council of National Defense of North Carolina, which has been mentioned, known as the Committee of Public Safety. This body does not have any historical department, or commission, and takes no special interest in history, or in the historical bearing of its work. The only official organization in Minnesota with authority to look after the historical records is the Minnesota Historical Society. This society has, as yet, no definite archive function; but it expects to have in the future, and it has taken considerable interest in reference to war archives. I am going to tell you two or three things we have tried to do. In the first place we persuaded the Committee of Public

Safety to issue an order to every county agent that had been appointed, to cooperate with the committee, directing the agent to preserve all of the correspondence and records of every sort, and to turn that material over ultimately to the Minnesota Historical Society, or whatever other authority might be designated by law, or by an official order, to preserve the archives.

Considerable time has been devoted to the investigation of the situation in the various localities, and we are trying to urge upon the county agents the necessity of preserving the records of the present day, particularly as they relate to the war. It occurs to me that there is another phase—another variety of records that are undoubtedly accumulating in great quantities, and that need special attention. They are Federal rather than State documents. I refer to the records of the local registration boards. The mass of this material is very great. We had some investigation in the way of handling and classifying it, and we find that in most cases it is being well handled and cared for at the present time, but it is a question what will become of it in the future. Will the War Department look after it—after the preservation of this material? Or, is it advisable for the State and State institutions to go into the matter of the proper preservation of this material which belongs to the Federal archives or is in the jurisdiction of the Federal archives? The only other point which I care to make is, this work that we are doing now is special work; we are preserving material for the history of America, of America's participation in the war. It should be looked upon as part of the general work of archivists and historical collectors, and, had the Government done its duty along these lines before the war, it would be now a simple matter—simply a continuation of this duty, and we would have been sure of the preservation of this material. It seems to me that we must not lose sight, in our collection of war material, of the equal importance of collecting other material, that is, materials that do not pertain to war. I think that special emphasis should be laid on that matter at the present time, on the collection of things of the present day which may ultimately be needed by future historians who write the history of this present day, regardless of the war, but with respect to the ordinary aspects of civil life.

Dr. SULLIVAN. In interpreting this title of the program, I think I have taken a somewhat broader view of this matter of records than Dr. Buck. Of course, if we were to interpret the word "record," we should probably confine ourselves more nearly to public records, and not pay attention to the subject that is going to be discussed later at the conference of historical societies. When the war broke out, we were very much interested, in the State of New York, in getting the machinery for collecting war material at work, immediately. A letter was drafted, which was sent to historical societies and to public offi-

cials, with reference to utilizing their opportunities to get this war material together. Shortly after that a communication came from Mr. Leland with reference to a plan for the collection of that material and we immediately got out a supplementary letter, which was printed and sent to agencies that we regarded as war material agencies; that is, certain agencies which it seemed possible to get to work for the collection of material relating to the war. In other words, I should class them as gathering agencies. We have in the State of New York, of course, public agencies such as would be found in a village clerk's office, the village board minutes, the town board minutes, and the county board of supervisors, council, and so on, who will get together material relating to any special matter. We felt, however, that we should not stop at that point and therefore we sent this letter far afield. In other words, we sent a letter to all of the history teachers in the high schools of the State and to all of the libraries. There are about 750 high schools in the State and about 750 libraries. We further sent this letter to the historical societies and the patriotic societies. This letter urged the members of these societies to gather the fugitive matter for preservation, for the reason that if they did not take care of it immediately, it would be lost.

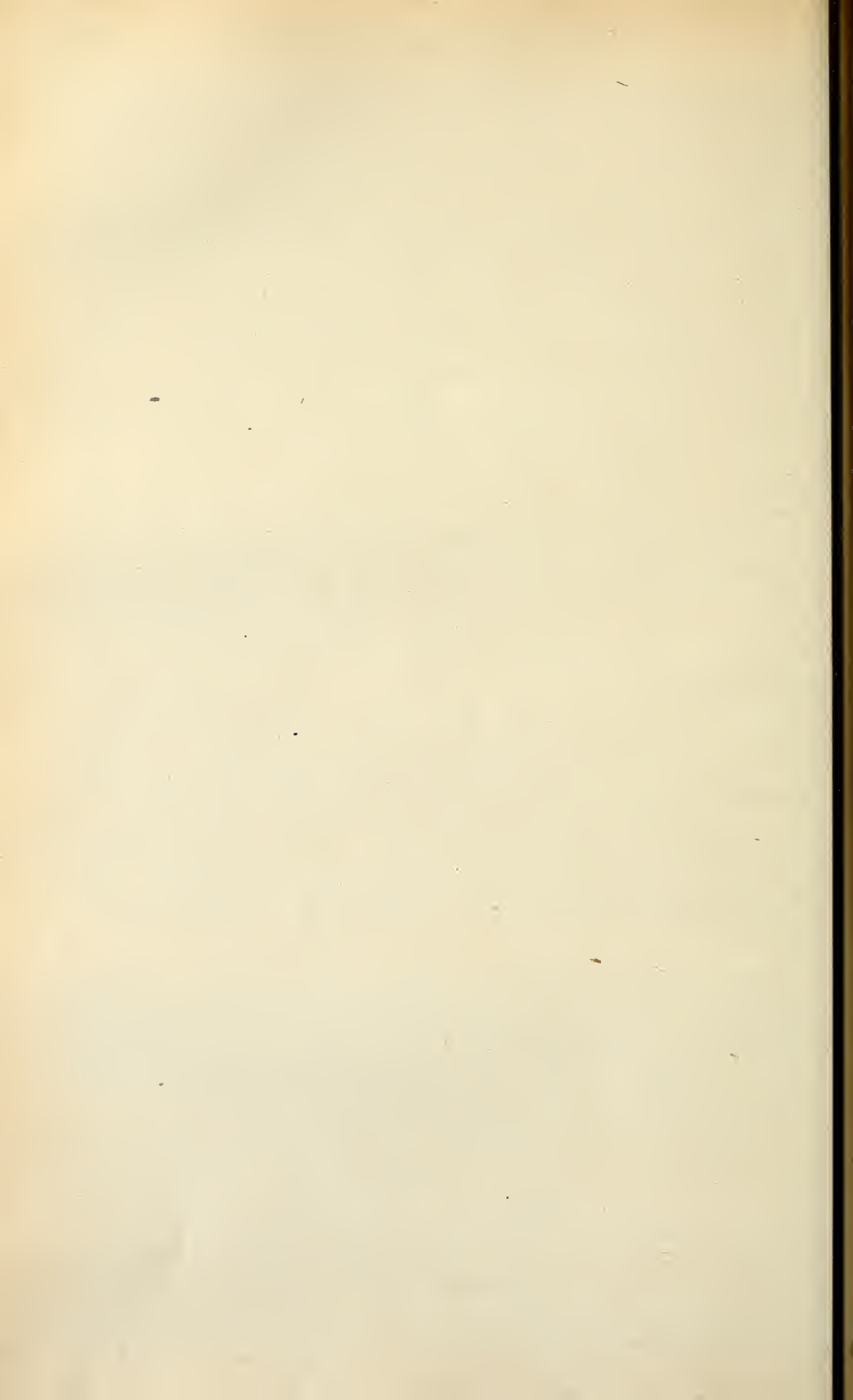
Another agency that we approached, was that agency connected with the Committee of Public Defense in the various counties, known as the publicity committee, and we also sent the letter to the local newspapers. Our object in doing this was merely to get local material together; we did not care, in a certain sense, for the material that might be gathered by the larger agencies, such as would be found in a metropolitan city like New York, Albany, Syracuse, or other large centers; but we have wished to get the material that existed around throughout the State, which could be gotten by the various little organizations, so we urged them to do it. We did not expect to have a great percentage of good returns. Anybody who has had any experience with local officials realizes that they are not the kind of people who seemingly care much about historical matters. They seldom answer their correspondence; we found that that was a fault not confined to local political officers, but that one of the most energetic of the so-called publicity bureaus, with a college professor at its head, did not answer four letters which were sent, showing that even in the seats of the mighty there are some people who are deficient in doing some of the things they are asked to do, even though they profess enthusiasm for doing it in a public meeting.

Now I could expand at some length on the deficiencies of some of these agencies. Three letters were sent out to each of the publicity committees and out of a total of 62 committees we succeeded in getting 31 answers; that is, after three different sets of letters had been sent out to those men. They were seemingly willing enough to get

their names into print at the head of a sheet of paper, but they did not seem willing to come down to earth and get at the task of collecting this material. We also got up a uniform filing system for the filing of this material. In each county there was a library, a central place established to which material could be sent, and we urged all of the 62 libraries to get material in duplicate, so that they could keep one set and send the other to the State library. One experience has come out of this that I think would be valuable to anyone who is doing the same work, and that is the necessity for what we might call circularizing at regular intervals. The first letter is not sufficient; it ought to be followed up throughout the length of the war at regular intervals, with other letters, asking, "What have you done?" "What are you doing?" "Have you done anything?" "Will you do something?" We have gotten good results from many of the historical societies. I could read clippings that I have here from the various societies, showing exactly what they have done, how they have taken hold of the work. We have encouraged the people to send in material—not only the historical material, but other material. The newspapers have done a very good work in publishing appeals from us to send in material. We have sent letters to the newspapers, asking parents to send in the letters they receive from their sons who have gone over to France, or who are still located in this country. Some of these letters that have been published are remarkably good and show the spirit of the men. Of course, there are published volumes of such letters, but I have seen letters published in local newspapers which are far more indicative of a spirit of the times, are better war records, than any I have seen published in books edited by certain well-known men. That is all that we have been doing, but I have listened with pleasure to the remarks of Mr. Connor. He has suggested some things which we can put into operation.

Following the remarks by Dr. Buck there was a brief discussion respecting rumors of the unauthorized destruction of records of the National Government having historical value, and the conference voted to request the public archives commission to employ its offices in preventing the destruction of such material.

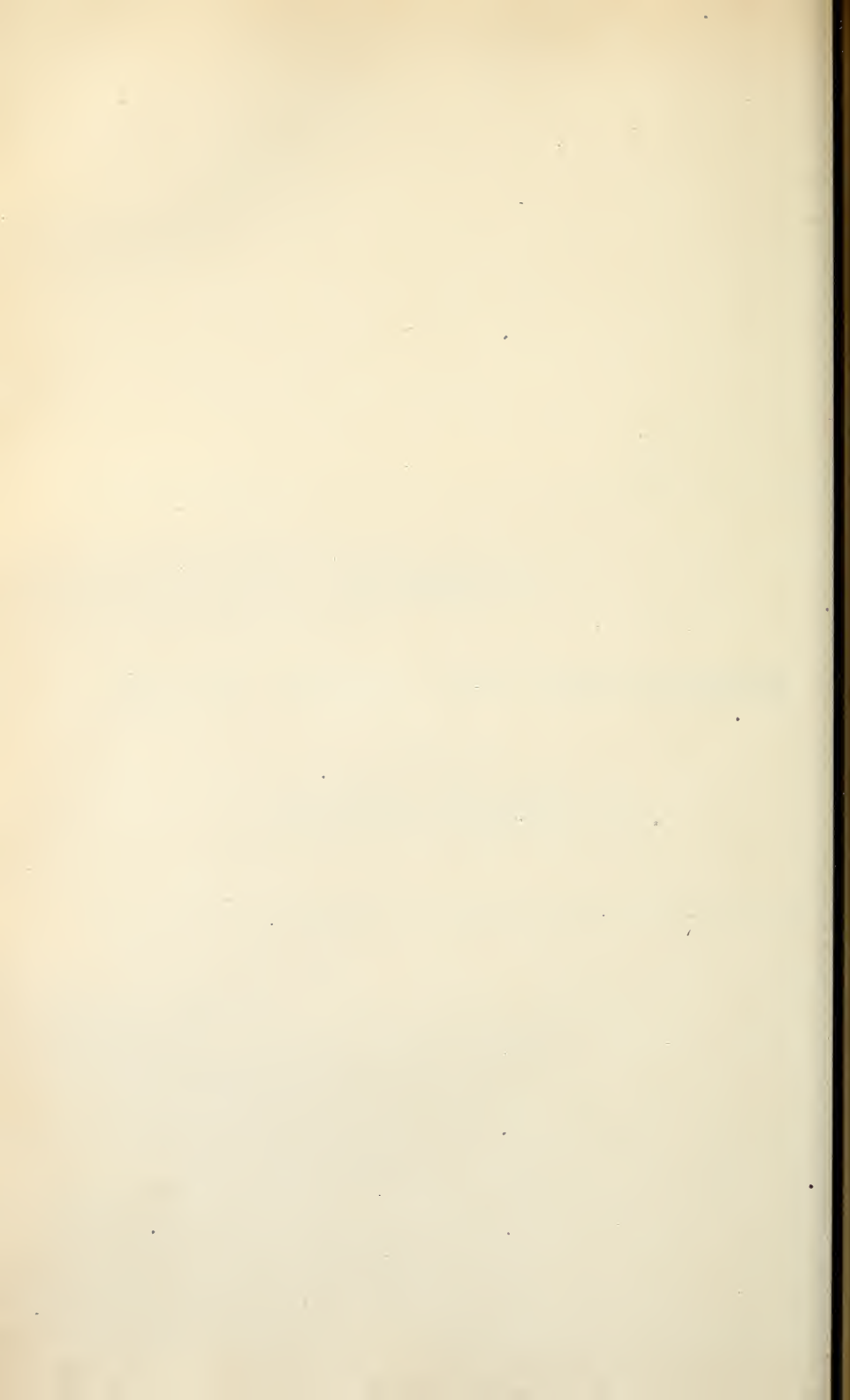
The conference then adjourned.



APPENDIX B.

REPORT ON THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF IDAHO.

By THOMAS M. MARSHALL,
Department of History in the University of Colorado.



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THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF IDAHO.

By THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

INTRODUCTION.

The organic act, by which the Territory of Idaho was created, was approved on March 3, 1863. The first capital was located at Lewiston, but the legislature of 1864 passed an act removing it to Boise. After a spirited legal battle between the people of Lewiston and the legislature, the United States marshal received orders from Washington to take charge of the archives and convey them to Boise, an action which settled the contest. Idaho became a State in 1890.

All of the territorial records and most of the State records are housed in the new capitol, a fireproof building, the wings of which have not been completed. In consequence office space is inadequate, and several offices are still in the old capitol, a brick structure which is a veritable fire trap. In the new capitol the vaults are fireproof, but they are small, greatly overcrowded, and inconveniently arranged. The shortage of space and frequent changes of administration have not been conducive to the establishment of a well-organized system of record-filing and deposit. The most crowded vault is that adjacent to the office of the secretary of state, designated below as vault 1, and it is probable that the investigator will find many of the records here listed in that vault removed to vaults 2 or 3. The governor's vault, designated in this report as vault 4, is too small and the filing system is such that it would take a far longer period than at my disposal to determine with certainty the contents of the filing cases. The overflow from many offices has been stored in boxes in the basement, the records now being inaccessible. The land-office vault in the old capitol is a sad commentary on political waste, for it houses about a hundred expensive ledgers which contain not a scratch of a pen. These are filed indiscriminately with volumes containing records.

The survey was confined to the archives in the old and new capitol buildings. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions, but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Boards and commissions whose

records are not at Boise have also been listed. The last legislature created several boards and commissions, and a list of these is also given. In the report the word "file," with the exception of court records, means a narrow drawer. The wide drawers are designated as drawers. The investigation of the archives was made in June, 1917.

The State officers showed unvarying courtesy to the compiler of this report, who was authorized by the governor "to see everything." Especial courtesies were extended by ex-Gov. James H. Hawley and by many members of the office forces. Of those to whom I am especially indebted, I wish to mention Mr. Sanford F. Hartman, chief clerk of the secretary of state; Mr. Charles A. Groves, deputy State treasurer; Mr. E. G. Gallet, secretary of the public utilities commission; Dr. Edward Biever, secretary of the board of health; Mr. I. W. Hart, clerk and ex officio reporter of the supreme court; Mrs. Edith R. Turner, clerk in the adjutant general's office; and Mrs. Clara Brown, proof clerk in the engineer's office.

A. ELECTIVE OFFICERS.

I. GOVERNOR.

The Territorial governor was appointed by the President and held office for four years, and until his successor was appointed and had qualified. In case of his death, removal, resignation, or absence from the Territory, the secretary assumed his functions.

The State governor is elected for two years and has the usual powers, with the exception that the pardoning power is vested in a board of pardons.

The records are kept in the vault off the office of the secretary of state, designated below as vault 1; in the secretary of state's vault off the library, designated below as vault 2; and in the vault off the governor's office, which is designated as vault 4.

TERRITORY.

Messages, proclamations, and other executive documents, 1863-1874, 1876-1881, 2 volumes. Vault 2.

Executive military orders issued during the Nez Percés war, 1877. These occupy the first part of the bill book of the Territorial legislature of 1880. Vault 2.

Appointments:

Appointment book, 1869-1880. Vault 2.

Appointment book, 1880-1889. Vault 1.

Pardons:

Register of applications for pardons, 1887-1889, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Book of pardons and proclamations. Vault 1.

Record of pardons, 1870-1881, 2 volumes. Vault 2.

Correspondence:

Letter book, 1881-1883. Vault 2.

Letter books, 1887-1890, 4 volumes. Vault 4.

Papers labeled "Old State matters, 1836-87." Vault 4.

STATE.

Appointments:

- Record of appointments, 1890-1917, 3 volumes. Vault 1.
- Register of appointments, 1893-94, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- List of appointments, 1901, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Appointments, 1903-1906. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Record of appointments, 1905-6, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Notary public appointments, 1890-1917. 3 drawers. Vault 1.
- Notary public applications for appointments, 1895-1911. 4 drawers. Vault 1.
- Miscellaneous appointments, 1907-1915. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Miscellaneous appointments. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Applications and indorsements for appointments, 1912-1914, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Extradition and convicts:

- Extradition papers, 1899-1912. 8 drawers. Vault 1.
- Extradition papers, 1917. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Extraditions, requisitions, writs of mandate; supreme court decisions, judgments, 1891-1898, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Extradition and requisition papers, 1913-14. 1 drawer. Vault 4.
- Proclamations, reprieves, and rewards, 1890-1917. 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Record of discharge of prisoners, proclamations, and extradition of criminals from Idaho, 1905-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
- Restoration papers, 1903, 1907-1914. Vault 4.
- Parole of convict papers. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Papers regarding indeterminate sentence law, 1909-10. Vault 4.

Proclamations and messages:

- Book of messages, 1890-1899. Vault 4.
- Communications to the legislature and bills approved, 1901. Vault 1.
- Communications to the legislature, 1903-1907. Vault 4.
- Proclamations, 1903, 1905-1914. Vault 4.
- Proclamations received, 1911-1914. Vault 4.
- Communications to the secretary of state in re matters connected with the legislative sessions, 1907, 1909. Vault 4.
- Record of bills before the legislature, 1911, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Bills of the eleventh legislature approved or vetoed by Gov. Hawley, with his messages and receipts for bills from the secretary of state. Vault 4.

Institutions:

- Reports of State institutions, 1902, 1903, 1906-7. Vault 4.
- Reports of State institutions, 1903-1905, 1909-10. Vault 4.

Account book and vouchers:

- Duplicate vouchers, 1903-4. Vault 4.
- Account book, 1905-1907. Vault 4.
- Vouchers, 1909-1914. Vault 4.

Requisition papers:

- Old requisition papers. Vault 4.
- Requisition papers, 1897. Vault 4.

- Official letters, 1890-1917. These are in three groups: (1) those kept in steel filing cases; (2) letters of 1903-1906 and 1909-10, in 35 paper boxes; (3) letter books of 1901, 1903-1905, 3 volumes. No system of filing has been followed and State papers have been mixed with letters. All are in vault 4.
- Papers regarding land contests, 1889-90. Vault 4.
- Record of deeds to State lands, 1892-1907, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Coal investigation papers, 1897. Vault 4.
- Record of visitors, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 4.

- Signatures of governor and private secretaries, 1907-1909, 1 volume. Vault 4.
 Supervisor's district plan, 1910. Vault 4.
 Annual reports of Northern Pacific Railway Co. and Great Northern Railway Co., 1910. Vault 4.
 Report on Payette-Boise project. Vault 4.
 Idaho Industrial Training School investigation papers, 1912. Vault 4.
 Papers regarding creation of boundary. Benewah and Madison Counties.
 Papers regarding creation of boundary, Benewah and Madison Counties. Vault 4.

2. SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Territorial secretary was appointed by the President and held office for four years. He was required to record and preserve all laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department. In spite of the legal provision, the laws of the second and third legislatures are missing from the archives.

The secretary of state is elected for two years. He is the custodian of legislative acts, resolutions, memorials, and journals, of the State seal, and of records, deeds, parchments, maps, and papers which the law requires shall be deposited in his office. Since 1913 he has been in charge of motor vehicle registration. The records are kept in vault 1, which is off the office suite; vault 2, which is off the library and is known as the secretary of state's vault, and vault 3, which is in the basement off the engine room.

SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

- Book of election returns, 1866. Vault 2.
 Letter books, 1867-1879, 1884-1889, 6 volumes. Vault 2.
 Notarial bonds, 1863-1889, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
 Oaths and bonds of Territorial, State, and county officials, 1887-1890, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
 Inventory of books, furniture, and stock in the secretary's office, 1883, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 List of persons to whom copies of the Idaho supreme court records were sent in 1885, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 List of persons to whom governmental publications were sent, 1887-1889, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 Corporations:
 General index of incorporations of the Territorial period, included in the first volume of the State index. Vault 1.
 Record of incorporations, 1 volume. Vault 1.
 Lists of foreign corporations with agents operating in Idaho. n. d., 1 volume. Vault 2.
 Fee books, 1886-87, 4 volumes. Vault 2.
 Notebook of A. J. Pinkham giving county divisions, n. d. Vault 2.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

- Corporations:
 General index of incorporations, 1864-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
 Record of foreign corporations doing business in Idaho, 1891-1917, 8 volumes. Vault 1.
 Articles of incorporation of several foreign corporations of various dates. Too large to file in boxes; 1 shelf. Vault 1.

Corporations—Continued.

- Record of incorporation of domestic corporations, 1898–1917, 29 volumes. Vault 1.
- Certificates of incorporation, 1899, 1 volume. Vault 2.
- Articles of incorporation, 1903–1917, 83 drawers. Vault 1.
- Record of corporation fees, 1907–1909, 1 volume. Vault 2.
- License and tax-receipt books, 1907, 1910–1917, 5 volumes. Vault 1.
- Designation of agents, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Annual statements of corporations, 1908–1910, 8 drawers. Vault 1.
- Record of nonproductive corporations, 1909–10, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Cooperative irrigation and telephone company reports, 1910, 1 drawer, Vault 1.
- Reports of nonproductive corporations, 1910, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Annual statements of corporations, 1910–1917, 30 drawers. Vault 1.
- Memoranda, 1911, 1 volume. Vault 2.
- Newspaper announcements of charters forfeited in 1912. Roll of papers. Vault 1.
- Tax receipts, 1912–1916, 9 volumes of stubs. Vault 3.
- Report on corporation tax, 1 file. Vault 5.

Bonds and oaths:

- Notarial bonds, 1890–1917, 15 drawers. Vault 1.
- Official bonds, 1890–1917, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Official bonds, 1909, 1910, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
- Notary records of bonds and oaths of State officials, 1890–1917, 5 volumes. Vault 1.
- Official oaths and resignations, 1892–1912, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Notary bond and oath books, 5 volumes. Vault 1.
- Official oaths, 1913–1915, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Elections:

- Convention nominations and platforms, 1890–1908, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Abstracts of votes, 1896–1910, 9 drawers. Vault 1.
- Abstracts of State elections, 1898, 1904–1910, loose papers. Vault 2.
- Nominating petitions for National, State, and county officers, 1910. These are in a wooden box and are unclassified. Vault 2.
- Primary nominations and platforms, 1910–1916, 4 drawers. Vault 1.
- Abstract of vote for National, State, and county officers, 1912. Large sheets bolted together. Vault 2.
- Abstract of primary elections, 1912–1916, 3 volumes of large sheets bolted together. Vault 2.
- List of scattering votes for National and State officers, n. d., 1 volume. Vault 2.
- Certification of result of vote in new counties, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Abstract of Portneuf County vote, 1917. Vault 4.

Correspondence:

- Letter books, 1890, 1893–1902, 46 volumes. Vault 2.
- Letters to, regarding corporation tax, 1908–1911, 2 filing boxes. Vault 2.
- Letter books regarding corporation tax, 1908–1911, 5 volumes. Vault 2.
- Correspondence regarding corporation tax, 1911–1914. 6 boxes marked "Corporation tax." Vault 3.
- Letters to and from, 1911–1912, 6 filing boxes. Vault 2.
- Letters to and from, 1912–1915, 19 filing boxes, marked "official." Vault 3.
- Duplicate claims of legislature and secretary of state, 1907–1911, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Bids and contracts:

- Public building specifications, bids, and contracts, and warranty deeds, 1 - drawer. Vault 1.
- New capitol building contracts and bonds, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Penitentiary ditch bids, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Penitentiary supply bids, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Bids for buildings at Deaf, Dumb, and Blind School, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Bids and contracts for printing and binding laws, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Motor vehicles:

- Registration of, 1913-1915, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
- Registration of, 1913-1915, 20 drawers. Vault 2.
- Registration of, 1915, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- License receipts, 1913-1914, 1916-1917, 9 drawers. Vault 1.
- License receipts, 1915, 4 drawers. Vault 2.
- Record of fines, 1913-1914, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Registration of automobile dealers, 1913-1915, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Record of motor vehicles in Idaho, 1915, 1 volume. Vault 2.
- Record of motor vehicles in Idaho, 1916-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

Fees:

- Fee book, 1892-1893. Vault 2.
- Fee books, 1897-1916, 4 volumes. Vault 1.
- Fee book, 1905-1906. Vault 2.

Receipts and Expenditures:

- Expense book, 1892-1893. Vault 1.
- Duplicate receipts, 1903-1906, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Account book, 1909-1910. Vault 1.
- Record of expenditures, 1911-1916, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Duplicate vouchers, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Cash receipt book, 1917. Vault 1.
- Daily deposit slips, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
- Certificates for appropriations, 1917, 1 drawer. Auditor's office, room 1.
- Record of State warrants paid, 1892-1893, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Duplicate claims, legislative, 1913, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Duplicate claims, Capitol building maintenance, 1913-1914, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Trade-Marks and Labels:

- Index of trade-marks and labels, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Record of trade-marks and labels, 1907-1916, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Reports:

- Reports, 1903-1906. Vault 4.
- Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Copies of reports to the treasurer, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Quarterly reports, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.

Reception book, recording all documents received by the Secretary of State, 1912-1914. Vault 1.

Mailing register of State publications, 1890-1891, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Record of criminals indicted, 1896-1898, 1 volume. Vault 2.

Registration of citizenship, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Receipts of house bills, 1915. Vault 1.

Bundle of photographs of plans of the State capitol. Vault 2.

Maps:

Maps and profiles, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Bundle of maps of proposed counties, 1917. Vault 1.

Miscellaneous papers:

Receipts, petitions, and miscellaneous papers, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Old miscellaneous papers, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

Miscellaneous papers—Continued.

- One bundle of unclassified papers. Vault 1.
- One bundle of miscellaneous papers of the Secretary of State, mainly letters to the Secretary, 1912. Vault 2.
- Record of deeds of property transferred to the State, 1905-1907, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Book of photographs of deeds of property owned by the University of Idaho. Vault 1.
- List of State property, n. d., 1 volume. Vault 2.

3. AUDITOR.

The office of auditor was created by the first Territorial legislature, but no records covering 1863-1876 were found. The State auditor is elected for two years. He keeps a record of legislative appropriations, issues warrants for money paid from the treasury, and keeps a record of these warrants and upon what funds they are drawn. He also calculates the amount of the biennial appropriations, and keeps the account of the State with the United States, with other States, with counties, and with persons and corporations. As ex officio State examiner he keeps an inventory of the State's chattel property, and supervises the system of accounts used in State and county offices, and in State institutions.

The records are kept in the auditor's office, designated below as room 1, in a basement room under the land office, designated below as room 2, and in the vault off the land office. At present the records in room 2 are in a chaotic condition, as the present auditor is installing a new system of accounting and is engaged in sorting the vouchers and warrants which have accumulated since 1890.

TERRITORY.

Bonds:

- Bond register, 1877-1889. In book with State record, 1890-1913. Room 1.
- Record, 1880-1884, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Official bonds of county auditors, 1880-1883, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Record of public printing, 1881-1888, 1 volume. Room 2.

Licenses and taxes:

- Poll-tax record and license account, 1882-83, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Memoranda of licenses, 1885, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Record of licenses and poll taxes, 1886, 1 volume. Room 2.
- License account, 1887-1889. The book also contains the State record to 1893. Room 2.
- Poll-tax account, 1887-1889. The volume also contains the State record until 1892. Room 2.
- Assessment books, property tax, 1887-1889; with State record, 1890-1894, 2 volumes. Room 2.

Ledgers, 1887-1889, 2 volumes. Room 2.

Letter book, 1888-89. Room 2.

Journals:

- Journal, 1889-1914, 13 volumes. Room 2.
- Journal, 1914-1916, 1 volume. Vault 7.
- Journal, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.

STATE.

Account books :

- Ledger, 1890-1910, 1912-1916, 10 volumes. Room 2.
- Ledger, 1910-1912, 3 volumes. Vault 7.
- Ledger, 1916-17, 1 volume. Room 1.
- Appropriation account books, 1892-1908, 11 volumes. Room 2.
- State-fund ledger, 1892. Room 2.
- Cashbook, 1906-1911. Room 2.

Vouchers and warrants :

- About 300,000 warrants and vouchers, 1890-1917. Now being arranged in chronological order in filing cases. Room 2.
- General and special fund warrant registers. About 250 volumes. Stored in alcove off room 2.
- Register of State warrants, 1896-1901, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Carey-act voucher record, 1901-1915, 1 volume. Vault 7.
- Warrant books, 1911, 1917, 6 volumes. Vault 7.
- General-fund warrant register, 12 volumes. Room 1.
- Undelivered warrants, 2 files. Room 1.
- Applications for duplicate warrants, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Voided warrants, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Miscellaneous orders for warrants, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Bonds :

- Bond register, 1890-1913. In the book with the Territorial record, 1877-1889. Room 1.
- Record of surety bonds, 1902-1912, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Record of surety bonds, 1905-1917, 1 volume. Room 1.
- Receipts for surety bonds, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Certificates of appointment of officers of national surety companies, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Lands :

- School land receipt books, 1891, 1897-1905, 3 volumes. Room 2.
- University land receipt book, 1892-1905, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Land board receipts for State land sales, 1903-1917, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Register of land receipts, 1905-1909, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Land department abstracts. Room 2.

Licenses and taxes :

- Assessment book, 1890-1894; with Territorial record, 1887-1889. Room 2.
- Assessment book, property tax, 1890-1894. In book with Territorial record, 1887-1889. Room 2.
- Abstract of assessment rolls, 1905-1914, 7 volumes. Room 2.
- County auditor's abstract of assessments, 1914-1916, 5 files. Room 1.
- Poll-tax account, 1890-1899, 2 volumes. Room 2. The first volume contains the Territorial poll-tax account.
- Tax and license account, 1891-1893, 1 volume. Room 2.
- License register, 1891-92, 1901-1904, 1907-1912, 3 volumes. Room 2. The first volume contains the Territorial register, 1887-1889.
- License register, 1914-1917. Room 1.
- License accounts, 1892-1900, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Tax register, 1906-1915, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Transfer tax register, 1907-1914, 1 volume. Vault 7.
- Transfer tax reports, 1917, 6 files. Room 1.
- Inheritance tax reports, 1916-17, 2 files. Room 1.
- Certificates of valuation, 1891-1895, 2 volumes. Room 2.
- Certificates of valuation, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.

Licenses and taxes—Continued.

- Certificates of valuation of Bonner and Cassia Counties, 1906, 1 file.
 Room 1.
 County auditors' affidavits of valuation, 1908, 1 file. Room 1.
 Annual financial statements of county auditors, 1909-1916, 10 drawers.
 Room 1.
 Certificates of tax apportionment, 1913-1916, 19 volumes. Room 2.
 Certificates of tax apportionment, 1917, 3 volumes. Vault 7.
 Register of apportionment to funds, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.
 Register of certificates issued, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.
 Record of receipts, 1914, 1 volume. Vault 7.
 Notices of receipts of money from treasurer, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Treasurer's license receipts, 1917, 3 drawers. Room 1.

Claims:

- Claim register, 12 volumes. Room 2.
 Record of claims, 1899-1900, 1 volume. Room 2.
 Claims certified to legislature, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.
 Deficiency claims record, 1895-96, 1905-6, 2 volumes. Room 2.
 Claims, 1917, 3 drawers. Room 1.
 Claims against the State, 1917. Unfiled vouchers. Room 1.
 Disallowed claims, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Correspondence:

- Letter books, 1893, 1896-1899, 1901, 7 volumes. Room 2.
 Correspondence, 1901-1917, 88 files. Stored in alcove off Room 2.
 Correspondence, 1917, 5 drawers. Room 1.

Miscellaneous:

- "Scratch" book, 1893. Room 2.
 Treasurers' receipts, 1893-1895, 1 volume. Room 2.
 Treasurers' monthly statements, 1893-94. Room 2.
 Appointments, 1905-6, 1 file. Room 1.
 Deputy State auditor's appointments, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Requisitions filed from legislature, 1907, 1 file. Room 1.
 Requisitions from legislature, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Authorizations of deficiencies, 1908-1911, 1 file. Room 1.
 Game fund record, 1911-1914, 7 volumes. Room 2.
 Subsequent roll, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.
 Reports of private car companies, 1915-16. Room 1.
 Abstract of personal property assessment roll, 1916, 2 files. Room 1.
 Inventories of State institutions, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Inventory, chattel property, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Book of expenditures and miscellaneous and contingent appropriations,
 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.
 Daily deposit slips of bank commissioner, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Orders of commitment to insane asylum, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.
 State and county examination reports, 1917, 7 drawers. Room 1.
 Miscellaneous reports of State officials, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.
 Opinions of attorney general, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 List of mortgages filed with treasurer, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Post-office receipts, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.
 Forest reserve apportionment, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 Approved bills, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
 District court decrees and deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Miscellaneous:

Depository securities and releases, 9 boxes. Room 1.

Requests for future State publications, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Suits against the State, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Miscellaneous papers. On a shelf in the alcove is a mass of disorganized papers. Room 2.

Index, 1 volume. Room 2.

4. TREASURER.

The act of Congress by which the Territory of Idaho was created provided that the legislature should appropriate annually "the usual sum to be expended by the governor to defray the contingent expenses of the Territory * * * and * * * a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the Territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the governor and secretary of the Territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys entrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States." In the document no provision was made for a treasurer but the office was created by the first legislature.

The State treasurer is elected for two years. He is required to keep a separate account for each fund in his possession and how the money is disbursed. The records are kept in vault 5 off the treasurer's office and in vault 6 which is off the library and is used jointly by the treasurer and bank commissioner.

TERRITORY.

Register of warrants, 1863-1889, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Bonds:

Bond registers, 1866-1869, 1885, 4 volumes. Vault 6.

Bond register, insane asylum, 1885, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Bond register, capitol building, 1885, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Cashbooks, 1863-1871, 1887, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Letter books, 1869-1871, 1880-1889, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Ledger, 1872-1888, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Journal, 1872-1891, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Day book, 1875-1889. Vault 6.

Reports of treasurer and controller, 1880-1890, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Book of receipts and expenses, 1887-1891. Vault 6.

STATE.

Bonds, mortgages, and loans:

Bond registers, 1890-1917, 4 volumes. Vault 5.

Record of dead mortgages, loans, and bonds, 1 volume. Vault 5.

Record of bonds redeemed, 1885-86, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Wagon-road bond register, 1890, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Refunding bond register, 1891, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Mortgages, farm loans, 1890-1917. Vault 5.

Bonds, mortgages, and loans—Continued.

- Loan register, 1892–1906, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- School bonds, 1901–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Five packages of surety bonds. Kept in safe. Vault 5.
- Notes, 1902–1917. Kept in safe. Vault 5.
- Surety bond register, 1915–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Register of collections, bonds, mortgages, and certificates, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Reports on collections, bonds, loans, and certificates, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5. (The word file as here used means a narrow steel drawer.)

Banking:

- Monthly bank statements to 1912. Two shelves of unassorted papers. Vault 6.
- Book of daily fund balances, 1903–4. Vault 6.
- Register of deposits, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Bank balance books, 1905–1908, 3 volumes. Vault 6.
- Bank balance books, 1910–1917, 6 volumes. Vault 5.
- Book of check stubs, 1907, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Deposit book, 1908–9. Vault 6.
- Register of interest on State deposits, 1909–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Local bank deposit percentages, 1915–17, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Monthly and quarterly bank statements, 1915–1917, 10 files. Vault 5.
- Check registers, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Cancelled checks, 1915–1917, 11 drawers. Vault 5.
- Deposit slips, 1915–1917, 6 drawers. Vault 5.
- Deposit slips in active banks, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Cancelled checks, 1915–1917, 2 files. Vault 5.
- Statements of outside banks, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 5.

Receipts and expenditures:

- Register of warrants, 1890–1908, 4 volumes. Volume 1 also contains Territorial warrant records, 1886–1889. Vault 6.
- Warrant registers, 1910–1917, 4 volumes. Vault 5.
- Auditor's duplicate warrants, 1917, 2 files. Vault 5.
- Book of receipts and expenses, 1890–91. In the same book are Territorial records, 1887–1889. Vault 6.
- Receipt books, 1907–1912, 16 volumes. Vault 6.
- Receipt-book stubs, 22 volumes. Vault 5.
- Summary sheets of money received, 1 file. Vault 5.

Account books:

- Ledgers, 1894–1896, 1901, 2 volumes. Vault 6.
- Ledgers, 1910–1917, 6 volumes. Vault 5.
- Journal, 1890–1894, 2 volumes. The first volume contains Territorial record, 1886–1889. Vault 6.
- Journal, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Cashbooks, 1890–91, 1895, 1897–1907, 7 volumes. Vault 6.
- Cashbooks, 1915–1917, 3 volumes. Vault 5.

Reports:

- Book of monthly reports, 1891–1901. Vault 6.
- Reports, 1893–1897. Vault 6.
- Reports to the auditor, 1901–1906, 3 volumes. Vault 6.
- Report, 1908. Vault 4.
- Unapportioned reports to auditor from treasurer, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Auditor's certificates, 1915–1917, 2 files. Vault 5.

Reports—Continued.

Auditor's receipts, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Treasurer's daily and monthly reports to the auditor, 1916-17, 1 file.
Vault 5.

County record book, 1905-1907. Vault 6.

County treasurer's reports, 1915-1917, 2 files. Vault 5.

Report on docket fees from various counties, 1 file. Vault 5.

Claims:

Capitol building claims to 1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Capitol building expense book. Vault 5.

Book of capitol building claims, 1915-1917. Vault 5.

Books of claims. treasurer's office, 1915-1917. Vault 5.

Claims, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Apportionments:

Apportionment record, 1902-1904, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Auditor's apportionment sheets, 8 files, Vault 5.

Correspondence:

Letter books, 1893-1900, 1903-1909, 13 volumes. Vault 6.

Correspondence and bank statements, 1908-1910, 6 paper files. Vault 6.

Correspondence, 1911-1915, 4 files. Vault 5.

Correspondence, 1915-16, 5 drawers. Vault 5.

Active correspondence, 1917, 12 files. Vault 5.

Miscellaneous:

State sales certificates, 16 files. Vault 5.

Collection account book, 1908-9. Vault 6.

Remittance sheets, 3 files. Vault 5.

Textbook accounts, 1899, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Stenographic fees, 1915-1917, 1 drawer. Vault 5.

Docket fees, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Motor vehicle registration, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Miscellaneous papers, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

5. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The organic act by which the Territory of Idaho was created provided for the appointment of an attorney who was to serve for four years. The attorney general of the State is elected for two years. With the exception of a single volume no records of the Territorial attorney were found. The letters, letter books, and cases, 1890-1912, of the attorney general are stored in boxes in the basement and are not accessible. The other records, with two exceptions, are in the office of the attorney general, the loose papers being kept in steel filing cases.

TERRITORY.

Letter book, 1887-1890. Vault 2.

STATE.

Correspondence:

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 3 drawers.

Correspondence index book, 1915-1917.

Abstract letters, 1917.

Docket book, 1897.

Opinion on University bonds, 1905. Vault 4.

Cases:

Index of cases, 1905-1917, 4 volumes.

Cases disposed of, 1913-1916, 4 drawers.

Land cases, 1911-1917.

Carey Act project cases.

Public Utilities Commission opinions and cases, 1917.

Cases pending, 2 drawers.

6. SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The superintendent of public instruction is elected for two years and is also ex officio a member of the State board of education and of the board of regents of the University of Idaho. Since 1911 the records of the office have been kept with care; but few documents before 1911 have been preserved. The documents are kept in filing cases in the office of the superintendent of public instruction, which is in the same suite with the board of education.

Record of apportionment of common school fund, 1891-1912, 1 volume.

Minutes, Idaho State Teachers' Association, 1892-1913, 2 volumes.

Teachers' register, 1898, 1 volume.

Index of appropriations, 1905-6.

Journal containing record of life and State certificates, 1904-5.

Receipts and expenditures:

Expense book, 1907-8.

Vouchers, 1911-1914, 6 drawers.

Receipts of certificate fees, 1911-1916, 5 drawers.

Day books, entry of applications, 1911-1917, 3 volumes.

Summer normal school records, 1911-1917, 4 drawers.

Correspondence and certification of teachers:

Correspondence and certification of teachers, 1911-1917, 12 drawers.

Applications for certificates, 1916-17, 1 drawer.

Correspondence with county superintendents, 1917, 2 drawers.

Records of certificates granted, 1911-1917, 4 volumes.

After apportionment, daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files.

Auditor's office, room 1.

7. INSPECTOR OF MINES.

The inspector of mines is elected for two years. His records are kept in filing cases in his office. No documents before 1905 were found, but the inspector was out of the State and his office force on vacation at the time the survey was made, so that it is possible that other records may be stored in the basement. By the courtesy of the secretary of State, I was allowed to examine the records in the office.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 5 drawers.

Mining and individual reports, 1905-1909, 2 drawers.

Annual reports, 1908-1913.

"Blue sky" reports, 1912-1916.

B. APPOINTIVE OFFICERS.

8. STATE ENGINEER.

The office of State engineer was created in 1895 and is filled by an appointment by the governor for a four-year term. The business of the engineer is to measure and keep a record of the flow of streams which may be used for irrigation, to ascertain suitable sites for reservoirs, to examine plans for proposed dams and dikes, and to inspect dams, dikes, and embankments, and force the rebuilding of such as are found defective. Previous to 1903 water location notices were filed with county records. The documents, with four exceptions, are kept in filing cases in the engineer's office in the old capitol.

Register of certificates, 1893-1895. Vault 2.

Surveyor's licenses, 1895-1917, 3 drawers.

Card index of water location notices, 1895-1917.

Plans and specifications of dams and embankments.

Decree books showing water rights decreed by district courts, 1901-1917, 3 volumes.

Card index of decreed streams, 1901-1917.

Books of permits to appropriate public waters, 1903-1917, 45 volumes.

Permit card index, 1903-1917.

Card index for streams, 1903-1917.

Original applications for water, 1903-1917, 186 volumes.

Books of completion of work and proofs of beneficial use of water, 1903-1917, 4 volumes.

Book of certificates of transfer of use of water rights, 1904-1917.

Reports, 1909. 1 steel drawer. Vault 1.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Books showing water district records, 1916-17.

Report and daily deposit slips, 1917. 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Carey act documents. 20 drawers.

Correspondence and permit files, 1895-1917. 70 drawers.

9. FISH AND GAME WARDEN.

The governor appoints the fish and game warden for a term of two years. The office was established in 1899, but with the exception of corespondence, no records before 1905 have come to light. Unless otherwise stated, the records are kept in filing cases in the warden's office.

Licenses:

Record of licenses, 1905-1909, 2 volumes. Auditor's office, room 2.

Record of licenses, 1907-1917, 6 volumes.

Vouchers and cash books:

Expense and salary vouchers, 1907-1917, 10 drawers.

Cash reports, 1911. 1 drawer.

Cash books, 1911-1916, 2 volumes.

Record of vouchers, 1911-1917, 2 volumes.

Permits:

Shipping permits, 1911, 1913-14, 1 drawer.

Private pond permits, 1 drawer.

Bonds of deputies, 1911-12. 1 drawer.
 Record of fry planting, 1913-1916.
 Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
 Heyburn Park record, 1915-16, 2 volumes.
 Requisitions, 1 drawer.
 Resignations, commissions, and bonds of resigned deputies. 1 drawer.
 Messenger reports, 1 drawer.
 Buck fishway papers, 1 drawer.
 Record of claims, 1917.
 Taxidermist reports, 1 drawer.
 Deeds, abstracts, and contracts, 1 drawer.
 Reports. Vault 4.
 Tags, fish-can labels, 1 drawer.
 Correspondence:
 Correspondence, 1917, 8 drawers.
 Correspondence files, 1899-1908. Stored in basement.
 Daily deposit slips, 1917. Auditor's office, room 1.
 Monthly reports, 1917, 2 files Auditor's office, room 1.

10. INSURANCE COMMISSIONER.

The insurance commissioner is appointed by the governor for a four-year term. The records, unless otherwise stated, are in the office in the old capitol.

Insurance company record, 1893-1908, 4 volumes.
 Agency record, 1908-1917, 1 volume.
 Articles of incorporation of insurance companies and fraternal orders, 1901-1917, 19 files.
 Account books:
 Ledger, 1901-1906.
 Transfer ledger, 1907.
 Journal, 1901-1904, 2 volumes.
 Journal, license account, 1903.
 Cash books, 1903-1917, 3 volumes.
 Record of policies issued by Idaho State insurance companies, 1910-1912.
 Insurance statistics, 1910-1917.
 Journal, abstract of vouchers, 1911-1917.
 Fee record, 1911-1917.
 Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
 Annual statements of insurance companies, 1915-1917, 8 drawers.
 Agent's register, 1915-1917.
 Record of companies and agent's licenses, 1916-17.
 List of receipts of moneys charged to county treasurer.
 Daily deposit slips, monthly reports, and license receipts, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
 Correspondence:
 Letter books, 1903-1906, 2 volumes.
 Correspondence, 1911-1917, 20 drawers.
 Miscellaneous papers, 1901-1917, 2 cabinets.

11. BANK COMMISSIONER.

The bank commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of four years. When not otherwise designated, the records are kept in the commissioner's office.

Textbook account, 1895-1899, 2 volumes.

Record of drafts, 1909. Vault 6.

General ledger, 1909-1911. Vault 6.

Articles of incorporation, 1911-1917, 4 drawers.

Claim vouchers, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Treasurer's receipts, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Reports on banks, 1906-1909. Files arranged by counties, 24 drawers. Vault 6.

Call reports:

Call reports to close of 1913, 30 drawers. Vault 6.

Call reports, 1914-1917, 5 drawers.

Abstract of call reports and examinations, 1915-1917.

Reports of examinations. Unsorted bundles filling one case. Vault 6.

Bank examinations:

Bank examinations, 1912-13, 16 drawers. Vault 6.

Bank examinations, 1914-1917, 9 drawers.

Reports:

Special reports, 1 drawer.

Reports of receivers, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Reports to governor and board of bank commissioners, 1 file.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Reports, 1913-1917, 2 drawers.

Record of disbursements and receipts, 1915-1917, cash book.

"Blue sky" filings, 1915-1917, 2 drawers.

Earnings and dividends, 1916, 1 drawer.

Oaths of bank directors, 7 drawers. Vault 6.

Officers, directors, and directors' oaths, 1914-15, 1 drawer.

Oaths of bank directors, 1917, 1 drawer.

Report of examining committee, 1917, 1 drawer.

Reports of conditions, 1917, 2 drawers.

Publisher's certificates, 1917, 1 drawer.

Verifications, 1917, 3 drawers.

Officials and collections, 1917, 1 drawer.

Collective agency bonds, 1917, 1 drawer.

Quarterly reports, 1917. 1 file, Auditor's office, room 1.

Correspondence:

Miscellaneous correspondence, 7 files. Vault 6.

Correspondence, 1911-1915, 8 drawers.

"Blue sky" law correspondence, 1917, 1 drawer.

12. DIRECTOR OF FARM MARKETS.

This office was created in 1915. The director is appointed by the governor for a term of two years. The records are kept in the office in the old capitol.

Index files of producers and buyers.

Cash books, 3 volumes.

Correspondence, 3 files.

13. ADJUTANT GENERAL.

Article XIV, section 4, of the State constitution provides that "all military records, banners, and relics of the States, except when in lawful use, shall be preserved in the office of the adjutant general." In spite of the provisions the records were poorly kept before 1912. Such records as exist which are not here tabulated are stored in the basement, are unclassified, and are now inaccessible.

TERRITORY.

Nez Percés and Bannock War veteran discharges and copy of muster rolls, 1877-78, 1 drawer.

STATE.

Muster rolls:

- Muster rolls, 1898, 1 drawer.
- Muster rolls, Second Idaho Infantry, 1916.
- Muster rolls for present regiment and enlistment papers, 1917, 1 file.
- Muster files and correspondence, 1917, 1 drawer.

Receipts and expenditures:

- Expense book, 1901.
- Soldiers' back pay records, 1907-8, 1 file.
- Property account, regimental staff officers, 1910, 1 file.
- Subsistence returns, 1910-1912, 1 file.
- Receipts for warrants, 1911-12, 1 file.
- Expense vouchers, State, 1911-12, 1 file.
- State vouchers, 1911-1917, 4 files.
- Receipts for property, 1912, 1 file.
- Pay rolls, 1912-1914, 1 file.
- Subsistence account, 1913, 1 file.
- Record of vouchers, 1913.
- Quartermaster returns, 1913-14, 2 files.
- Account current of United States property and disbursing office, 1914-1917, 1 file.
- Back pay vouchers, 1916, 1 file.
- Cash book, 1916-17.

Correspondence:

- Correspondence, 1913-1917, 9 files and drawers.
- Inspector instructor correspondence, 2 files.
- Telegrams of mobilization, 1916, 1 drawer.

Miscellaneous:

- Roster of rejections, 1898.
- Commissioned officers' record, 1902-1917, 1 file.
- Reports of small-arms firing, 1906-1915, 2 files.
- Retained transportation requests, 1910-1917, 1 file.
- Individual records of enlisted men, 1912-13, 1 file.
- Individual company records, 1912-1915, 18 files.
- Ordnance property book, 1913.
- Reports of training camps, 1913-14, 1 file.
- Drill reports, 1913-1916, 3 files.
- Drill report cards, 1914, 1 file.
- Mobilization papers, 1914, 1 file.
- Reports of musters into service, 1914, 1 file.
- Target practice records, 1914, 1 drawer.

Miscellaneous—Continued.

- Health rolls, 1914, 1 file.
- Officers' military record, 1915, 1 file.
- Field and annual inspection reports, 1915-16, 1 file.
- Bonds and leases of target ranges, 1915-16, 1 file.
- War Department statistics, 1915-1917, 1 file.
- Requisitions to the War Department, 1915-1917, 1 file.
- Uniform allowance, 1916, 1 file.
- Report of survey of Government property, 1916.
- Enlistment papers, 1916, 1 file.
- Change of status of officers and enlisted men, 1916, 1 file.
- Reserve descriptive lists, 1916-17, 1 file.
- Property book, 1916-17.
- Transportation papers, 1917, 1 file.
- Oaths of officers, 1917.
- Registration oaths, 1917, 1 file.
- Medical and ordnance returns, 1917, 2 files.
- Examination of noncommissioned officers to be officers, 1 file.

14. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

The commissioner of education is appointed by the board of education and performs such duties as are assigned by the board. The records are kept in the office in the suite occupied by the board. The most important documents pertain to the school districts.

15. BOILER INSPECTOR.

This office existed only during 1893-94. Such records as exist are in the secretary of state's vault 2.

- Mileage report, 1893-94.
- Account books, 1893-94, 2 volumes.
- Register, 1893-94.

16. CHEMIST.

This office was established in 1909 and placed under the control of the board of health. The chemist's records are kept in his office off his laboratory.

- Records of analyses, 1909-1917.
- Correspondence, 1909-1917.

17. BACTERIOLOGIST.

The office was established in 1911 and was placed under the control of the board of health. The records are kept in the office which adjoins the laboratory.

- Cash book, 1911-1917.
- Records, 1911-1917.

18. DAIRY, FOOD, AND SANITARY INSPECTOR.

This officer is now appointed by the board of health. Recent records, unless otherwise stated, are kept in the office adjoining that

of the secretary of the board of health, but early records are stored in the basement and are not now accessible.

Cash books:

Cash books, 1905-1912, 2 volumes.

Cash record, 1917.

Vouchers:

Voucher record, 1907-8, 1913, 1916-17, 3 volumes.

Vouchers, 1913-1917, 3 drawers.

Ledgers:

Ledgers, 1913-1916, 2 volumes.

Ledger of fees and appropriations, 1915-1917.

Index to ledgers, 3 volumes.

Criminal complaints, 1915-16, 1 bundle.

Scale inspection reports, 1915-1917, 3 drawers.

Applications for license, Babcock test, 1915-1917. Loose bundles.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Correspondence, 1915-1917, 8 drawers.

Report and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Hotel and slaughter house score cards, 2 drawers.

Daily reports of deputy inspectors, 2 drawers.

19. HORTICULTURAL INSPECTOR.

For records, see Board of Horticultural Inspection.

20. BEE INSPECTOR.

See Board of Horticultural Inspection.

21. VETERINARY SURGEON.

The governor appoints the state veterinary surgeon, who executes laws governing the live stock interests, and appoints deputy inspectors for live stock inspection districts which are created by the live stock sanitary board. Unless otherwise stated, records are in the office of the veterinary surgeon.

Time books, 1905-1914, 2 volumes.

Brand records, 1905-1917, 12 volumes.

Stallion record, 1909-1917, 3 volumes.

Ledger, 1910-1917, 3 volumes.

Claim vouchers, bounty claims, predatory animal claims, 1911-1917, 18 drawers.

Serum account, 1913-1916, 4 volumes.

Cash books, 1915-1917, 2 volumes.

Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Health certificates, 1916, 1 drawer.

Sheep inspection, 1916, 1 drawer.

Post-mortem file, 1916.

Correspondence, 1916-1917, 8 drawers. Early correspondence is stored in the basement.

Receipts and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Quarantine, 2 drawers.

Bills of sale, brands, 1 drawer.

Inspecting cars, 1 drawer.

22. LAW LIBRARIAN.

Before the period of statehood, the secretary of the Territory was also the law librarian.

TERRITORY.

Law library account books, 1883, 1885-86, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
List of books received by the law library, 1885. Vault 2.

STATE.

File of receipts of books sent out, 1901-1917.
List of bills, 1912-1917.
Correspondence, 1908-1917.

23. COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, LABOR, AND STATISTICS.

This office was abolished in 1915 and none of its records were found.

24. HAY AND GRAIN INSPECTOR.

This office was abolished in 1913. No records of the office were brought to light.

C. PERMANENT BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS.

25. BOARD OF LAND COMMISSIONERS.

This board is composed of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state, the attorney general, and the auditor. Under regulations established by law it controls and sells State lands, lands given by the National Government to State institutions, and Carey Act lands. Most of the records are kept in the land department office in the capitol, but one group of documents is in the dairy, food, and sanitary office, another group in the basement, and a third group in a vault in the old capitol. Adjoining the land department office is a small vault which is referred to below as vault 7. The vault in the old capitol is designated as vault 8. When the location of land department documents is not specifically stated below, they are in the main office in the capitol.

Abstract books, 128 volumes. Vault 8.

Minutes, 1891-1917.

Ledger, 1891-1915, 7 volumes.

Cash books, 1893-1912, 8 volumes. Vault 8.

Cash books, 1909-1917, 5 volumes.

Cash books, bonds, loans, and warrants, 1911-1914. Vault 8.

Note register, 1891-1902. Vault 8.

Leases:

Lease record, 1891-1900, 1912-1917, 16 volumes.

Lease record, 1901-1911, 5 volumes. Vault 8.

Public land lease record, 1892-1899. Vault 8.

Leases—Continued.

- Lease application register, 1898-1911. Vault 8.
- Lease assignment record, 1898. Vault 8.
- Register of State land leases, 1899-1900. Vault 8.
- Applications to lease, 1912-1917, 13 files.
- Lease journal.

Sales:

- Sale record, 1891-92. Vault 8.
- Record of certificates of sale, 1891-92. Vault 8.
- Certificates of sale, 1891-1917, 21 volumes.
- Sales, 1903-1917, 10 files.
- Sales receipts, 1909-1915, 5 files.

Loans:

- Loan application register, 1892-1898. Vault 8.
- Canceled loans, 1909, 1 bundle.

Deeds:

- Warranty deeds to public lands, 1890-1917, 30 files.
- Deed record, 1891-1917.
- Right-of-way deeds, 1905-1917, 6 files.
- Right-of-way deed book, 1910.

Record book of declaration of forfeiture, 1898. Vault 8.

School lands:

- School land record, 1891-1917, 7 volumes.
- Certificate of school land sale record, 1892.
- Abstract book, school lands, 1898-99. Vault 8.
- Record of indemnity school lands granted to Idaho, 1905-6, 3 volumes. Vault 8.
- Indemnity school lands ledgers, 3 volumes.
- School lands transfer register, 1902-1907, 2 volumes.

School bonds:

- Journal of school bonds, 1912. Vault 8.
- School bonds list, 1912-1915. Vault 8.

Carey Act:

- Carey Act, record of entry, 1900-1904, 1907, 1913-1917, 3 volumes.
- Carey Act, record of entry, 1905-6, 1908-1912, 5 volumes. Vault 8.
- Applications for Carey lands, 1903-1912, 6 volumes. Vault 8.
- Applications for Carey lands, 1913-1917.
- Entries on Carey Act projects, 1903-1917, 250 drawers.
- Land, water, and irrigation companies, and Carey Act companies, 1903-1917, 1 file.
- Carey Act trust-fund papers, 1903-1917, 7 files.
- Carey land patent records, 1905-1917, 9 volumes.
- Register of applications for entry of Carey Act lands, Salmon River, 1908.
- Carey Act project records, 8 volumes.
- Carey lands, plat books, 3 volumes.

Receipts and expenditures:

- Register of land receipts, 1893-1907, 3 volumes. Vault 8.
- Registers, report and receipt, 1905-1917, 4 volumes.
- Register of daily cash receipts, 1917.
- Record of receipts and disbursements, suspense fund, 1917.
- Register, report, and treasurer's receipts, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Land appraisalment book, 1905-1917.

State funds journal, 1912-1915.

Homestead entries, 1891-1917, 5 files.

Record of assignments, 1891-1917, 1 volume.

Record of certified lands, 1894, 1 volume. Vault 8.

Record of penitentiary and insane asylum lands, 1905-6, 1 volume. Vault 8.

Special land grants:

Records of special land grants, 1889-1894, 3 volumes. Vault 8.

Special grant certificate record, 1891-1917, 2 volumes.

Special grant record, 1893-1905, 1 volume.

King Hill project papers, 1915-16, 1 file.

Payette Lakes fire protection roads, 1917, 1 file.

Southern Idaho Cooperative fire protection vouchers, 1917, 1 file.

Lava Hot Springs:

Bank check record, Lava Hot Springs, 1916-17. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Ledger, Lava Hot Springs, 1916. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Cash book, Lava Hot Springs, 1915-16, 3 volumes. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Maintenance fund papers, 1911-1917, 4 files.

Timber lands:

Book of certificates of timber land sales, 1901-1906.

Timber estimates, 1905.

Land appraisements, 1905-1917, and timber-land appraisements, 17 volumes.

Book of timber estimates [n. d.]. Vault 8.

Book of notices of timber-land sales, 1915.

Vouchers:

Miscellaneous vouchers, 1891-1907, 1 file.

Voucher record, 1915-16.

Miscellaneous funds, 1913-14, 1 file.

Correspondence:

Most of the correspondence, 1900-1913, is stored in the basement.

Mortgage-loan correspondence, 1890-1917, 22 drawers.

Correspondence docket, 1892-1895, 2 volumes. Vault 8.

Letter books, 1900-1907, 5 volumes.

Letter book, 1907. Vault 8.

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 12 drawers.

Certificate records:

Canceled certificates, special, 1902-1917, 11 files.

Extension certificate record, 1891-92.

Record, 1891-1907.

Releases of cut-over land, 1913-1917, 1 file.

Tax papers, 1913-1917, 1 file.

Offered applications to purchase, 1915-1917, 4 files.

Purchaser's index. Vault 8.

Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Transcript of approval of claims, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Lists filed with State auditor, 1917, 1 file.

Bonds and loans, daily deposit slips. 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Orders for warrants, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Plat books:

Plat books, 8 volumes.

Plat and abstract book of Lewiston land, 1899. Vault 8.

Plat book [n. d.]. Vault 8.

Miscellaneous papers, 1900-1917, 15 files.

26. HIGHWAY COMMISSION.

The highway commission was organized in 1913 and is composed of the secretary of state and two other members appointed by the governor. The commission appoints a highway engineer and the records are kept in his office in the old capitol, unless otherwise designated. Before 1913 the entire work of State road construction was handled by a State highway engineer without a governing commission.

Road matters, 1905-6. Files of paper. Vault 4.

Wagon roads, duplicate vouchers, 1905-6. Vault 4.

Record, 1913-1917, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Field note books, 1913-1917, about 500 volumes.

Cost ledger, 1913-1917.

Vouchers:

Ledger and voucher record, 1913-1917.

Voucher files, 1913-1917, 17 drawers.

Correspondence:

Correspondence of the secretary of state, who is secretary of the commission, regarding highways and automobile tax, 1913-1915, 3 boxes.

Vault 3.

Correspondence, 1913-1916, 4 files.

Highway contracts and bonds, 1914-1915, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Reports of county and highway districts, 1915-1917, 1 drawer.

Journal, 1917.

Appropriation ledger, 1917.

Deeds for right of way, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Plans, profiles, and designs, 4 cases.

27. PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION.

This commission was created in 1913 and is composed of three members appointed by the governor. Its records are kept in filing cases in the office.

Minute book, 1913-1917.

Register of actions, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Informal cases closed, 3 drawers

Formal and informal cases, 1913-1917, 8 drawers.

Exhibits used at hearings, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Reports of special investigations, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Book of general orders, 1913-1917.

Orders of the commission, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Annual reports, electric, water, telephone, warehouse, vessels, irrigation, car, gas, railroads, express, 1913-1917, 10 drawers.

Transportation schedules, 1913-1917, 20 drawers.

Calendars, 1913-1917, 4 volumes.

Order books, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Bill register and invoice record, 1 volume.

Voucher record, 1913-1917, 1 volume.

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 20 drawers.

28. BOARD OF EDUCATION.

This board is composed of five members, one being appointed every year by the governor for a five-year term, and the superintendent of public instruction who is ex-officio a member. The board of education also acts as a board of regents of the University of Idaho. The control of the entire educational system of the State since 1912 has been concentrated under the board of education. The commissioner of education appointed by the board is powerless, and there are no clearly defined spheres of activity for the commissioner and the superintendent of public instruction. The records of the board are kept in the office in the capitol building.

Proceedings, 1892-1910.

Minutes, 1911-1917, 6 volumes.

Apportionment record, 1911-1917.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 13 drawers.

Vouchers, 1913-1917.

Record of appropriations, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Annual reports of county superintendents, 1913-1917, 4 volumes.

Press bulletins, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Insurance register, 1914-1917.

Joint bulletin distribution record, 1916-1917.

Cash record, 1917.

Bonds, book contracts, deeds, 1 drawer.

State institution deeds, 1 drawer.

Insurance policies, State institutions, 3 drawers.

Board of text-book commissioners—Proceedings, 1893-1899.

Summer school normal commission—Minutes, 1911.

29. BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

This board consists of the governor, the secretary of state, and the attorney general. It has power to examine all claims against the State, except salaries or compensation of officers fixed by law and no claims, with the above exception, shall be passed upon by the legislature without first having been considered and acted upon by the board.

Record, 1890-1917, 4 volumes. Vault 1.

Record of bills allowed, 1899-1900. Vault 2.

Book of claims, 1890-1917. Vault 1.

Journal, 1890-1917, 3 volumes. Vault 1.

Day book, 1890-1917. Vault 1.

Minutes book, 1913-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Orders and motions, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

30. BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

This board is composed of the governor, the secretary of state the auditor, the attorney general, and the treasurer. Its chief busi-

ness is to assess the property of public service corporations and to equalize the assessed valuation of property between counties.

Proceedings:

Proceedings, 1893-1902. Vault 7.

Proceedings, 1893-94. Auditor's office, room 2.

Proceedings, 1903-4, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Minutes:

Minutes books, 1903-1909, 2 volumes. Auditor's office, room 2.

Minutes books, 1913-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Correspondence, 1917, 4 drawers. Auditor's office, room 1.

31. BOARD OF STATE PRISON COMMISSIONERS.

This board is composed of the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. The board appoints the warden of the State prison and has general supervision of the institution. Little is known of the prison in territorial days, the only record which was brought to light being a register of convicts, 1884-1889, which was also used by the State warden until 1896.

Register of convicts, 1884-1896, 2 volumes. Vault 4.

Register of the prison, 1892. The volume also contains many loose papers connected with prison affairs. Vault 2.

Record, 1893-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

Reports:

Reports, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Reports of the warden, 1893-94, 1906, 2 volumes. Vault 4.

Reports of the warden, 1901-1914, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Reports of the warden to the State treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Descriptions of convicts, 3 drawers. Vault 1.

Investigation papers. Vault 4.

32. BOARD OF PARDONS.

The governor, secretary of state, and attorney general constitute the board of pardons. The board has power to remit fines and forfeitures, and to grant commutations and pardons. The governor has only the power to grant reprieves until the next meeting of the board.

Record, 1891-1917. Vault 1.

Proceedings, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Record of pardons, 1906-1911. Vault 1.

Pardon papers. Miscellaneous group of applications for pardon, protests against pardons, and pardons granted. 1 drawer. Vault 2.

Pardon papers, 1904-1917, 12 drawers. Vault 1.

Pardon papers, cases pending, 1917, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

Applications for pardon, 1912, 13 drawers. Vault 1.

Pardon petitions, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Pardons denied, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

33. BOARD OF HEALTH.

The board of health, which was organized in 1907, is composed of the attorney general, the State engineer, two physicians who are appointed by the governor, and another physician who is appointed by the other members of the board and who acts as secretary. The board appoints a dairy, food, and sanitary inspector, a deputy, a chemist, a bacteriologist, and necessary assistants. The records are kept in the office of the secretary of the board.

Minutes, 1907-1917.

Register of marriage, 1907-1917, 3 volumes.

Vouchers:

Record of vouchers, 1907-1917.

Vouchers, 1911-1917.

Record of embalmers, 1909-1914.

Record of examiners of embalmers, 1909-1914.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 6 drawers and several paper files. Correspondence before 1911 is stored in the basement.

Birth and death certificates, indexes, and records, 1911-1917.

Cash book of embalmer's fund, 1913-1917.

Cash record, 1916-17, 2 volumes.

34. BOARD OF HORTICULTURAL INSPECTION.

This board, which was established in 1903, is composed of five members who are appointed by the governor every two years. The board appoints a State horticultural inspector, who is also ex officio the State bee inspector. The records, unless otherwise stated, are kept in the office of the inspector.

Minutes of the board, 1903-1917, 2 volumes.

Correspondence, 1903-1917, 20 drawers and paper files.

Ledgers and cash books:

Ledger, 1904-1911, 2 volumes.

Ledger and cash book, 1913-1916.

Cash book, 1917.

License books, 1909-1917, 14 volumes.

Claims:

Claims, 1909-1917, 3 files.

Claim books, 1913-1917, 3 volumes.

Journal, 1912.

Reports of deputies, 1914-1917, 2 files.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Daily deposit slips, and reports, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Bonds, 1 file.

Miscellaneous papers, 3 files.

35. LIVE STOCK SANITARY BOARD.

This board is composed of seven members appointed by the governor, three representing the sheep interests, three the cattle interests, and one the horse interests. The board has never been of great im-

portance, and the actual work is carried on by the State veterinary surgeon. Such records as exist will be found listed under Veterinary Surgeon.

36. BOARD OF CANVASSERS.

The governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, and attorney general, or any three of them constitute the board of canvassers. The business of the board is to canvass the abstracts of votes in National and State elections, and determine who are elected.

Record of elections, 1890-1916, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

37. DEPOSITORY BOARD.

The laws regulating the deposit of State money or State funds have been on the statutes since 1905, but in 1915 the legislature passed a very complete depository law creating a State depository board consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and the attorney general. Prior to 1915 the same officers had some supervision over the deposit of the State funds, but their powers were not broad nor well defined. The depository board acts upon appeals from persons dissatisfied with the rulings of the bank commissioner.

Record, 1915-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Appeals and papers, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Reports of, as a board of appeals, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

38. BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF SOLDIERS' HOME.

The soldiers' home, located at Boise, is under the control of a board of trustees composed of the governor, secretary of state, and the attorney general.

Record, 1893-1917. Vault 1.

Reports, 1907-1912, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Other reports. Vault 4.

39. BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF CAPITOL BUILDING AND GROUNDS.

(The board is composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and the treasurer. The records of the board are variously designated as those of the capitol building commission, the capitol building board, and the board of trustees of capitol building and grounds, and the board of trustees of public buildings.

Record of the board of trustees of public buildings, 1893-1917. All notations are headed "capitol building board." Vault 1.

Record of the capitol building commission, 1905-1915, 3 volumes. Vault 1.

40. BOARD OF MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

The board is composed of six physicians representing at least three schools of medicine. With the exception of the one item mentioned below, the records of the board are in the keeping of the secretary, Dr. C. A. Dettman, of Burke.

Applications, 1903-4. Vault 4.

41. BOARD OF OSTEOPATHY.

The board is composed of five members. The records are kept by the secretary, Dr. E. G. Houseman, of Nampa.

42. BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS.

This board is composed of five members. The records are in the keeping of the secretary, Dr. Albert A. Jessup, of Boise.

43. BOARD OF OPTOMETRY.

This board is composed of three members. The records are in the keeping of the secretary, Edwin S. Owen, of Boise.

44. BOARD OF PHARMACY.

The board is composed of three members. The records are in the possession of the secretary, E. E. Colpin, of Oakley.

45. BOARD OF EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF GRADUATE NURSES.

The board is composed of three members. The secretary has the records.

46. BOARD OF VETERINARY MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

The board is composed of three members. The records are either in the keeping of the secretary of the board or in the office of the State veterinary.

47. STATE GRAIN COMMISSION.

This commission was composed of three members appointed by the governor for two years. It has now been supplanted by the farm markets department. No records of the commission were found.

48. BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

This board is composed of two labor commissioners and the judge of the district where there is business for the board. Upon petition of 25 people the board investigates strikes and lockouts, and attempts to settle labor disputes. No records were brought to light during the survey.

49. LIBRARY COMMISSION.

This commission is composed of the attorney general, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction, and the president of the State university. It has charge of the traveling libraries and appoints a librarian. No records of the commission were found.

D. SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, BOARDS, AND OFFICES.

50. SUPREME COURT BUILDING AND LIBRARY COMMISSION.

Minutes, 1903-1905. Vault 4.

51. FISCAL BOARD HAVING SALE OF BONDS.

Minutes, 1905. Auditor's office, room 1.

52. COMMISSION TO LOCATE NORTHERN ASYLUM.

Minutes, 1905-1910. Auditor's office, room 1.

53. COMMISSION TO REVISE THE IRRIGATION LAWS.

Created in 1915. No records were found.

54. COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE WAGES OF WOMEN AND MINORS.

Created in 1915. No records were found.

55. LABOR COMMISSION.

No records were found.

56. CODE COMMISSIONER.

The office was created in 1917 to codify the laws of Idaho. No records were found.

57. BOARD OF CONTROL OF HEYBURN PARK.

This board is composed of the governor, the game warden, and one other. No records were found.

58. LUMBER INSPECTORS.

There are three lumber inspectors. No records were found.

E. RECENTLY CREATED BOARDS AND OFFICES.

The last legislature created several boards and offices which will be established in 1917 or 1918. For the assistance of future investigators, it seems necessary to name them.

59. Board of Accountancy.

60. Board of examiners of architects.

61. Industrial accident board.

62. Insurance manager of State industrial insurance fund.

F. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The educational institutions of Idaho are: (63) the University of Idaho, at Moscow; (64-65) the normal schools at Lewiston and Albion; (66) the Academy of Idaho at Pocatello; (67) the Industrial Training School at St. Anthony; and (68) the school for the deaf and blind at Gooding. Records will be found at the institutions with the exception of the extension department of the university which maintains an office in the capitol.

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO: EXTENSION DEPARTMENT.

Annual reports of staff members, 1910-1917, 1 file.

Correspondence, 1914-1917, 8 files.

Voucher books, 1914-1917, 5 volumes.

Account book, 1915-1917.

Boys and girls club work, 12 files.

G. OTHER STATE INSTITUTIONS.

The institutions other than educational are (69) the State penitentiary at Boise; (70) the soldiers' home at Boise; (71) the insane asylum at Blackfoot; (72) northern Idaho sanitarium at Orofino; and (73) the sanitarium at Nampa. The records of the penitentiary will be found at the institution or tabulated under board of State prison commissioners and board of pardons. The records of the soldiers' home are at the institution or tabulated under board of trustees of soldiers' home. The records of the insane asylum will be found at Blackfoot except a few reports kept at the capitol in vaults 4 and 5. Records of the northern Idaho sanitarium are at Orofino and those of the sanitarium are at Nampa, except receipts for 1917, which are to be found in the auditor's office, room 1.

H. STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The society was established in 1907. The office and museum are in the old capitol building. The society has devoted itself to the collection of historical curios, and possesses but few books, newspapers, and manuscripts. Its records are also very scanty.

Record of articles, books, etc., loaned and presented, 2 volumes.

Cash book, 1907-17.

I. EXPOSITION PAPERS.

Idaho was represented at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, at the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition in 1909, and at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. The following papers have been preserved:

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

Papers connected with the Idaho exhibition, 1893. Bundle of unarranged papers. Vault 2.

Correspondence, 1893. Vault 4.

ALASKA-YUKON PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

Idaho building register, 1909. Vault 8.

Papers, 1909. Vault 4.

PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Papers. Vault 4.

J. SUPREME COURT.

The records of the supreme court, unless otherwise stated, are kept in a large vault off the judges' chambers.

TERRITORY.

- Record of opinions, 1864-1889, 4 volumes.
 File of original records on appeal and briefs of council, 1864-1889. About 250 cases.
 Court record, 1864-1889, 3 volumes. The last volumes also contain State records, 1890-1893.
 Minutes book, 1867-1873.
 Records in bankruptcy, 1868-1875.
 Register, 1868-1889, 2 volumes.
 Clerk's notes, 1869-1873, 1885-1889, 4 volumes.
 Bar calendar, 1872.

STATE.

- File of original records on appeal and briefs of council, 1890-1917. About 2,800 cases.
 Journal, 1890-1895, 1911-12, 2 volumes.
 Court record, 1890-1917, 7 volumes.
 Register of actions, 1890-1917, 3 volumes.
 Original opinions of the court, 1890-1917, 30 volumes.
 Index of State cases.
 Clerk's correspondence, 1890-1917, 50 volumes.
 Clerk's notes, 1891-92, 1894-1908, 5 volumes.
 Journal of citizenship, 1894-1906, 2 volumes.
 Cash books of the clerk of the court, 1909-1911, 1914-1916, 2 volumes.
 Court stenographer's quarterly reports, 1911. 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
 Clerk's reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
 Expense account, 1915-16. In same volume with records in bankruptcy, 1868-1875.
 Clerk of the supreme court, quarterly reports and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

K. LEGISLATURE.

The legislative records are kept in the vaults of the secretary of state. Two items were found in the governor's vault, but they are duplicates of documents in the keeping of the secretary of state.

TERRITORY.

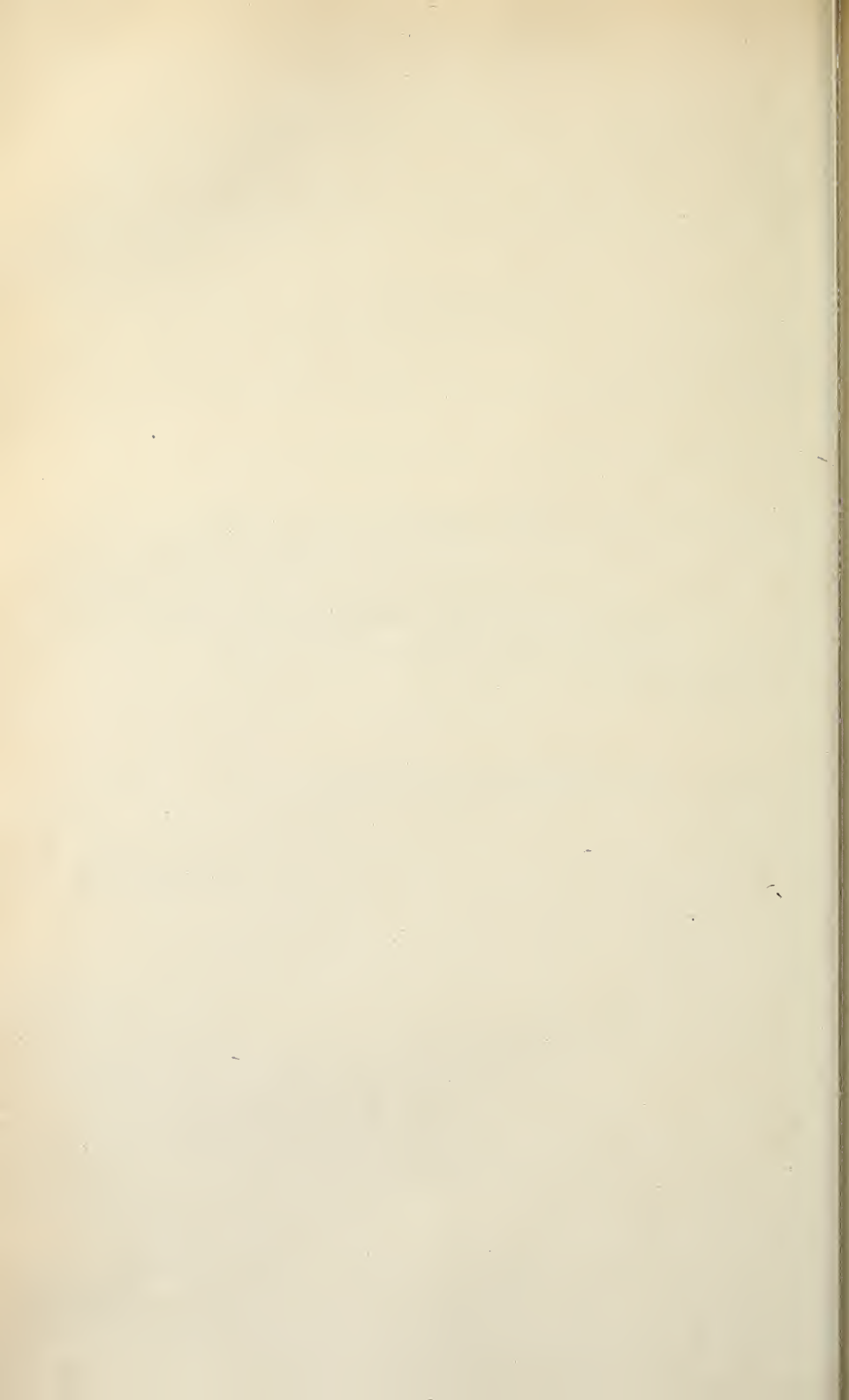
- Journals of the council [senate] and house of representatives, 1863-64, 1866-1889, 26 volumes. Vault 2.
 Bill books, 1863-1866, 1875-1889, 17 volumes. Vault 2.
 Laws, 1863-64, 1866-1889. 20 drawers. Vault 1.
 Territorial laws, 4 tin boxes. Vault 1.
 Journal of executive proceedings of the council, 1888-89. Vault 2.
 Laws of the twelfth session received by the governor. Vault 2.
 Revised code, 1887, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
 Record of memorials, resolutions, and bills passed, 1888-89. Vault 2.
 Revised statutes, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

STATE.

- House and senate journals, bill books, calendars, and records. 1890-1917. 153 volumes. Vault 1.
- Enrolled bills, resolutions, memorials, and vetoed bills, governors' messages, and committee reports, 1890-1917, 192 drawers. Vault 1.
- House and senate record of bills, resolutions, and memorials, 1890, 1893, 1899, and 1903, 8 volumes. Vault 2.
- Index of legislation, 1891. Vault 2.
- Bill books, 1890-1895, 8 volumes. Vault 2.
- Bills, resolutions, memorials, etc., passed in 1893. Vault 4.
- General orders of the day and special orders, house of representatives. 1894-1897, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Minutes of the judiciary committee of the senate, 1897, 1901, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Calendar of the legislature, 1897. Vault 2.
- Record of reenacted laws of 1899 and session laws of 1901. Vault 2.
- Senate bills, 1903. Vault 4.
- Enrolled laws passed at the eighth session. Vault 2.
- Minutes of proceedings in the house, 1908-9. Vault 2.
- Senate concurrent resolutions, 1908. Vault 2.
- House concurrent resolutions, 1909. Vault 2.
- Record of senate and house bills, 1909, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Idaho revised code, 1909. Vault 1.
- House bills, eleventh session, approved or vetoed by Gov. Hawley. Vault 4.
- Transcript of proceedings at hearings of the house investigation committee of the transactions of the various State departments, 1915. Vault 1.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The fourteenth conference of historical societies met at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on December 29, 1917. With the conference were representatives of the hereditary patriotic societies, as the subject concerned them also. The attendance was not very large from distant societies, but there was a good representation from Philadelphia and vicinity. Unfortunately the meeting was late in starting and so the business was deferred until the end and then part of it was referred to committees.

Judge Norris S. Barratt, of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, spoke on the relation of the patriotic societies and historical societies, with special reference to cooperation in publication. Judge Barratt referred to the resolution of the hereditary patriotic societies of December, 1916, that the council of the American Historical Association appoint a committee to suggest cooperation, out of which resolution grew the present topic. He mentioned some nine hereditary patriotic societies and referred to the purposes, objects, and publications of some of these, for instance, the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania and the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania with their valuable publications on Philadelphia colonial history; the large Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution with its publications of historical addresses and its other activities; the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania and its collection of transcripts and its publications; the Pennsylvania German Society with its collections and twenty-five annual volumes and the issue of many parts of a critical history of Pennsylvania; the Swedish Colonial Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He said: "The real function of these societies aside from the purely social ones, with which we have now no concern, is to publish historical books and papers upon subjects germane to their purposes of organization. State historical societies have a wider scope, as it should be their aim to preserve the legends of the villages, together with all historical material that goes to make up the history of the State and Nation while, for instance, the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, should confine its activities to the history of the revolution exclusively and not extend it beyond. What the Sons of the Revolution, for example, want to publish and what they have published I have already given.

“The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Dr. John Wolf Jordan, its able librarian, have always given the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution their cooperation and friendly advice and aid. Personally, I have been unable to find any duplication of effort. We may premise that shortcomings exist here as in other departments of life. We can not, therefore, hope for perfection, but we ought to make the best progress we can on the road. The object is to make those uninformed thoroughly familiar with the knowledge of what has been done in old times, with all its interesting detail and local color. These papers will, it is hoped, become a mine of information for the future historian. They are unlike general treatises or books published for sale or commercial purposes, but are merely for distribution among those belonging to a society. Of course, for kindred societies to publish the same records or duplicate practically the work of a similar society would be not only wasteful, but as a practice can not be vindicated.” He summed up with the two propositions: (1.) That there should be some general clearing house, so that the hereditary patriotic societies could keep in touch with the activities of each other and the historical societies. This would be helpful in many ways, especially in preventing duplications and in suggestions for developing certain historical material. (2.) That this can best be attained by the appointment of a committee composed of representatives of the different societies, to prepare and submit definite suggestions for a method of cooperation between them in various lines of historic work.

Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University, and a member and officer of three patriotic societies, opened the discussion, saying:

“I am rather sorry that our good friend Judge Barratt laid so much stress upon the subject of publication and so little emphasis upon the matter of cooperation. We are all agreed on the necessity for publication work, for the work already done is the best evidence that there is a need for it. The crucial point for discussion, as intimated on the program for this morning, is as to whether we can bring about a cooperation of the historical and patriotic societies in the matter of publication. Of course there is the question which might be discussed as to the value of the efforts of a great many contemporary writers on historical subjects. Some of this material may be of permanent value and more of it perhaps will not be of this character. These writers as a rule do not give us the facts as they stand, but very frequently interpretations of historical documents.

“Although a member and officer of three patriotic societies I am not authorized to represent them in any capacity, but I appear before you solely in response to the request of your secretary, and it was intimated that I should try to give the viewpoint of the patriotic societies upon this subject. These patriotic societies are widely

separated organizations and I am sorry to say that some jealousy is found to exist among them. This is absolutely subversive to all good work, but I believe that this condition could be overcome if we developed cooperation. It would be beneficial in many ways. You generally have a much better idea of a person after you have worked with him for a while and have become better acquainted with his methods. All this however would be useless unless a central office could be established and some standardization of methods could be adopted.

“Now what are the facts as far as patriotic societies are concerned. We find that societies vary in practice considerably. For example, the general society of the Sons of the Revolution, publishes little except addresses at the annual meetings. The State societies prepare more or less complete genealogical sketches of their members. The Society of Colonial Wars practically does the same thing, but the State societies as a rule publish more extended sketches of their members, particularly of the deceased members. In addition they have published a list of the ancestors of the members of their societies, giving an account of their services. The New Jersey Society has published a list of the colonial wars officers of the State. Again, the Order of Founders and Patriots pursues the policy of combining in one volume all the records of the general and State societies. In addition, I am glad to say that the members of these societies in the State of New Jersey are very much interested in the preservation of the archives of the State and are working hard to bring about the formation of a commission for this purpose.

“My recommendation upon this subject would be that a committee be appointed to deal with the whole subject; that this committee should determine just what subjects should be included in the series of publications, and that the series should be determined by the character of the material submitted. It should determine not only the selection of the material but should form a committee on publication with certain editorial functions, each society to be represented on the committee by a delegate with power. This committee should determine the size of the page, the type to be used; and the content of each article should determine the series in which it is to be published. Many publications consist of a jumble of historical, genealogical, biographical, and statistical articles. They form an imposing volume, but it is bulky and contains a lot of material which some people do not care for. If each of the articles upon these subjects were published in separate pamphlet form, similar to those of the Chicago Museum, there would be an escape from this medley and its confusion. There could be a series of each type for each society, if desired, but each pamphlet would be complete in itself. Eventually a sufficient number on a similar subject could be bound in one volume.

“The advantages of such a system are apparent. If all the societies should adopt a standard size for their publications which would accord with the view of this central committee, and should publish according to this plan, there would be very little interference with the activities of the various societies, and each would be contributing according to its financial ability. Series collected afterwards might be bound together for the use of the societies or for more general purposes. In any event such a system would promote greater interchange of opinion and more friendly relations and better acquaintance among people interested in this material, in all parts of our country.”

Ex-Gov. L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, a representative of both historical and patriotic societies, commented on the remarks of the other speakers, and said on behalf of the historical societies: “We shall welcome all aid given by the patriotic societies, and on behalf of the patriotic societies, we shall welcome all aid given by the historical societies.”

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, said: “I represent the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, both interested in bringing the historical and patriotic societies into closer relations with one another, and both willing to do all that is possible in bringing these various societies into closer alliance with the American Historical Association. In Massachusetts the first steps to effect a better cooperation among the patriotic societies in that State are yet to be taken, and there is as yet no connection for joint effort between them and the historical societies. Recently delegates of 12 patriotic societies met at a social dinner, to see if a plan of cooperation could be devised. The outcome remains to be determined. In Pennsylvania, as Judge Barratt has shown, no little progress has been made toward combination in collections and agreement upon publications, and with good results. Nothing of this exists in Massachusetts except in the specialized libraries. In former days each library was intent upon getting all it could, without much attention to fitness. Now the leading libraries buy carefully, and do not unnecessarily duplicate what is in the special libraries.

“We have in Massachusetts a League of Historical Societies which includes 34 of the local and general historical societies; but it does not seek to influence or control what each society should print, nor are its own publications of importance. The league collects a small fee from each member society and meets twice a year. The patriotic societies have pursued a course independent of each other and of all other historical societies. Their sphere of publications is much narrowed. Having issued their “service” books, it would be a waste of money to reissue the full pedigrees for the incoming generation, and thus there

should be a fund free for issues of a truly historical character. The danger lies in duplication. The orderly books, for example, tempt publication. Yet already much money has been wasted in partial publication. The general orders apply to the whole army, the brigade orders to the brigade, and the regimental orders to one regiment. Completeness requires examples of all the brigade orders and all the regimental orders. For this no society or combination of societies will suffice. The War Department, finding a large force of trained clerks in the Adjutant General's Office, on completing the Official Records of the Rebellion, began to collect the records for the War for Independence and for the War of 1812, and so great an undertaking may well be left to the National Government.

"My idea of a possible cooperation would be to assess on each society an annual fee, and to use the resulting fund in subsidizing undertakings of general scope and merit. The Colonial Dames have set a good example. They have issued the Letters to Washington to 1775, in five volumes; Correspondence of William Pitt with the American Governors, etc., in two volumes, and the Correspondence of William Shirley, in two volumes. These are works of historical value and true contributions to history, carefully edited by capable hands. The entire expense was borne by the Dames. In the scheme which I have outlined, the local society would be aided to publish, due regard being given to the quality of the material and the manner in which it has been treated. Such a plan will bring to accomplishment deserving undertakings which are now kept back for want of funds, or proper editing, or want of advice, and raise the standard of publications. As there will be many details to be considered and determined before such a cooperation as is proposed can be effected I submit the following resolution: "

Resolved, That the president of the American Historical Association appoint a committee of 13—four to be taken from historical societies, four from patriotic societies, one from the American Historical Association, and four from societies of a historical character—to consider the question of a closer cooperation among such societies, especially with a view to preventing duplication of publication and of planning a better and more systematic method of publishing historical material: this committee to report to the council of the American Historical Association at its early convenience.

The motion was carried and has been communicated to the president of the American Historical Association.

The second part of the program was devoted to discussion of the subject, "The collection of local war material by historical societies."

Prof. Harlow C. Lindley spoke of what they have been doing in the department of history of the Indiana State library. As soon as the United States became officially engaged in the war the library adopted a plan of preserving all material about the war, in the newspapers, which concerned Indiana in any way. In this way it was

hoped to add local color to the official reports. The plan has been: (1) To clip carefully all material bearing upon the military activities of the State, from the two leading daily papers of Indianapolis. As this is the capital and the center of the State, these newspapers cover the whole State, and a great national training camp located there adds importance. The material is classified under general war news, relief work—i. e., Red Cross, etc., Fort Benjamin Harrison material, draft, and registration. Under each heading the clippings are arranged chronologically, mounted and bound; (2) in a large ledger book every important event is entered in chronological order with reference to full account; (3) a card index is being made according to subject of every article in the newspapers that bears upon Indiana's part in the war. This plan is probably too ambitious for the average local historical society or library, but each could undertake the indexing of its local publications and the collecting of material of local significance. This was suggested to every local historical society and public library in the State by the department.

Dr. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society, indicated at some length the work being done in Minnesota. An index was started after the war began and 500 papers were collected from April 1 to August 1. Posters and programs of various meetings and a great many pictures have been collected. The number of organizations engaged in war activities is innumerable and the importance of keeping their records is emphasized by the disappearance of records of similar organizations of the Civil War. Letters from men in the military service also ought to be preserved. The State society is doing all it can and is urging the same policy upon local societies and libraries. It is important to secure as much publicity as possible and thus secure the cooperation of the people in saving everything. The newspaper men are of great importance. The question of how to care for this material arises. As it comes in it should be separated into what is worth while and what is not, and the important things filed. Many have become enthusiastic about this work in Minnesota and it is to be hoped that as a result of this impetus, the work of collecting current material will not be abandoned after the war.

It was hoped, had time allowed, to ask the representatives of the different societies present to state in what manner each was collecting war material, in order that some new ideas might be brought forth. Since that was not possible a general questionnaire has been sent to every known historical society and agency in the United States and Canada, asking them to state their activities in this line. The answers to this will be included in the handbook.

The secretary reported in brief that after the conference of 1916 the proceedings were published in February, 1917, together with the

information and statistics of activity reported by some 90 societies, in a 16-page pamphlet. The \$50 appropriated by the American Historical Association was expended, and it seemed wise to postpone asking for the contributions from historical societies until 1918. However, contributions were received from the following societies: California Genealogical, Hunterdon County (N. J.), Iowa State, Middlesex County (Conn.), New Mexico, Chester County (Pa.), Church (Pa.), Women's Canadian, of Ottawa, and Lehigh County (Pa.). Other societies have promised contributions.

For completing the organization of the conference as provided for last year, three committees were appointed: on nomination of chairman of fifteenth conference, F. H. Severance; on financial contributions and voting, S. J. Buck; on committees and officers, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh. Answers to the questionnaire have been received in gratifying numbers, 168 (since the conference to date 182), which means a good basis for the Handbook of Historical Societies proposed for 1918. Other points in the report came up later in the business meeting.

The committee on organization reported in favor of placing the treasurer's duties with the secretary for 1918 and of having the audit made by the American Historical Association auditors. Carried.

The committee on nomination of chairman reported in favor of the reelection of Mr. Montgomery. Carried.

The committee on financial contributions and voting powers recommended the appointment of the chairman, secretary, and a third member to devise a plan for 1918, the final plan to be voted on at the next conference. Carried.

This committee has since reported the following working plan:

1. The conference of historical societies includes all historical, genealogical, numismatic and similar societies, historical commissions, State departments of history, other historical agencies, and hereditary patriotic societies, general, State, and local.

2. Such societies as desire to further the progress of historical societies and their mutual interests shall contribute such amount as shall seem suitable to them in view of their resources, membership, and interest. The suggested basis is 1 cent per member (but not over \$10) with approximately \$5 for commissions and departments. From societies which desire to show interest but whose resources are small or otherwise appropriated, contributions of any size are asked.

3. Societies and agencies of whatever kind which contribute on the proposed basis shall have a vote at the annual conference by proxy or delegate, or by mail.

4. Such publications as shall be issued by the conference shall have a price set upon them at which the public can buy. Contributing societies shall receive such number of copies as they desire, more than one, as their contribution shall be proportionate to the price.

The conference heard with regret statements from the chairman and others, that owing to war conditions in Washington and the tremendously increased need for offices and bureau rooms, certain old papers and archives had been removed and sold or destroyed. As

these are known to have included some very valuable historical papers, the conference passed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the conference strongly urge a temporary housing, either in Washington or near by, of this material in order eventually to restore it to permanent archives.

Resolved, That the conference cooperate with the public archives commission in urging the proper authorities to preserve these records.

Resolved, That the secretary of the conference bring these resolutions before the 500 historical societies of the country, urging them to take action on the subject.

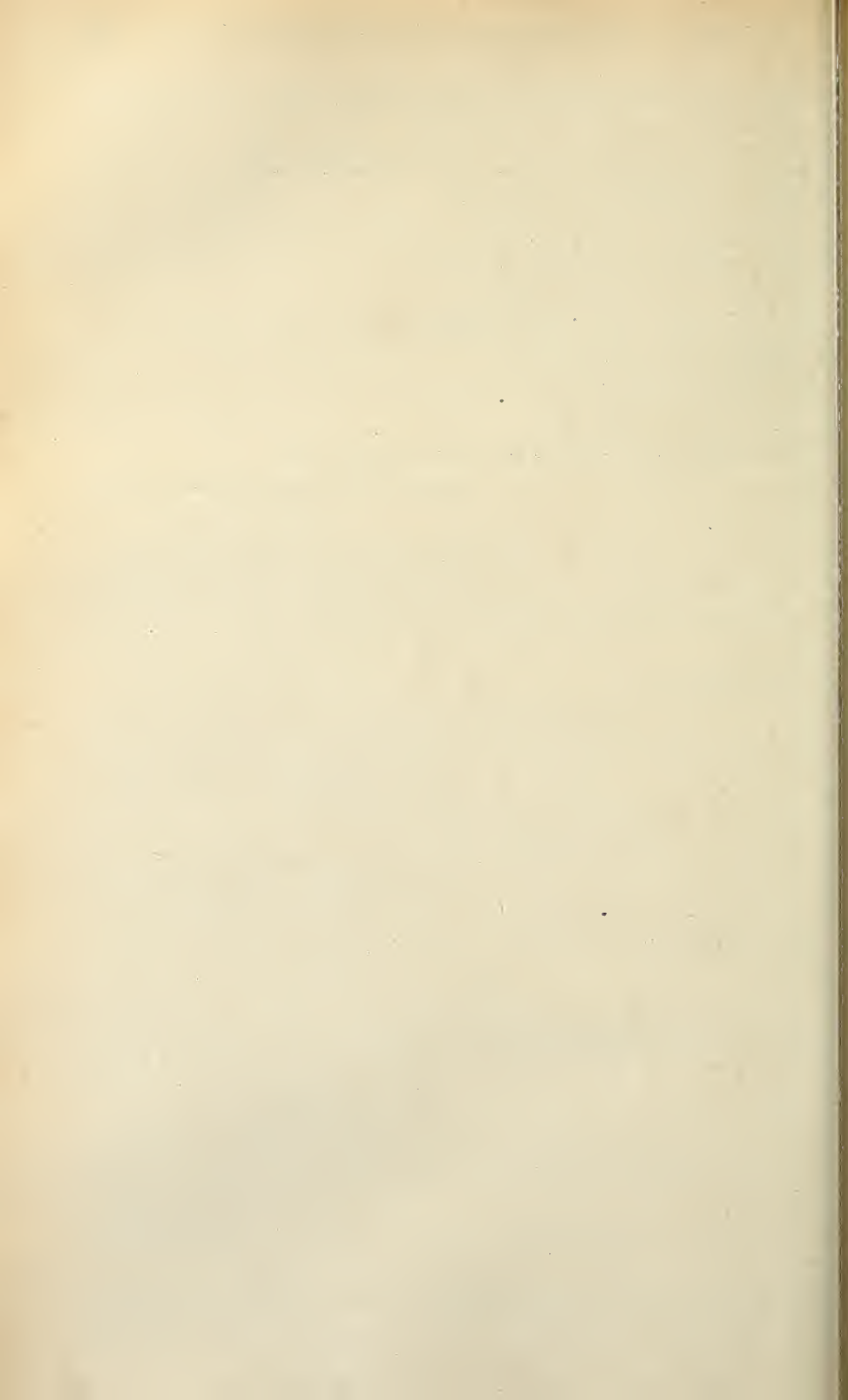
It is suggested that the historical societies of the country take this matter up and communicate with their Congressmen and Senators, who will doubtless be interested, upon the proper representation being made to them, in seeing to the preservation in some way of these valuable records.

Those present, as far as names could be obtained, were the following persons, representing at least 58 historical societies (patriotic societies not included) :

- Ames, Herman V., American Antiquarian Soc.
- Balch, Thomas W., American Antiquarian Soc.
- Barratt, Norris S., Pa. Hist. Soc.
- Bradford, J. E., Ohio Valley and Ohio Archaeological and Hist. Societies.
- Brown, Mrs. R., Friends Hist. Soc.
- Browning, C. H., Cal. Genealogical Soc.
- Buck, S. J., Minn. Hist. Soc.
- Campbell, Miss J., American Catholic, City Hist. societies.
- Connor, R. D. W., N. C. Hist. Commission, N. C. Literary and Hist. Assoc.
- Cope, Gilbert, Chester Co. Hist. Soc.
- Deats, H. E., Hunterdon Co. Hist. Soc.
- Ely, Warren S., Bucks Co. Hist. Soc.
- Ford, Worthington C., Mass. Hist. Soc., Colonial Soc. of Mass.
- Fox, Miss, Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc.
- Gunmere, Mrs. F. E., Friends Hist. Soc.
- Hammond, Otis G., N. H. Hist. Soc.
- Hayes, J. Carroll, Chester Co. Hist. Soc.
- Heilman, Samuel P., Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., Pa. Federation of Hist. Societies.
- Hostetter, A. L., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
- Jellett, E. C., City Hist. Soc., Site and Relic Soc.
- Jordan, J. W., Pa. Hist. Soc., Colonial Soc. of Pa., Swedish Hist. Soc.
- Kean, G. B., Pa. Hist. Soc., American Philosophical Soc., Colonial Soc. of Pa., Swedish Hist. Soc.
- Keller, H. A., McCormick Hist. Soc.
- Konkle, B. A., Pa. Hist. Soc.
- Landis, G. C., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
- Leach, J. Granville, Old Planters Soc., Genealogical Soc. of Pa.
- Lewis, F. G., American Baptist Hist. Soc.
- Libbey, William, N. Y. Hist. Soc. N. J. Hist. Soc.
- Lindley, Harlow, Ind. Hist. Soc., Ind Hist Commission.
- McGeorge, W., Gloucester Co. Hist. Soc.
- Magee, D. H., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
- Montgomery, Thomas L., Pa. Hist. Soc., Pa. Hist. Commission, Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc.

Myers, A. C., Delaware Co. Hist. Soc.
Nead, D. M., Pa.-German Hist. Soc., Berks Co. Hist. Soc.
Paine, Mrs. C. S., Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc.
Paltsits, V. H., various societies, including Prince Soc., Me.
Prince, L. Bradford, N. Mex. Hist. Soc., National Hist. Soc.
Reilley, J., American Numismatic Soc.
Robinson, Morgan G., Va. Hist. Soc.
Severance, F. H., Buffalo Hist. Soc.
Shambaugh, B. F., Iowa State Hist. Soc.
Shearer, A. H., Grosvenor Library.
Sioussat, Mrs. A. W., Colonial Dames.
Smedley, Miss C., Frankford Hist. Soc.
Sullivan, James, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
Spofford, E. C., Pa. Hist. Soc.
Turner, Joseph B., Presbyterian Hist. Soc.
Wall, A. J., N. Y. Hist. Soc.
Wren, Christopher, Wyoming Hist. and Geological Soc.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER, *Secretary.*



APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1917.¹

NATIONAL, SECTIONAL, RELIGIOUS

- American Antiquarian Society.* Worcester. 1812. 175 members. Waldo Lincoln; Charles L. Nichols. Mail to Clarence S. Brigham, librarian. Publications: Proceedings, 2 issues. Large additions of early newspapers, imprints, book-plates, genealogies, and general Americana.
- American Baptist Historical Society.* Philadelphia; library, Chester, Pa. 1853. Prof. Spencer B. Meeser, D. D.; Rev. John W. Lyell, D. D., 1701 Chestnut St. Rearrangement of much of the library collection looking toward proper cataloging.
- American Catholic Historical Society.* Philadelphia. 1884. 783 members. James M. Willcox; Jane Campbell, 715 Spruce St. Publications: Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, March, June, September, December, 1917. Shelving and cases have been built in the newspaper and periodical rooms at a cost of \$533. The library has received a valuable incunabulum, "Origen against Celsus," the first book published by George Herolt, Rome, 1481.
- American Jewish Historical Society.* New York City. 1892. 378 members. Cyrus Adler; Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row. Publications: No. 25; Nos. 26 and 27 now in press.
- The American Numismatic Society.* Broadway between 155th and 156th St., New York City. 1858. Nearly 400 members. Edward T. Newell; Sydney P. Noe. Publications: American Journal of Numismatics; Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society. The medal to commemorate the declaration of war by the United States was issued in October. A collection of coins and medals relating to Luther and the German Reformation was on exhibition during November. An exhibition of the J. Pierpont Morgan loan collection of coins and medals was opened in December.
- American Society of Church History.* 1888; merged in the American Historical Association, 1896; reorganized 1906; incorporated 1916. 155 members. Prof. David Schley Schaff, D. D.; Prof. Wm. Walker Rockwell, 3041 Broadway, New York, room 420. Publications: Papers of the American Society of Church History, second series, vol. 5.

¹In December, 1917, a questionnaire was sent to all historical societies which were known to be alive, others whose status was not known, to all general societies of an hereditary patriotic nature, and to such State societies of the latter class as were known to be interested in historical work. It was expected to publish a handbook of these societies in 1918, and as a result a very considerable number of replies was received. In addition, in preparation for the handbook, societies which had ever reported to the conference were included, and those which were known from other sources. It was found impossible to publish the handbook in 1918; therefore the former procedure of publishing, in this form, was followed and this will be used as a basis for the handbook in 1919. As a consequence there are more societies listed here than replies were received, and because the publication has been postponed, some statements have been changed, though no attempt to include facts later than 1917 has been made.

- National Society Colonial Dames XVII Century.* Organized 1914 in San Francisco, at Panama Exposition during meeting of International Genealogical Society. Miss Stella Pickett Hardy, Batesville, Ark., president general; Miss Mary Florence Taney, secretary general, 309 E. 3rd St., Covington, Ky. Object, establishing chairs of historical research in colleges and universities and a college of heraldry active in patriotic work.
- Colonial Daughters of America, National Society.* 1907. Over 400 members. Miss Mary Florence Taney; Miss Florence May Washington, Nelson Place, Newport, Ky. Great activity in regard to preparedness; patriotic meetings; Red Cross work. Erected a fountain in memory of Mrs. John Barry Taylor (Betty Washington), first president general, Colonial Daughters.
- Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society.* Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C. 1890. 110,000 members. Mrs. George Thacher Guernsey; Miss Emma L. Crowell, recording secretary general. Publications: *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (monthly); Report to the Smithsonian Institution; Proceedings of the twenty-sixth Continental congress, D. A. R.; *Lineage Book*, vols. 44 and 45. War Relief Service Committee works for war relief. Property loaned to Government for the erection of temporary office building of National Council of Defense. Have added materially to society's museum and library—to the museum, manuscripts and relics peculiar to the period of the Revolutionary War; to the library, historical and genealogical works, making the total number 8,175.
- Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.* Philadelphia. 1907. 300 members. Col. W. Gordon McCabe; Carl Magee Kneass, Stoneleigh Court, Phila. Erection of tablets or monuments at the graves of all signers of the Declaration of Independence. Publication, in connection with the Sons of the American Revolution, of Biographies of the Signers.
- Historical Society of the Reformed Church in the United States.* 40 members. Rev. James W. Crawford; Rev. Daniel G. Glass, Lancaster. Collections in storage in library of Theological Seminary of Reformed Church at Lancaster.
- Huguenot Society of America.* 105 E. 22nd St., New York City. 1883.
- Mayflower Descendants, General Society.* Made up of 17 State societies. 1897. 3,200 members. Gov-gen., Leonard Wood; sec-gen., Walter S. Allerton, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City. At general congress held at Plymouth, Mass., Sept. 6, 1918, plans were made for celebration in 1920.
- Mennonite Historical Association.* Newton, Kans. 1911. 124 members. Rev. H. R. Voth, Goltry, Okla.; Rev. H. P. Krehbiel, Newton, Kans. Publications: Report to triennial conference. Worthy of report is the historical material collected and the increase in new members.
- Military Order of Foreign Wars of the U. S.* 1895. About 1,000 members. Commander general, Brig. Gen. S. W. Fountain, U. S. A., retired; secretary general, Maj. David Banks, 23 Park Place, New York City.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Nebr.* 1907. 1,000 members. St. George L. Sioussat; Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln. Publications: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, published quarterly; Proceedings, 1915-16.
- Missouri Valley Historical Society.* 300 members. Mrs. Nettie Thompson Grove, Kansas City, Mo.
- National Genealogical Society.* Washington, D. C. Miss Cora C. Curry, 1020 Monroe Street NW. Publication: Quarterly.
- National Historical Society.* M. T. R. Washburn, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

- Naval Historical Society.* New York City. 1909, inc. 1912. 567 members. Col. Robert M. Thompson; Robert W. Neeser. Room 1618, 35 West Forty-second Street. Publications: The Dallas Papers.
- Scottish Historical Society of North America.* 1911. 109 members. John Calder Gordon. 17 Milk Street, Boston.
- Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba.* Washington, D. C. Organized July 31, 1898, in the Governor's Palace, Santiago de Cuba. Approximately 1,000 life members, 4,105 registered. Gen. A. A. Harbach; Col. Charles A. Williams, The Ontario, Washington, D. C. Eligibility to membership absolutely restricted to officers and enlisted men who worthily participated in the campaign between the dates of June 14 and July 17, 1898.
- Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, National Society.* 1908, inc. 1910. Gov.-gen. R. W. Littlefield; Sec.-gen. and registrar, Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Street, Providence, R. I. Persons whose ancestors settled in any American colony before 1700 are eligible. Publication: The Colonial (quarterly).
- Swedish Historical Society of America.* F. N. Andrén, Insurance Building, Chicago, Ill.
- United Confederate Veterans.* Gen. W. E. Mickle, 820 Audubon Building, New Orleans, La.
- The Union Society of the Civil War.* New York City. 1909. 325 members. Maj. Paul Dana; Walter Rysam Jones, 65 Park Avenue.
- United States Catholic Historical Society.* New York City. 1884. 400 members. Stephen Farrelly; Joseph H. Fargis, 346 Convent Avenue. Publications: Volumes 10 and 11 of official publication, "Historical Records and Studies." Prize of \$100 given for essay contest among Catholic colleges, male and female, of the United States. Awarded to representative of Georgetown University, Mr. Louis A. Lange, subject, "The Marcus Whitman Myth and the Missionary History of Oregon."

ALABAMA.

- Alabama Anthropological Society.* Montgomery. 1909. 24 active, 38 associate members. Thomas M. Owen; Peter A. Brannon, Box 358, Montgomery. Publications: Misc. Publications, III.
- Alabama Department of History and Archives.* 1901. T. M. Owen, Montgomery.
- Alabama Historical Society.* Montgomery. 1850, 1874, 1901. Thos. M. Owen, Montgomery.
- Alabama History Teachers' Association.* Meets with Alabama Educational Assoc. in different cities. 1915. 38 members. John B. Clark; David G. Chase, 2205 15th Ave., Birmingham. Publications: Annual Proceedings for past three years. The Association has a committee working with the teachers in an effort to secure material and increase the efficiency of patriotic teaching and work throughout the State.
- Iberville Historical Society.* Mobile. Hon. F. G. Bromberg, Mobile.
- Tennessee Valley Historical Society.* Guntersville. Hon. O. D. Street.

ARIZONA.

- Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.* 200 W. Congress St., Tucson. 1884, reorganized 1897. 247 members living, altogether over 600. Frederick Roustadt; John E. Magee.

ARKANSAS.

- Arkansas Historical Association.* Fayetteville. 1902. A. C. Miller; J. H. Reynolds, Conway. Publications: Vol. 4.
- Arkansas Historical Commission.* Little Rock. 1905. Dallas T. Herndon. This is a State board of nine members supported by State appropriations. Publications: Quarterly bulletins and biennial reports, the latter in collaboration with the Arkansas Historical Association.

CALIFORNIA.

- Academy of Pacific Coast History.* Berkeley. H. Morse Stephens.
- California Genealogical Society.* Sutro Branch of California State Library, cor. Sacramento and Webster Sts., San Francisco. 1898. 229 members. Henry Byron Phillips; Sarah Louise Kimball, 202-6 Kohl building, San Francisco. Intended publishing a new roster in 1918. In February, 1917, the California Genealogical Society placed its library under the care of the deputy state librarian, Miss Laura Steffens, at the newly established Sutro Branch.
- California Historical Society.* 1886. A. S. Hubbard. Masonic Temple, San Francisco.
- California Historical Survey.* J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista St., Los Angeles.
- Historical Society of Southern California.* Los Angeles. 1883. 75 members. Rockwell D. Hunt; J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista St. Publications: Collections, parts 1 and 2 of vol. X.
- Society of California Pioneers.* 1850. John I. Spear, Pioneer Building, 5 Pioneer Place, San Francisco.
- Sons of the Revolution in the State of California.* State headquarters, 619-625 Citizens' National Bank Building, Los Angeles. 1893. 380 members. Orra E. Monnette; Nelson O. Rhoades. Publications: The Liberty Bell Quarterly. Gathering material for supplement to our book, Spirit of Patriotism. Over 100 new members. Agitating need of fireproof building all our own, and ample endowment. About 500 volumes and pamphlets. Preserving current history in scrap books covering current events, California facts, Los Angeles facts, historical war pictures, war pamphlets. Genealogical departments in the following papers: Boston Transcript, Hartford Times, Norwalk (Conn.) Hour, Daily Argus (Portland, Me.), Newark News (N. J.), Desert News, etc. Gathering biographical material, however, in unorganized ways as yet. Can secure from National Museum at Washington large collection now there when we have fireproof building to accommodate same.

COLORADO.

- State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado.* Denver. 1879. About 100 members. L. G. Carpenter; John Parsons. Publications: The Biennial Report of the Society, 1915-16. This is a State institution.

CONNECTICUT.

- Acorn Club.* 1899. John Murphy; Lucius B. Barbour, Hartford.
- Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science.* New Haven. Dr. Geo. F. Eaton secretary (absent on naval work); Alexander W. Evans, acting secretary. The academy occasionally publishes historical works, but otherwise is not a historical agency.

- Mattatuck Historical Society.* Waterbury. 1877. More than 1,000 members. Arthur Reed Kimball; Frederick Griswold Mason, P. O. B. 185, Waterbury. Publications: Ancient burying grounds of the town of Waterbury, together with other records of church and town, compiled and edited by Katherine A. Pritchard, 1917, being vol. II of the publications of the society, pp. 1-338. The Mattatuck Historical Society has given over practically its entire plant to the Waterbury chapter of the Red Cross for use in war work. Its museum cases and collections have been stored, and all work of this kind has been suspended for the period of the war. Eminent lecturers on various phases of the present war have talked to large audiences in Mattatuck Hall. The annual exhibition of paintings by American artists, however, was held as usual with marked success. In October a bronze tablet was erected in memory of Elisha Leavenworth, benefactor of the society. A second hand-book of the society is in course of preparation.
- Middlesex County Historical Society.* Middletown. 1902. 100 members. Rev. Azel W. Hazen, D. D.; W. J. Robinson, Middletown. Publications: Annual report.
- New Haven Colony Historical Society.* New Haven. 1862. 400 members. Rev. W. A. Beardsley; Thomas M. Prentice, 144 Grove Street. Publications: Ancient Records of New Haven, vol. 1, 1649-1672.

DELAWARE.

- Delaware Historical Society.* Wilmington. Christopher L. Ward, Equitable Bldg. 1864. 225 members. The society had occupied the Old First Church building since its organization. Owing to the sale of the land on which the Old First Presbyterian Church (built 1740) stood and the building being unsuitable, our society purchased the Old Town Hall (1795) from the city of Wilmington for \$91,000 and had plans for restoring and fireproofing the building in 1917. The war made it necessary for the Red Cross to have a large building, and this being the only one available we at once stored our books and possessions of all kinds and turned over the entire building for Red Cross purposes. Prior to the purchase of the Old Town Hall we had purchased a fine building site and had plans prepared for a suitable society building. The sale of the old colonial Town Hall brought a demand from our citizens that the historical society secure it, which we could only do by purchase.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

- Columbia Historical Society.* District of Columbia. 1894. 213 members. Allen C. Clark, 816 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington; Miss Maud Burr Morris. Publication: Records, vol. XX.

FLORIDA.

- Florida Historical Society.* Jacksonville. 1902.
- St. Augustine Institute of Science and History.* 1884. 81 members. F. B. Matthews. Publication: Year Book.

GEORGIA.

- Georgia Historical Association.* Atlanta. 1917. Lucian L. Knight.
- Georgia Historical Society.* Savannah. 1839. 260 members. W. W. Mackall; Otis Ashmore. Publications: Proceedings of the Seventy-eighth Annual Meeting; The Georgia Historical Quarterly (W. Harden, ed.), 4 nos.

HAWAII.

Hawaiian Historical Society. Honolulu. 1892. Howard M. Ballou.

ILLINOIS.

Boone County Historical Society. Belvidere. Richard V. Carpenter.

Bureau County Historical Society. Princeton. 1912. Miss Fannie Moseley.

Champaign County Historical Society. Champaign. 1899. E. B. Greene.

Chicago Historical Society. Chicago. 1856. 1,200, exclusive of 106 honorary and corresponding members. C. A. Burley; Seymour Morris; Caroline M. McIlvaine, asst. sec., Dearborn Ave. and Ontario St. Publications: Sixtieth Anniversary Yearbook, 1916; Family History Questionnaire. Building overhauled to bring fireproof methods up to date by way of wireglass, placing fire extinguishers, etc. Lectures and museum work have been expanded along patriotic lines. Special effort has been made to collect war preparation literature and enlistment posters. The latter are displayed in the windows and on screens. The subject cataloguing of the library is making the resources more readily available than ever before.

Colored Historical Society. 1905. In care of State Historical Society. Springfield.

Evanston Historical Society. Evanston. 1898. About 150 members. Frank R. Grover; William C. Levere. J. Seymore Currey originated the society in 1898, acted as secretary 8 years, and president 10 years, until January 29, 1917. The collection now amounts to some 4,000 volumes, including pamphlets, with a museum collection of considerable value. The rooms are in the Public Library building, but hopes are entertained for a new building. Support comes chiefly from special contributions, also from dues (\$1 a year) and city council votes \$50 each year.

German-American Historical Society. Chicago. 1900. 350 members. Dr. O. L. Schmidt; Max Baum, Room 1613, Mallers Building, 5 South Wabash Avenue. Publications: Yearbook 1916, vol XVI of *Geschichtsblätter*.

The Historical Society of Quincy. Quincy. 1896. 213 members. Joseph W. Emory; Miss Mary B. Bull, cor. sec., 1550 Maine St.

Illinois Catholic Historical Society. Chicago. 1918. Wm. J. Onahan; James Fitzgerald, 617 Ashland Block. Publishes *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (quarterly).

Illinois Centennial Commission. Urbana. Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield. This is a State commission, which organized a board of authors for the Centennial History of Illinois, in five volumes. It receives \$8,500 annually.

Illinois Historical Survey. University of Illinois, Urbana. 1910. Clarence W. Alvord, 418 Lincoln Hall. The past year the survey purchased about 6,000 pages of transcripts of material from the Archives Nationales of Paris bearing on Mississippi Valley and Illinois history, and 2,700 pages of transcripts from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, relating to the Revolutionary War and early Louisiana. The survey is cooperating with other historical agencies in five states in having a calendar made of the material on western history in the State and other departments at Washington, D. C. It is also cooperating with the Centennial Commission of Illinois in the work of publishing a five-volume history of the State.

Illinois Jewish Historical Society.

Illinois State Historical Society. Springfield. 1890. 1,460 members. Otto L. Schmidt; Mrs. Jessie P. Weber, Capitol Bldg. Publications: Quarterly Journal, Annual Transactions. On Oct. 5, 1918, the corner stone of a Centennial Memorial Building was laid as a part of the State's centennial observance. This building when completed will provide quarters for the State historical library and society. The Historical Society held a special centennial meeting in April, 1918.

Jersey County Historical Society. Jerseyville. 1893. J. W. Vinson.

Johnson County Historical Society. Vienna. J. C. R. Heaton.

Kankakee County Historical Society. Kankakee. 1906. 54 members. Dr. B. F. Uran; Mrs. Orson B. Spencer. Interested in centennial celebration of the State of Illinois, 1918.

Knox County Historical Society. Galesburg. 1905. Mrs. Charles A. Webster.

La Saüe County Historical Society. Ottawa. C. C. Glover.

McCormick Historical Association. Chicago. 1885. Members of the Cyrus H. McCormick family and others by invitation. Herbert A. Keller, sec., 675 Rush Street. New library building completed. Addition of numerous manuscripts, books, periodicals, and newspapers falling within the period 1820-1900, relating to agriculture, the Presbyterian church, the Democratic Party, and mining, especially those which refer to harvesting machinery; the Seminary of the Northwest; Presbyterian reunion sentiment; National, State, and local campaigns, 1860-1884; and search for gold in the Carolinas, 1860-1884. Colonial furniture sufficient for a room has been discovered.

The McLean County Historical Society. Bloomington. Room 304, courthouse. 1892. 1,100 members. Henry McCormick; Dwight E. Frink. Publications authorized and under way. \$50,000 building fund campaign inaugurated. Steady growth of museum. Completion of membership campaign in which about one thousand were added. Society cooperating in the celebration of the Illinois centennial.

Macon County Historical Society. Decatur. John F. Wicks.

Macoupin County Historical Society. Carlinville. George Jordan.

Madison County Historical Society. Alton. Miss Julia Buckmaster.

Manlius-Rutland Historical Society. Marseilles. 1907. Frank T. Neff.

Maremech Historical Society. Plano. 1900. Geo. S. Faxon.

Montgomery County Historical Society. Hillsboro. 1905. 25 members. E. C. Richards; A. T. Strange. Publications: A history of the county written by the secretary, 1918. Have a small museum and adding to it from time to time. The county gives a room in the courthouse.

Morgan County Historical Society. Jacksonville. 1904. Frank J. Heintz.

New England Society of Rockford. Rockford. 1900.

Peoria Historical Society. Peoria. 1903. E. S. Wilcox; Mrs. Helen Wilson.

Pioneer Association of Will County. Joliet. 408 members. Hon. Dorrence Dibell; William W. Stevens.

The Polo Historical Society. Polo. 1904. J. W. Clinton.

Rock Island County Historical Society. Rock Island. John H. Hangerg.

St. Clair County Historical Society. Belleville. 1905. E. W. Plegge.

Sangamon County Old Settlers Association. Springfield. 1876.

Tazewell County Historical Society. Pekin. Mrs. W. R. Curran.

Whiteside County Historical Society. Sterling. 1903. L. C. Thorne; W. W. Davis. Income derived from city and contributions. Housed in city hall.

Woodford County Historical Society. 1903. 66 members. L. J. Freese; Miss Amanda L. Jennings, Eureka. Preparing manuscript for a Bulletin of the History of the Society.

INDIANA.

- Cass County Historical Society.* Logansport. 1907. About 80 members. J. Z. Powell, M. D.; Mrs. Mary E. Ballard, 100 Market Street, Logansport. All activities suspended on account of war.
- Department of Indiana History and Archives.* Indiana State Library, Statehouse, Indianapolis. 1913. Department of the State government. Harlow Lindley, director. Acquired papers and letters of John Tipton.
- Elkhart County Historical Society.* Goshen. 1896. 25 members. H. S. K. Bartholomew; Miss Luella Barlow. The war has engrossed the people's interest to such an extent that no more has been done than to hold the regular meetings and to provide for preserving the data relating to this county's participation in the war.
- Franklin County Historical Society.* Public Library, Brookville.
- Gary Historical Society.* Gary. 1915. 15 or 20 members. H. S. Norton; Louis J. Bailey. Gary Public Library. Acquired the Baker Collection of Indian relics, small in number but choice specimens. Mr. Baker for many years was secretary of Northern Indiana Historical Society. Number of books added to library. Cooperating with Lake County Historical Society in promoting authorship of papers and distribution of personal record sheets.
- Grant County Historical Society.* Marion. 30 members. I. M. Miller; R. L. Whitson. Income derived from dues. Housed in the city library.
- Hamilton County Historical Society.* Noblesville. 1894.
- Harrison County Historical Society.* Corydon. 1899.
- Henry County Historical Society.* Newcastle. 1886. 100 members. Adolph Rogers; John Thornburgh.
- Indiana Historical Commission.* Indianapolis. 1915. Nine members appointed by the governor. Hon. James P. Goodrich, governor of Indiana, president; Harlow Lindley, secretary. State Library, Indianapolis. Publications: *The Play-Party in Indiana*.
- Indiana Historical Society.* Indianapolis. 1831. 100 members. Daniel Wait Howe; J. P. Dunn, Dept. of Indiana History, State Library. Publications: *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association*, edited by H. Lindley; *Sieur de Vincennes identified*, by Roy; *Morgan's Raid in Indiana*, by Ewbank.
- Indiana Historical Survey.* Bloomington. 1912. History faculty of university. Logan Esarey, secretary. Publications: *Indiana Magazine of History* (quarterly); three volumes of Publications. We have devoted the year to completing our collections of Indiana State publications and to a collection of textbooks used in the schools during the last century.
- Jackson County Historical Society.* Seymour. 1916. 40 members. Richard A. Cox; John H. Thomas, Medora. Publications: Newspapers only. No bulletins issued yet, but will be in 1918. Erected three historical markers, including monument on site of Gen. Tipton's battleground. Cooperates with schools and library of Seymour. Arranging for records of present war. Had an exhibit of relics in connection with Indiana centenary celebration in 1916, so far as related to our county.
- Jay County Historical Association.* Portland. 1913. 45 members. Dr. John W. Hall; Miss Mary E. Boltin. Publications: Newspaper articles. Preparations made to have published a list of articles on pioneer history of the county.
- Johnson County Historical Society.* Franklin.
- Knox County Historical Society.* Vincennes. 1899.

Kosciusko County Historical Society. Warsaw.

La Porte County Historical Society. La Porte. 1906. Members, originally about 50, all pioneers or their descendants. William Niles; Mary Treat Clark, 1518 Michigan Ave. Headquarters at Public Library. Many interesting papers have been read and a tablet placed on site of old fort. Nearly all who were most deeply interested have passed away and it seems difficult to interest the present generation. Ten years ago we were younger and more alive.

Madison County Historical Society. Anderson.

Miami County Historical Society. Peru. 1916. 30 members. Hal C. Phelps; C. B. Cannon. We have a museum in the dome of the courthouse. Our hobby is the handicraft of our fathers. On each article we give a short family history. After our centennial we moved five wagon loads to the courthouse; much has been gathered since. Among the articles are pistol and scalping knife of She-pack-a-noh, the husband of Frances Slocum, the lost sister of Wyoming, and many other interesting articles. All articles are presented or loaned.

Monroe County Historical Society. Bloomington. 1905. 27 members. Dr. Logan Esarey; Dr. Ernest V. Shockley.

Montgomery County Historical Society. Carnegie Library, Crawfordsville. 1911.

Northern Indiana Historical Society. South Bend. 1895. 70 members. Dr. H. T. Montgomery; Frank A. Stover, 203 Citizens' Bank Bldg. This society's collection of books and historical objects outranks any other collection in Indiana, being exceeded in this vicinity only by the Chicago Historical Society.

Old Settlers and Historical Association of Lake County. Public library, Crown Point.

Owen County Historical Society. G. A. R. room, Spencer. 1916.

Porter County Historical Society. New Library building, Valparaiso.

Spencer County Historical Society. Rockport.

IOWA.

Davenport Academy of Sciences. Davenport. 1867. 300 members. George E. Decker; Edward K. Putnam, acting director. Collection of local historical material continued. The institution maintains its historical library and archives in a special room in a fireproof building. Mrs. Ruth Irish Preston is in charge.

Decatur County Historical Society. Decatur. About 150 members. Guy Arnold; Heman C. Smith, Lamoni. For several years the society has not manifested much activity. It is proposed to try to arouse a new interest in the summer of 1918.

Historical Department of Iowa. Des Moines. 1892. Edgar A. Harlan.

Historical Society of Linn County. Cedar Rapids. 75 members. B. L. Wick; Luther A. Brewer.

Jefferson County Historical Society. Glendale. 1903. Hiram Heaton.

Lucas County Historical Society. Chariton. 200 members. Warren S. Dungan; Mrs. F. H. Boynton. Income from members' fees. One room in Public Library.

The State Historical Society of Iowa. Iowa City. 1857. 650 members. Euclid Sanders; Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent. Publications: *Iowa and War* (series issued monthly); *Biography of Samuel J. Kirkwood*;

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley; Old Fort Snelling; and The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (issued quarterly). Since the beginning of the war emphasis is being placed on military and war history so far as the researches and publications of the society are concerned.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society. Topeka. 1876. Membership 1,500, including the newspapers of Kans. George P. Morehouse; Wm. E. Connelley. Publications: List of Kansas Newspapers. Usual work; usual growth.

KENTUCKY.

Filson Club. Louisville. 1884. 200 members. Alfred Pirtle; Otto A. Rothert, 1321 Starks Building. Publications: The Kentucky River Navigation, by Mary Virhoeff, 1917; The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850, by Asa Earl Martin, Ph. D., 1918. Meetings first Monday of every month except July and August.

Kentucky State Historical Society. Frankfort. Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, secretary. Publications: Kentucky Historical Register.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society. New Orleans. 1836. 650 members active, 10 honorary. Gaspar Cusachs; Robert Glenk, corresponding secretary; Miss Grace King, recording secretary, Cabildo, Jackson Square, New Orleans. Publications: Report and Proceedings for 1916-17; Louisiana Historical Quarterly. Louisiana Historical Quarterly publication begun. Plans maturing for great celebration of bicentennial of founding of New Orleans, February 9, 10, 11, 1918. Laying of corner stone of proposed statue to Bienville, February 9, 1918. Committee sent by city of New Orleans to Paris to commemorate with French Government events which lead up to founding of New Orleans, October 24, 1918.

MAINE.

Bangor Historical Society. Bangor. 1864. 225 members. Henry Lord; Edward Mitchell Blanding. A year of reasonable activity with numerous accessions to membership and important additions to museum and library. Annual field day was held in early October at Indian Island, Old Town, Me., where the society donated an oak library table to the new Community House.

Maine Genealogical Society. Portland. 1884. 250-300 members. LeRoy F. Tobie, 457 Cumberland Avenue. On Jan. 1, 1917, total number of bound volumes, 3,943; pamphlets, 3,246.

Maine Historical Society. 485 Congress Street, Portland. 1822 (in Brunswick). 292 members. Hon. James P. Baxter; Hon. W. D. Patterson, corresponding sec.; Charles Thornton Libby, recording sec. Publications: None in 1917. In 1916, vols. 21 to 24, Collections, documentary series. No appropriation from the State this year. Museum and collection of books and manuscripts are steadily growing. Winter course of lectures was well attended. Energy at present is spent in making available mass of material, which has never been catalogued.

Piscataquis County Historical Society. Dover. 1908. 75 members. John Francis Sprague; Edgar Crosby Smith, corresponding secretary. 1917 has been a blank year; planning for activity in 1918. Propose to place memorial tablets at the birthplaces of Sir Hiram S. Maxim and Edgar Wilson Nye.

MARYLAND.

Historical Society of Harford County. Belair. A. Finney Galbreath; J. Alexis Shriver.

Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore. 1844. 772 members. Edwin Warfield; Richard H. Spencer, corresponding sec. Publications: *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. XII; *Archives of Maryland (for the State)*, vol. 37. New building in course of erection. Genealogical collection of R. T. Semmes of Savannah, Ga., received by bequest. Several church records and burial-ground records copied and indexed.

Methodist Protestant Historical Society. 316 North Charles Street, Baltimore. 1912. 30 members. Rev. J. W. Trout; Rev. J. H. Straughn. The library consists of a collection of books, pamphlets, portraits, etc., on Methodism.

Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland. Baltimore. 1871. 860 members. Lieut. McHenry Howard; Capt. William L. Ritter, Reisterstown, Maryland.

Society for the History of Germans in Maryland. Baltimore. 1886. 45 members. Dr. Ernest J. Becker; J. Leonard Hoffman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Amherst Historical Society. Amherst. Organized 1899; incorporated 1903. 83 regular, 27 life members. Mrs. Mabel Loomis Todd; Rev. Chas. S. Walker, Ph. D. The oldest house in town, built in 1744, was bequeathed to the society by Mrs. Felicia E. Welch, with small fund for maintenance, and was taken over by the society for its permanent home, October 1, 1916. Many additions to our excellent collection of local antiques have been made during the year. Mrs. Anson D. Morse, in memory of her husband, many years professor of history in Amherst College, has contributed the making and care of an old-fashioned garden on the grounds of the society.

Arlington Historical Society. Arlington. 1897. Fred. C. Fowle.

The Bay State Historical League. 1903. Composed of societies ranging in membership from 8 to 1,150. Sherwin L. Cook; Alexander Starbuck, Waltham, Mass. Publications: *Proceedings*. Meetings are held usually with local societies in various parts of the State, the purpose being to stimulate and unify the work of local associations, to obviate duplication of work, and to indicate the needed lines of endeavor.

Bedford Historical Society. Bedford. 1893.

Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society. Pittsfield. 1878. 100 members. Joseph Pierson; Harlan H. Ballard. The society is an adjunct of the Berkshire Athenæum and Museum, and maintains no separate collection.

Beverly Historical Society. Beverly. 1891. 106 members. George E. Woodberry; Rev. B. R. Bulkeley.

Billerica Historical Society. Billerica. 1896. 57 members. Warren Stearns; Clara E. Sexton.

The Bostonian Society. The Old State House, Boston. 1881. About 1,150 members. Grenville H. Norcross; Charles F. Read. Publications: *Annual Proceedings*, 1917; *Bostonian Society Publications*, ser. 2, vol. II.

Brookline Historical Society. 1891. 225 members. Edward W. Baker.

Cambridge Historical Society. Cambridge. 1905. 200 members. William Roscoe Thayer; Samuel F. Batchelder, 721 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass. Publications: Vol. X of *Proceedings*; *Letters of John Holmes*. Only the three stated meetings, with usual papers and addresses.

Canton Historical Society. Canton. 1871. W. M. Tenney.

- Clinton Historical Society.* Clinton. 1903. 108 members. Wellington E. Parkhurst, 98 Cedar Street, Clinton. F. T. Holder endowment, \$23,540.
- Club of Odd Volumes.* Boston. 1886. 65 members. Henry W. Cunningham; James P. Parmenter.
- The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.* Boston. 1892. Membership, resident, 96; corresponding, 28; honorary, 3. Fred Norris Robinson, Ph. D.; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D. D. Address, Henry H. Edes, treasurer, 30 State Street, Boston. Publication: Transactions, vol. 18. 1915-16. A bequest of \$20,000 from one of our resident members, to be added to the publications funds. The resident membership of the society is limited to 100 persons.
- The Concord Antiquarian Society.* Concord. 1886. 118 members. Adam Tolman; Henry F. Smith, jr. Occasional meetings held and papers read. Numerous articles added to the museum, including a large collection of Indian relics gathered in this locality.
- Connecticut Valley Historical Society.* Springfield. 1876. Henry S. Booth. The society has about 250 members, and publishes Papers and Proceedings.
- Danvers Historical Society.* Danvers. 1889.
- Dedham Historical Society.* Dedham. 1859. 180 members. Julius H. Tuttle; Charles E. Mills, recording secretary; Walter Austin, corresponding secretary. No publications since the suspension of the Dedham Historical Register in 1893, except this year a list of Dedham's Revolutionary soldiers, by Frank Smith. The society continues to hold monthly meetings from October to May, with an average attendance of about 90; building, with library of several thousand volumes and collection of manuscripts and an interesting collection of historical relics, open every week-day afternoon, in charge of two assistant librarians. The society aims to encourage the interest in local and general history, and to identify itself with the best civic interests.
- Dorchester Historical Society.* Dorchester. 1891. 140 members. Edwin J. Lewis, jr.; Isaac T. Ripley, 7 Mt. Everett St.
- The Essex Institute.* Salem. 1848. 589 members. William C. Endicott; George Francis Dow. Publications: Historical Collections, vol. 53; Annual report; Inscriptions in Central Burying Ground, Boston; Probate records of Essex Co. quarterly courts, vol. 5; Vital record of Salem, vol. 1; Plumer Genealogy; History of the Eastern Railroad; Visitors Guide to Salem (new edition); total, 2,688 printed pages. Purchased Pierce-Nichols House, built in Salem in 1783; the Hammond collection of clocks (152) and watches (31). Constructed an annex building to museum (28 by 56 feet) to contain the coarser furniture, tools, and utensils, transportation, basketry, stoves, etc. The library has acquired the Waters-Withington-Lea genealogical MSS., relating to English research, the largest collection now in the country, including abstracts of 50,000 wills, chancery proceedings, index of 75,000 names, copies or abstracts from 600 parish registers, acts books, note books, etc.
- Fitchburg Historical Society.* Grove St., Fitchburg. 1892. 225 members. Charles Fosdick; Ebenezer Bailey.
- The Foxboro Historical Society.* Foxboro. 1898. 24 members at present, formerly much larger. Merton R. Wheeler; Miss Mary E. Clark. Our building is unique in that it was years ago a reservoir for one or two families then in town, consequently the walls being about a foot and a little over in thickness, it is fireproof; round in shape. The hill on which it is built formerly was called Beacon Hill because beacons first were built upon it. Have a very large collection of articles.

- Groton Historical Society.* Groton. 1894.
- The Harvard Commission on Western History.* Cambridge. 1912. 13 members. Andrew McF. Davis, chairman; Roger Pierce, secretary. Address, Thomas P. Martin, archivist, Room 47, Widener Memorial Library, Cambridge. An account of the recent acquisitions of the commission is printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for September, 1917. Three scrap books of ancient advertising matter in connection with the sale of the Nebraska Land Grant, have recently been added.
- Harvard History Club.* Cambridge. 40 members. R. F. Arragon, 62 College House.
- Haverhill Historical Society.* Haverhill. 1897. 300 members. E. G. Frothingham; Mrs. Mabel D. Mason, corresponding secretary, 3 Belvidere Road. At the present time we are building a fireproof assembly hall to seat 200, with cases around the sides, the gift of two members. This is joined to our main building, "The Buttonwoods," a fine old colonial home with very large fireproof room.
- Hingham Historical Society.* Hingham. 1914. 94 members. Charles Benjamin Barnes; William Wallace Dunt, clerk and secretary. P. O. box 25. Publication No. 1, The Old Salt Works, by Orrin Brewster Sears. Gifts received, 93 commissions, tax lists, and (manuscript) public papers relating to Hingham. Cooperated with Commonwealth in reinstating original names to highways in town. Furnished entertainment to marines and jackies stationed at Naval Reservation and Camp Hingham. Compiled epitaphs in all cemeteries and private burial tombs in Hingham. Supported Liberty Bond and Red Cross drives. Collected records of soldiers, sailors, and marines, natives and citizens of Hingham.
- Historical and Natural History Society of Dover and Vicinity.* Dover. 1895, inc. 1900. 175 members. Frank Smith, 125 Court Street, Dedham; Mrs. Sarah Higgins. Publications: Genealogical Sketches, by Frank Smith.
- Historical Society of Old Newbury.* Newburyport. 400 members. Harriet E. Jones, 34 Boardman St.
- Historical Society of Watertown.* 1888. Walter C. Stone.
- Holliston Historical Society.* Holliston. 1910. 200 members. Willis A. Kingsbury; Frank Haviland.
- Hyde Park Historical Society.* Hyde Park. 1887. Now 55 members. Quite a loss by death during the past year. Horace Summer; Mrs. Herbert Greenwood, 1065 River St.
- Ipswich Historical Society.* Ipswich. 1890. Thomas Franklin Waters.
- Leominster Historical Society.* Leominster. 1906. 250 members. Charles K. Davis; Wm. H. Durant, 45 Mt. Pleasant Ave.
- Lexington Historical Society.* Lexington. 1886. 300 members. Herbert G. Locke; Miss Mabel P. Cook.
- Littleton Historical Society.* Littleton. 1894. The society has 15 members and possesses two cases of relics. Miss S. F. White.
- Lowell Historical Society.* Lowell. Francis Appleton, care Locks and Canals Co. The society has about 200 members and \$1,500.
- Lynn Historical Society.* Lynn. 765 members. William E. Dorman. Books, 2,500.
- Malden Historical Society.* Malden. 1886. 160 members. Hon. Charles E. Mann; Geo. W. Chamberlain, 29 Hillside Avenue. Publications: Register No. 5. The library has been arranged so that it is accessible to members and special students of local history.

- Marblehead Historical Society.* 1898, inc. 1902. 450 members. Hon Wm. D. T. Trefry; Miss Hannah Tutt, 15 Washington Street.
- Massachusetts Historical Society.* 1154 Boylston Street, Boston. 1791. 100 resident members, 50 corresponding, 10 honorary. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge; Edward Stanwood, recording secretary; Wm. R. Thayer, corresponding secretary. Publications: Proceedings, vol. 50 (October, 1916-June, 1917); Collections, vol. 72 (Warren-Adams Letters, vol. 1, 1743-1777).
- Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.* 53 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1896. Governor Rev. Frederick B. Allen; George Ernest Bowman. Publications: The Mayflower Descendant (a quarterly), vol. 19; Pilgrim Notes and Queries (8 times a year), vol. 5.
- Medfield Historical Society.* Medfield. 1891. 34 members, some not active and ministers excused from paying dues, but few charter members left. Rev. Albert E. Hylan; Harriet A. Fowle. A small country society can not afford yearly publications. Since the Town History by a member, and a catechism for schools made from it by another member, and a few souvenir booklets for the town's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, nothing has been published. After storing most of our belongings for several years, though we have held quarterly meetings, we are to have the use of one room in the new Historical Library, and have moved in part of our things. We are to share the room for meetings with the Civic Association. The town selectmen never have become much interested in historical societies, and required the room we used to occupy in the town hall building. We received this year, an etching by J. A. S. Monks, the sheep painter, once resident in Medfield, also other pictures and books, and a little money. We have always cooperated with the public schools, as much as possible. Lately we have had a few gifts from the Public Library trustees, and from a former member, now non-resident. This year our members spent most of their strength and money on war work, so we have little regular work to report. We have added homestead papers to our books of homesteads, this year, and have about 25 prominent homesteads already, with more promised. The town dates back to 1651.
- Medford Historical Society.* Medford. 1896. 150 members. Moses W. Mann; Geo. S. V. Fuller, corresponding secretary, 7 Alfred St. Publication: Historical Register, vol. 20. Have erected a new building at a cost of about \$5,000.
- Medway Historical Society.* Medway. 1901. 75 members. Herbert N. Hixon; Ambrose R. Saunders, U. S. N.; David B. Hixon, acting secretary, West Medway. A number of valuable genealogical books added, given by children of former members. April, 1917, patriotic meeting to which town officers, patriotic societies and townspeople were invited; June 17, memorial exercises to revolutionary soldiers of Medway, boy scouts and S. of V. invited to assist in decorating graves. We make a special effort to interest the young people of our village. We always have music at the meeting, which is followed by refreshments with social, at which old and young join in a "Virginia reel." We have done this for 6 or 8 years and the historical society holds a unique place in our community life, the old, young and middle-aged come together with no constraint and join in the social, and the young feel a loyalty for their town and for their historical society.
- Mendon Historical Society.* Mendon. 1897. 200 members. Mrs. L. W. Holbrook.
- Methuen Historical Society.* Methuen. 1895. 110 members. Joseph S. Howe; Elizabeth B. Carrier.

- Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.* Cadet Armory, Columbus Avenue, Boston. 1876, inc. 1891. About 200 members. Colonel Thomas L. Livermore; William Ropes Trask. About to publish our volume 14, consisting of papers read before the society.
- Milton Historical Society.* Milton. 1904. 357 members. Nathaniel T. Kidder; Eleanor P. Martin, recording secretary; Alice C. Breck, corresponding secretary. Publications: Twelfth Annual Report. Bibliography of Milton, in preparation; also an Index to History of Milton, Teele, 1887.
- Nantucket Historical Association.* Nantucket. 1894. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Bennett.
- New England Catholic Historical Society.* Boston. 1901. W. A. Leahy, 64 Pemberton Square.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society.* 9 Ashburton Place, Boston. 1844. 1,345 members. James Phinney Baxter, Portland Me., recording secretary; Alfred Johnson, Brookline, Mass., corresponding secretary; G. Andrews Moriarty, jr., Newport, R. I. Publications: New England Historical and Genealogical Register (quarterly with supplement, about 500 pages); East Bridgewater, Charlemont, and Windsor Vital Records.
- New England Methodist Historical Society.* 1881. Rev. George F. Durgin, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston.
- Newton Historical Society.* 1902. Frank A. Mason, 31 Milk Street, room 210, Boston.
- Oakham Historical Society.* Oakham. 1899. 62 members. Prof. Henry P. Wright; Dr. Henry B. Wright, Oakham, Mass. The president and secretary are writing the history of the town of Oakham, 2 vols. with genealogies. The society has a room in the library building and a collection of antique articles of historic worth.
- Old Planters' Society.* Salem. 1899, inc. 1908. Dr. Frank A. Gardner; Miss Lucie M. Gardner, 4 Lynde Street. Several public meetings at which addresses have been given on various phases of New England life and activity and early history of Massachusetts towns.
- Old South Association in Boston.* Washington St., Boston. 1877. 100 members. Charles W. Eliot; Courtenay Crocker, 845 Tremont Bldg. Publications: Leaflets, "William Knox on American Taxation, 1769"; "John Quincy Adams and others on the Peace of Ghent, 1814"; "The Treaty of Ghent and Negotiations that followed, 1814-1818"; "The Triumph of the Union, by Charles De Montalembert in 1865."
- Orange Historical and Antiquarian Society.* Orange. Mrs. C. M. Mayo, 24 Winter St. The society has 20 members and a room in the Wheeler Memorial Library.
- Peabody Historical Society.* Peabody. 1896. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Osborn, Warren National Bank Building, Peabody Square.
- Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.* Deerfield. 1870. M. Elizabeth Stebbins.
- Prince Society.* Boston. 1858. Albert Matthews, 12 Bosworth Street.
- Quinabaug Historical Society.* Southbridge. 1899. 125 members. John M. Cochran; Mary E. Clemence, 5 South Street. Publications: We have two volumes of 25 papers each printed and bound and eight leaflets printed but not bound.
- Quincy Historical Society.* Quincy. 1893. Elizabeth H. Alden.
- Roxbury Historical Society.* Roxbury. Organized as Roxbury Military Historical Society, 1891; reorganized 1901. 3 honorary, 10 life, 299 regular members. Sherwin L. Cook; Walter R. Meins, Municipal Court Building.

Publications: Yearbook for 1917. During 1917, Roxbury High Fort, a Revolutionary landmark, having been restored to its original appearance, including replicas of Revolutionary cannon, was dedicated as a public park. A patriotic parade followed. All was under direction of this society. The society also observed its 25th anniversary by a banquet, and entertained the Bay State Historical League in October.

Rumford Historical Association. North Woburn. 1877. 200 members. William R. Cutter; Andrew R. Linsett, 2 Poole Street.

Sharon Historical Society. Sharon. 1903. 75 members. Edmund H. Hewins; John G. Phillips.

Shepard Historical Society. Cambridge. 1889. 25-40, average membership. Rev. Raymond Calkins; Miss Marion F. Lansing, corner Garden and Mason Streets.

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Boston. 1910. 1,593 members. Charles Knowles Bolton; William S. Appleton. Publications: Bulletin. We moved into our own building, the old Harrison Gray Otis house, 2 Lynde Street, Boston, which is now our headquarters. Work of restoration is temporarily halted by the war. All our collections are growing better and faster than normally.

South Natick Historical Society and Natural History and Library Society. South Natick. 1873. About 100 members. Mrs. Mary Esty; Mrs. Martha Bean. Museum room open to visitors free on Wednesday and Saturday p. m. 2.30 till 5.30 in Bacon Free Library building, except on holidays.

Swampscott Historical Society. Swampscott. 1905. Rev. G. A. Jackson.

Topsfield Historical Society. Topsfield. 1894. 253 members. Charles J. Peabody; George Francis Dow. Publications: Historical Collections, vol. 22.

Unitarian Historical Society. 25 Beacon St., Boston. 1902. George Hale Reed.

Wakefield Historical Society. Wakefield. 1905. Fred M. Young.

Westboro Historical Society. Westboro. 1889. 130 members. Charles M. Packard; Miss Geneva A. Perry. Early in the year we rented a hall for a term of years. In the spring we added about 50 members. Nov. 16, 1917, the society celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town. We hold monthly meetings; 1917-18 program consisted of annual meeting, two entertainments, two socials, one musical, two lectures, and field day.

Winthrop Improvement and Historical Association. Winthrop. 1903. 215 members. Elmer E. Dawson; Mrs. Lucy Hall Greenlaw, 47 Sunnyside avenue. Association owns its house, which was built about 1640, and is the home of Deane Winthrop, son of Gov. John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. It owns a museum and historical collection pertaining to local history and families. As its name implies, the society is also active in civic interests. As the house is often crowded to capacity, the association looks forward to a new auditorium in the future.

Worcester Society of Antiquity. Worcester. 1875. Walter Davidson, 39 Salisbury St.

MICHIGAN.

Antrim County Pioneer Association. Central Lake, Antrim County. There was a flourishing Pioneer Association here in this county for a number of years, but many of the old settlers having passed away, it was allowed to lapse, and last winter a few gathered in the courthouse at Bellaire and reorganized; the meetings to be held at the courthouse, and the use of a vault in the judge of probate's office to keep records and mementoes was tendered. The

officers elected were Dempster H. Stebbins, president; Mary Morrow, secretary. There is so much to do on account of the war, with the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other matters that no meeting has been called since, but we are only waiting, not dead.

Barry County Pioneer and Historical Society. Hastings. 1873. Approximately 200 members. Hon. W. W. Potter; Hon. Charles A. Weissert, Hastings, Mich. No publications are official. Historical papers prepared for the annual meetings are always published in local newspapers. This society has undertaken the task of placing monuments on historical places in Barry County. The site of the American Fur Co.'s post, established in 1828 at Bull's prairie near Hastings, has been commemorated with a handsome field-stone monument bearing a bronze tablet. Other places will be marked.

Charlevoix Historical Society. Charlevoix. 1879. About 100 members. Brayton Saltonstall; Miss Mary E. Clarke, 408 Mason Street. Publications: Usual program and Yearbook. Celebrated July 31, 1917, the 196th anniversary of passing of Father Charlevoix along our shores.

Clinton County Pioneer Society. St. Johns. 1874. About 1,600 names enrolled on record book, many dead. Theo. H. Townsend; Mrs. C. D. Pearce, Dewitt. Publications: Reports of annual meeting in June and Pioneer picnic in August. Sixteen historians were appointed a few years ago to collect historical facts from each township in Clinton Co. Histories not complete yet.

Delta County Pioneer and Historical Society. Escanaba. 1916. 73 members. F. X. Barth; Miss Lura E. Brubaker, Carnegie Public Library, Escanaba.

Historical Society of Branch County. Coldwater. 1902. 10 members. Hon. Henry E. Straight; Rev. H. P. Collin, 98 East Chicago Street. The society has made a collection, as nearly complete as possible, of all newspapers ever published in the county, from 1841.

Historical Society of Grand Rapids. Grand Rapids. 1895. 42 members. Roger W. Butterfield; Samuel H. Ranck, Grand Rapids Library.

Huron County Pioneer and Historical Society. Bad Axe. 1914. 104 members. W. F. Bope; Florence M. Gwinn, Pigeon; address for mail, W. F. Bope, Bad Axe. Publications: Sketches given by pioneers were published by the county papers in full. 12 new members. Held a picnic at Bad Axe, June, 1917, pioneers giving sketches of the earlier days in the county. The secretary is gathering material for a history of the county in the near future. Expect to have a midwinter meeting at which articles in use in pioneer days will be exhibited.

Keweenaw Historical Society. Copper Country of Michigan; headquarters, Houghton. 1912. 150 members. J. T. Reeder; J. A. Doelle. Bibliography of region prepared and edited by J. A. Doelle.

Michigan Historical Commission. Lansing. 1913. Six members, appointed by governor, with governor ex officio. Claude H. Van Tyne; George N. Fuller, Lansing. Publications: Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan; Harris, Public Life of Zachariah Chandler. Appropriation increased from \$6,000 to \$15,000; archives in State capitol partially listed; several minor publications issued; Michigan History Magazine begun, quarterly, no. 1, July, 1917, no. 2, Oct. closed vol. 1.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Lansing. 1874. 800 members. Hon. Augustus C. Carton; George N. Fuller, Lansing. Publishing activities taken over by the Michigan Historical Commission in 1913. Membership and museum collections materially increased; greatly increased interest in meetings (May, August and January), in different parts of the State; several new county societies organized on uniform plan as auxiliaries in the collecting of local materials.

St. Joseph County Historical and Pioneer Society. Centreville. 1873. Not a close association; everyone is a member who has resided in the county 20 years. Henry Worthington; Frank S. Cummings. Publications: Newspaper reports of annual meeting on the second Wednesday in June. Very considerable additions were made to the county museum in 1916-17.

MINNESOTA.

Canby Old Settlers Association. Canby.

Danish Pioneers. Minneapolis.

Lake Pepin Valley Old Settlers Association. Lake City.

Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul. 1849. Charles P. Noyes; Solon J. Buck, St. Paul. Publications: Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, nos. 1-4; Nineteenth Biennial Report. New \$500,000 building erected by the State for the society and the State archives completed and dedicated, 1918.

Minnesota Territorial Pioneers. Old Capitol Building, St. Paul. 1897. 3,000 members. George H. Hazard.

Old Settlers Historical Society, of Pipestone. Pipestone City. 1880. 100 members. Charles H. Burnett.

Winona County Old Settlers Association. Winona.

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Jackson. 1902, by act of legislature. Board of trustees, nine members; executive officer, Dunbar Rowland, director. In charge of archives, art gallery, and museum, historical manuscripts, historical library, diffusion of knowledge of Mississippi history. Over 1,000,000 historical documents collected, scientifically classified, and guide published. Collections from French archives, 34 volumes; from English, 20 volumes; from Spanish, 9 volumes. Collection of Mississippi newspapers, files, 1805-1919. Publications: Twenty-one volumes of historical sources, registers, reports. Recent publication, Letter Books of Gov. W. C. C. Claiborne, 6 volumes.

Mississippi Historical Society. Jackson. 1890, reorganized 1898. Dunbar Rowland. Publications: 15 vols. to 1914; new series, "Centenary series" in honor of one hundredth anniversary of the State's admission to the Union.

MISSOURI.

Missouri Baptist Historical Society. Liberty. 1886. 36 members. Prof. R. P. Rider; Dr. E. C. Griffith, 315 N. Lightburne St. Publications: Vol. 3, Missouri Baptist Biography.

Missouri Historical Society. St. Louis. 1866. 608 members. Hon. David R. Francis; Mr. Charles Parsons Pettus, Jefferson Memorial. Publications: Thomas James, Three years among the Indians and Mexicans (Waterloo, 1846), edited with notes and biographical sketches by Judge Walter B. Douglas; Walter B. Stevens, A Reporter's Lincoln. Unusual collection of firearms, two large collections of books, historical and genealogical, manuscripts relating to fur trade and the West.

Pike County Historical Society. Louisiana. 1904. 100 members. F. D. Stechter; Clayton Keith, M. D., 2105 Georgia St. Publications: Sketch of the Jackson family; Military History of Pike County. Dedicated a stone and bronze marker at the site of old Buffalo Fort near Louisiana, Mo.

The State Historical Society of Missouri. Columbia. 1898. 550 pay members; 500 editorial; 200 exchange. Dr. Walter B. Stevens; Floyd C. Shoemaker. Publications: *The Missouri Historical Review*. Additions: Over 600 volumes of old Missouri newspapers, 1850-1898.

MONTANA.

State Historical and Miscellaneous Library. Helena. Organized as State Historical Society, 1865. No members. C. B. Power; F. F. Steele; W. Y. Pemberton, librarian. Publications: Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, vol. 8.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society. Lincoln. 1878. 1,300 members. Samuel C. Bassett; Addison E. Sheldon, Station A, Lincoln. Publications: Vol. 18; *The Veto Power in Nebraska*, pamphlet. Close cooperation arranged and ratified by governing bodies of the historical society, legislative reference bureau, university history departments, university library, and Nebraska Society Sons of the American Revolution, and Nebraska Society Daughters of the American Revolution. The special situation in Nebraska created during the past year warrants an additional note of information: In January last the director of the legislative reference bureau was elected superintendent and secretary of the State Historical Society. One of the main purposes in this action by the historical society was to unite and coordinate the work of research in Nebraska history and ethnology under one head. At the same time was unanimously ratified the report of a committee whose members were appointed by the historical society, the State university, and the State librarian. This report contemplates the erection of a historical and university library building on the university campus which shall house all the State-supported libraries at the capitol except the law library at the State house. In pursuance of this policy of unification the present director of the reference bureau and superintendent of the historical society was unanimously elected secretary and registrar of the Nebraska Society Sons of the American Revolution, and the library and archives of that society removed from Omaha to the historical society's rooms. There also are the principal collections of the Nebraska Society Daughters of the American Revolution.

NEVADA.

The Nevada Historical Society. Reno. 1904. About 200 members. Judge G. F. Talbot; Miss Jeanne E. Wier, 844 North Center St. Publications: *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, vol. 1; *Pageant of Nevada History*. *History of Taxation in Nevada*, now in press.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The New Hampshire Genealogical Society. Dover. 1903. Hon. A. G. Whittemore; Fred E. Quimby, City Hall, Dover.

New Hampshire Historical Society. Concord. 1823. 700 members. Frank N. Parsons; Otis G. Hammond. Publications: *Proceedings*, vol. 5.

Manchester Historic Association. Manchester. 1896. 230 members. William P. Farmer; Fred C. Lamb, 452 Merrimack St. Publications: 1917 meeting; in previous years, 12 vols. of *Collections*. *Collections of relics*, which are lo-

cated in two fine, large, well-lighted rooms in the Carpenter Memorial Public Library, are growing fast. Open to public on Saturday afternoons, 2 to 5 p. m. Fred W. Lamb, curator. Include Gen. John Stark relics, Indian relics, military uniforms and equipment of the earlier years in our locality; old prints and portraits of the early settlers, guns, instruments, and old utensils of the olden times, etc.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society. Hackensack. 1902. 130 members. Cornelius V. R. Bogert; Theodore Romaine, Main St., Hackensack. Publications: Annual papers and proceedings, 1917; Gen. Greene's orderly book (pertaining to Bergen Co.); Justices and Freeholders records, 1715-1782. We have the use of a large new room in the Johnson Public Library, making it possible for the installation of new cases in which our collections, classified, are arranged and exhibited. The growing collection of colonial household articles and hardware, and valuable deeds, wills, etc., shows an encouraging interest in the society and its efforts. Among our many gifts are a number of the articles used in the wool industry. An exhibition of same, with an illustrated talk as to the methods of preparing the wool for knitting 100 years ago, was given during the Christmas holidays. Our society has under consideration the erection of a large wooden tablet on the lawn of the courthouse to bear the names of all the Bergen County boys enlisted in the war, the complete list to be kept on record in our rooms. The women's auxiliary are planning for a Home Land textile exhibit.

Gloucester County Historical Society. Woodbury. 1903. John G. Whittall; Wm. M. Carter. Publications: One pamphlet, embracing three papers, one by Isabella C. McGeorge. The Heroine of Red Bank; one by Dr. Wallace McGeorge, The Battle of Gloucester; and one by Dr. Wallace McGeorge, Lost Towns and Hamlets in Gloucester County.

Hunterdon County Historical Society. Flemington. 1885. 51 members. Hugh C. Nevius; H. E. Deats. Marriage records of the county are being published by the librarian individually, and the members are working together in copying tombstone inscriptions which will be published.

Monmouth County Historical Association. Red Bank. 275 members. John S. Aplegate; Edward S. Atwood, 1 Broad Street.

New Brunswick Historical Club. New Brunswick. 1870. About 75 members paying dues. Austin Scott; John H. Logan. Meetings have been held regularly (save for a short interval in the late seventies) and papers read monthly during 8 months of the year. Three pamphlets have been published. Further publication of local historical documents is proposed.

New Jersey Historical Society. 16 West Park Street, Newark. 1845. 900 members. Hon. Francis J. Swayze; A. V. D. Honeyman. Publications: New Jersey Archives, 1st ser., vol. 29; 2d ser., vol. 5; Proceedings, fourth (new) ser., vol. 2.

Princeton Historical Association. Princeton. 1900. E. C. Richardson, University Library.

Salem County Historical Society. Salem. 1884. 70 members. Edward S. Sharpe, M. D.; George W. Price. Additions to the Duval collections of ceramics. Books and pamphlets added to the library.

Somerset Historical Society. Somerville. About 100 members. Hon. James J. Bergen; John T. Reger. Publications: Somerset County Historical Quarterly.

Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society. Vineland. 1864. 42 members. Dr. Joseph A. Conwell; Frank D. Andrews. Publications: Annual report. Addition to the museum of a collection of Indian relics from Cape May Co.,

Indian pottery, modern Indian jewelry, basket work, etc., collected by the late Frank Leaming of Cape May Court House and presented to the society by Mr. Leaming.

Women's Burlington County Historical Society. Burlington. 1915. 318 members. Miss Rebekah B. Wells; Mrs. George D. McIlvaine, Beverly. Special committees on current history, early schools, old mills, samplers, King's Highway, noted men, membership, entertainment, Y. M. C. A. pageant, etc. Genealogical room. Indian, Civil War, Revolutionary, and Colonial relics added, also books. New Jersey Society (women's branch) held mid-winter meeting in Burlington.

NEW MEXICO.

New Mexico Historical Society. Santa Fe. 1859. 100 members. L. Bradford Prince, LL. D.; M. M. Berger, Belen. Established department of patriotic pictures, photographs of all engaged in war of 1917.

NEW YORK.

Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society. 400 members. J. Townsend Lansing; William Gorham Rice. We have a course of lectures during the winter and various exhibits during the year. Our permanent collections consist of works of art, paintings, sculpture, china, and historical relics.

Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society. Brooklyn.

Buffalo Historical Society. 1862. Approximately 700 members. Hon. Henry W. Hill; Frank H. Severance, Historical Building, Buffalo. Publications: Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 2 vols., constituting vols. 20 and 21, Buffalo Historical Society, Publications series, published for the general trade by Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y.; Report of annual meeting. Accession to MSS. collections: The Porteous Papers, gift of Mr. Henry R. Howland; important for study of trade and traffic conditions, New York and Canada, latter half of 18th century. This institution shared in forming a Federation of Historical Societies of the old Genesee Country (New York west of Seneca Lake), June 1917. In preparation for publication in 1918: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Senecas and Oneidas, Government agent and founder of Hamilton College.

Canistota Valley Historical Society. Hornell.

City History Club of New York. New York. 1896, inc. 1897. About 200 supporting members (student members fluctuating). Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn; Mrs. Carr Van Anda, 105 West Fortieth Street. Publications: *The Beaver*, 3 issues. Held an exhibition of historical scrapbooks and albums of old New York. Children engaged in Red Cross work of all sorts. Marked two historical milestones in New York with ceremonies.

Dutchess County Historical Society. Pleasant Valley.

Falls House Memorial Collection. Newburgh. William Stanbrough.

Flushing Historical Society. Flushing. Leon C. Case.

Genesee Country Historical Federation. 1917. Sanford D. Van Alstine, Palmyra. 15 societies are members.

Geneva Historical Society. Geneva. Katherine S. B. Duryea.

Herkimer County Historical Society. Herkimer. 1896. 200 members. Arthur T. Smith. Occupies room in Public Library.

Historical and Genealogical Society of the town of Cortland. Peekskill.

- Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands.* Newburgh. 1883. W. C. Belknap, 112 1st St.
- Historical Society of Saratoga*, including the upper Hudson, Lake George, and Lake Champlain. Saratoga Springs. 1883. 125 members. James Madison Andrews; Irving I. Goldsmith. Society maintains a museum in the Saratoga Casino; includes a large and rare collection of Indian arrowheads. Preserves a record of important current local events, and is preparing a history of Saratoga Springs from the time of the arrival of the first settlers.
- Holland Purchase Historical Society.* Batavia. Before 1893. 250 members. Mrs. Frances Thomas; L. W. Griswold; address for mail, Frank S. Wood. Headquarters at office of Holland Land Co., erected 1804; dedicated to memory of Robert Morris at celebration 1893. Museum, especially papers. Also own log cabin on fair ground, with annual exhibition. Member Genesee Country Federation.
- Holland Society of New York.* New York City. 1885. 1,000 members. Seymour Van Santvoord; Frederick R. Keator, 90 West St. Publications: Year book.
- Huntington Historical Society.* Huntington. D. Elizabeth Irwin.
- Johnstown Historical Society.* Johnstown. 1892. 73 members. Harwood Dudley; Alonzo M. Young.
- Kings County Historical Society.* Brooklyn. C. H. Scrwin, Room 42, 250 Fulton St.
- Livingston County Historical Society.* Geneseo. 1875. 280 members. William H. Brodie.
- The Long Island Historical Society.* Brooklyn. 1863. 447 members. Hon. Willard Bartlett; Cyril H. Burdett. Two exhibitions, one of manuscripts and first editions pertaining to Martin Luther, and one of bookplates.
- Madison County Historical Society.* Oneida. 1898. D. B. Deating.
- Montgomery County Historical Society.* Amsterdam. 1904. 200 members. Charles E. French, 58 Market St. Publishes Proceedings twice a year.
- Morris Memorial Historical Society.* Chatham.
- Nassau County Historical and Genealogical Society.* Mineola. 1915. About 100 members. James S. Cooley, M. D.; Robert M. Darbee, Rockville Center. Publications: A leaflet giving annual report. Have accepted the invitation of the trustees to make the old mill at Roslyn, headquarters temporarily. The old grist mill has been fixed up for a historical museum. We have also prepared a set of genealogical blanks for use in recording family history in a permanent way.
- New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.* New York City. 1869. 600 members. Clarence Winthrop Bowen; Henry Russell Drowne, 226 West Fifty-eighth Street. Publications: New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, vol. 48, a continuous publication, quarterly since Jan., 1870. The society owns its home and also owns Nos. 222, 224, 226 East Fifty-eighth Street, where it contemplates erecting its new home in the future.
- The New York Historical Society.* 1804. John Abeel Weeks; Fancher Nicoll, 170 Central Park, West, New York City. Publications: Orderly book of DeLancey Brigade, 1776-1778; Bulletins, Nos. 1, 2, 3, issued quarterly; Cadwallader Colden Papers, 1714-1775, in press. An exhaustive scientific catalogue of the society's Egyptian collection is being prepared by Mrs. Grant Williams and the treatment and repair of the objects have been undertaken. New exhibition cases have also been installed. A series of exhibitions has been arranged for 1917-18 showing the society's collection of views, prints, caricatures, and original watercolor drawings of Audubon's Birds of America.

- New York State Historical Association.* 1889. 900 members. Hon. De Alva S. Alexander; Frederick B. Richards, Glen Falls. Publications: Year Book, No. 15. Annual meeting, New York City, October 2, 3, 4.
- Oneida Historical Society.* Utica. 1876. 200 members. William M. Starrs, Munson Williams Memorial Bldg.
- Onondaga Historical Association.* Syracuse. 1867. 225 members. George G. Fryer; Franklin H. Chase, 311 Montgomery Street. Publications: Spafford History, 2 vols., by George K. Collins.
- Oswego Historical Society.* Oswego. 1896. J. T. Mott.
- The Palmyra Historical Society.* Palmyra. 1915. About 150 members. Elizabeth W. Eaton; Sanford D. Van Alstine, 148 Main Street. Publications: A series of articles, "Palmyra of the Past," published weekly in both local newspapers, the entire year. This society affiliated with the Genesee Country Historical Federation, which was perfected at Canandaigua, N. Y., in June, 1917. The secretary became secretary of the Federation. Fifteen other societies affiliated during 1917.
- The Pennsylvania Society.* New York City. Founded 1899. inc. 1903. 1,600 members. James M. Beck; Barr Ferree, 249 West Thirteenth Street. Publications: Year Book for 1917; the United States and the War, both edited by Barr Ferree. Annual dinner, Dec. 8, 1917, A tribute to France. Gold Medal of the society awarded to the French Ambassador, Dr. J. J. Jusserand.
- Putnam County Historical Society.* Cold Spring. Miss Mary Haldane.
- Sag Harbor Historical Society.* Sag Harbor. C. W. Payne.
- Schenectady County Historical Society.* Schenectady. 1905. 400 members. Allen W. Johnston; George W. Featherstonhaugh, jr., 13 Union Street. Publications: Small folder for use by general public, giving historical data of Schenectady, city and county.
- Seneca Falls Historical Society.* Seneca Falls. Emma Maier.
- Society for the Preservation of Historical and Scenic Places.* Geneva.
- Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.* 1913. 252 members. Mrs. Joshua A. Hatfield; Mrs. William Harrison Brown, 249 West 13th Street. Publications: Manual: Handbook of Members. The society is supporting this year eight beds in the American Military Hospital No. 1 at Neuilly, France (formerly the American Ambulance Hospital), at the cost of \$4,800, and is also supplying many necessities and comforts for the wounded.
- Suffolk County Historical Society.* Riverhead. 1886. 263 members. Ruth H. Tuthill.
- Ticonderoga Historical Society.* Ticonderoga. J. T. Weed.
- Waterloo Library and Historical Society.* Waterloo. 1879. 100 members. Rev. Henry E. Hibberd.
- Wyoming County Historical Society.* Wyoming.

NORTH CAROLINA.

- Historical Commission of North Carolina.* Raleigh. R. D. W. Connor.
- Historical Society of North Carolina.* Chapel Hill. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; C. E. McIntosh.
- State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.* Raleigh. 1900. 538 members. Henry A. London; R. D. W. Connor. Publications: Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session, published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 22.
- Trinity College, North Carolina, Historical Society.* Durham. 25 members. W. K. Boyd; C. R. Davis.

NORTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of North Dakota. Bismarck. 1895. 95 members. Judge Charles F. Amidon; O. G. Libby, University of North Dakota. Publications: Bulletin no. 1, Museum and Library of the State Historical Society. Collections, vol. 5, in process of publication. Society is custodian of a group of State parks, located at historic spots and designed as community centers. Preservation of living flora and fauna in these parks, indigenous to State.

OHIO.

Clark County Historical Society. Springfield. 1897. 150 members. Miss E. J. Smart.

Firelands Historical Society. Norwalk. 140 members. C. H. Gallup; A. Sheldon.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Cincinnati. 1831. 88 members. Burnet Woods; Charles T. Greve, Van Warner Library, Cincinnati. Publications: Quaterly, vol. 12. The society receives no State aid, securing its funds by voluntary contributions, \$79,000, increase of \$4,000. 27,222 in book collections; also manuscripts.

The Historical Commission of Ohio. 15th Ave. and High St., Columbus. Arthur M. Schlesinger, chairman, Ohio State University. "The Historical Commission of Ohio is the official agency of the State for the collection and preservation of the records of services of Ohioans in connection with the great war. The Historical Commission is endeavoring to make a complete collection of documents and materials which will disclose the work of the civilian war agencies in Ohio as well as the exploits of Ohio men and women in the service abroad. It desires to obtain manuscripts, printed matter of all kinds, scrapbooks, photographs, moving pictures, posters, cartoons, and relics. In other words, it is attempting to preserve everything that may help to show what the men, women, and children of the State have been doing and thinking with reference to the war or as a result of the war." 1. Records of State agencies and of Federal agencies within the State. 2. Military records. 3. Religious records. 4. Economic material. 5. Political and propagandist material. 6. Educational records. 7. County and municipal records. 8. War literature by or about Ohioans.

Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society. Zanesville. 1890. A. R. Josselyn; Miss Annie Stokes.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. High St. and Fifteenth Ave., Columbus. 1875. G. Frederic Wright; E. O. Randall, secretary and editor; William C. Mills, curator and librarian. The society is doing greater work than ever before in its history and is taking a very active interest in the collection of material concerning the war. The society publishes the Diary of R. B. Hayes, and the quarterly magazine is now in its 28th volume.

Old Northwest Genealogical Society. Franklin County Memorial Building, 280 East Broad Street, Columbus. 1897. H. Warren Phelps, librarian and secretary. The society has a library of more than 4,000 volumes of family genealogies and general history. A quarterly publication has been issued from the beginning. The society is now financially embarrassed.

The Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association. Fremont. 1874, inc. 1908. 100 members. Isadore H. Burgoon; Basil Meek, Fremont. Publications: Year book in preparation. Society publishes a pamphlet annually containing historic matters, called Yearbook. By act of State legislature, a sum not exceeding \$200 in any one year may be allowed to defray expenses of publication.

The Western Reserve Historical Society. Cleveland. 1867. William P. Palmer; W. H. Cathcart, 10700 Euclid Ave. Publications: Bulletins, and Tract No. 97.

OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma Historical Society. Oklahoma City. 1895. Jasper Sipes; Frank D. Northrup; W. P. Campbell, custodian State capitol, Oklahoma City. Publications: *Historia* (quarterly). Moved into new quarters in State capitol Dec. 3, 1917. Collections of Alice Robertson, daughter of earliest missionary; Sam Houston's son, Emmet Star, Cherokee historian; Fred S. Barde, noted correspondent (last two purchased \$650, \$5,000); also Ruddy Indian collection. Approximately 3,000 accessories, also cases and furniture. Special war service.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society. Portland. 1898. 661 members. Frederick V. Holman; Prof. F. G. Young, Auditorium, Portland. Publications: Quarterly for the year—March, June, September, December. The removal of all collections from the old and illy-adapted quarters to the Public Auditorium, where the conditions for safety are excellent, besides more than 2,000 square feet of floor space in addition to what was occupied in the former quarters, making 8,000 square feet of floor space, besides a good deal of wall space for hanging portraits of early settlers.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Blair County Historical Society. Altoona. 231 members. Plymouth W. Snyder; Donald J. Howard. June 14, 1917, first annual meeting; monument unveiled; address; plans for marking historical spots. Many historical articles presented.

Bradford County Historical Society. Towanda. 1853. 100 members. Hon. A. C. Fanning; J. Andrew Wilt. Publications: Annual, containing proceedings, reports of officers and addresses, and papers read, current events, etc. Marked historic spots within the county, such as first permanent settler, Indian town, battles, etc.

Bucks County Historical Society. Doylestown. 1880. 761 members. Dr. Henry C. Mercer; Clarence D. Hotchkiss; Warren D. Ely, librarian. Publications: Vol. 4, papers read before the society 1909-1917; no. 1 of vol. 5, papers read at meeting of May 22, 1917. About 100 volumes added to library.

Carbon County Historical Society. Weatherly. 150 members. Rev. W. M. Rehrig; Fred Benchman. Publications: *The Gateway to the Minisuiks*, by Albert G. Rau.

Chester County Historical Society. West Chester. 1893. About 400 members. Dr. George Morris Philips; J. Carroll Hayes. Publications: Bulletins, exercises in memory of Gen. Anthony Wayne; address on "The Star-Gazers' Stone," and exercises at Revolutionary Hospital, Chester Springs, Pa.

Church Historical Society. Philadelphia. 1910, inc. 1913. 205 members. Henry Budd; William Ives Rutter, jr., 525 South 41st St.

City Historical Society of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1900. 350 members. William J. Campbell, M. D., Ph. D.; Herman Burgin, M. D., 63 W. Cheltenham ave., Germantown. Publications: Index to vol. 1, vol. 2, no. 2, *The True Story of the Declaration of Independence*. Eight addresses before the Society during 1917. Three excursions to places of historical interest.

- Colonial Dames of America, Pennsylvania Society.* Mrs. James Starr, 1429 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia. Historical research committee collecting material on church music and musical life. Books and lectures on subject.
- Colonial Society of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia. 1895. Henry L. Belknap, northeast corner Thirteenth and Chestnut Streets.
- Columbia County Historical Society.* Bloomsburg. 1914. 99 members. William W. Evans; Miss Sarah Van Tassel, 3 East Fifth Street, Bloomsburg.
- Delaware County Historical Society.* 1895. 113 members. Hon. William B. Broomall; Chester Palmer, Chester, Box 218. Publications: *Recollections of the Old Borough of Chester from 1834 to 1850*, by George E. Darlington. Three public lectures given by members of the society, viz. H. G. Ashmead, on *The Old Court House, now City Hall of Chester*, Jan. 24; Frederick H. Shelton, on *Ancient Industries and the Old Inns of Delaware County*, May 2, 1917; George E. Darlington, on *Recollections of the Old Borough of Chester*, May 31, 1917.
- Donegal Society of Lancaster County.* 277 members. Miss Martha Bladen Clark; Miss Rebecca J. Slaymaker, 230 East Orange Street, Lancaster. One annual meeting with addresses at Donegal Church. Donations of cabinet and book to the Church.
- Erie County Historical Society.* Erie. 193 members. Hon. Henry A. Clark; John Miller.
- Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia and vicinity. 1904. 350 members. Arthur N. Seeds; Miss Mary S. Allen, 24 West Street, Media. Publications: *Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 7, no. 3; vol. 8, no. 1. Erection of bronze tablet in north archway of City Hall, Philadelphia, "Prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia."
- The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.* 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. 1892. 306 members. Col. J. Granville Leach; James Emlen. Publications: Vol. 6, no. 3.
- German-American Historical Society.* Philadelphia. 1901. Dr. A. Bernheim; Dr. E. M. Fogel, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania. No meetings held.
- Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle.* Carlisle. 1874. 103 members. C. F. Himes; Allen Line.
- Historical Society of Berks County.* 38 North Fourth Street, Reading. 1898. 357 members. C. R. Scholl, D. D. S.; Geo. M. Jones. No papers published, but resources used for new building. Collection of circulars, posters, and papers relating to the present war, especially those of Reading and Berks counties; established service roster of Berks County.
- Historical Society of Dauphin County.* Harrisburg. 1869. 180 members. Theo. B. Klein; Lilla E. Peay, 9 South Front St. Many articles of interest added to the museum, fine coin collection, a number of war pamphlets, books, posters, etc., added to library, general cooperation with civic enterprises. Meeting place of State federation.
- The Historical Society of Frankford.* 4510 Frankford Ave., Frankford, Philadelphia. Franklin Smedley; Miss Caroline W. Smedley. The membership has been somewhat increased and a number of books have been added to the library, and relics to the society's collection. Excursions to places of historic interest and weekly evenings "at home" have been features of interest to our members and friends.
- The Historical Society of Montgomery County.* Historical Hall, 18 Penn Street, Norristown. 1881. 400 members. Rev. Thomas R. Beeber, D. D.; George K. Brecht, 506 Swede St., Norristown. Publications: Vol. 4 of *Historical Sketches*, papers read before the society during 10 years. Over 200 books

and pamphlets added to our library; over 500 articles to our museum. We are planning to increase our membership that our income from that source may sustain the society and enable us to use all our building; now, unfortunately, a portion is rented, and therefore not safe from fire.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1824. 2,000 members.

Hon. Charlemagne Tower; John Bach McMaster, Ph. D., 1300 Locust Street. Publications: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 41. To Nov. 1, 1917, accessions for the 10 months, 1,267 books, 5,223 selected pamphlets, 10,404 manuscripts, 2,374 miscellaneous articles.

Historical Society of Schuylkill County. Pottsville. 1903. 230 members.

Capt. Baird Halberstadt; Miss Ida R. Smith. No papers or publications, owing to activity of members on war committees.

Historical Society of the United Evangelical Church. Harrisburg. 1907, inc.

1917. 75 members. Rev. U. F. Swengel; Rev. E. Crumbling, Lewisburg. Permanent home secured in U. E. Publishing House building; museum proposed; two meetings held. Publications: *The Centennial Celebration*.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh. 1880, reorganized

1909. 750 members. William H. Stevenson; Burd S. Patterson, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Ave. Publications: *The book of words of the Pageant and Masque of Freedom* by George M. Baird; also pamphlet, city charter centennial exhibits at Carnegie Institute. Oct. 29–Nov. 6, 1916, celebration of Pittsburgh's city charter centennial. Nov. 30–Dec. 1, 1917, convention of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in society's building. A number of new books and relics added during year. Commenced publication of a quarterly magazine, Jan., 1918.

Historical Society of York County. York. 1892. 200 members. J. A. Demp-

wolf; Robert C. Bair. Publications: *York Past and Present*, illustrated. This society occupies rooms on the third floor of the new courthouse. In one of the large rooms is a museum with 10,000 specimens. These specimens are in cases, covered with glass. The library has 3,000 volumes on history.

Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania. Jan. 9, 1918. 120 members. Rev. John

Baer Stoudt; Mrs. Robert S. Birch, Reading. Aims to perpetuate Huguenot history and genealogy.

Kittochintny Historical Society. Chambersburg. 1898. 69 members. W.

Rush Gillan; Parker R. Skinner.

Krefeld Society. Germantown. 26 members. James H. Closson, M. D.; J.

E. Barnett Buckenham, M. D., Chestnut Hill.

Lancaster County Historical Society. Lancaster. 1896. 400 members. Frank

R. Diffenderffer; Charles B. Hollinger. Publications: 10.

Lebanon County Historical Society. Hathaway Park, Lebanon. 1898. 142

members. Capt. H. M. M. Richards; Dr. S. P. Heilman. Publications: Vol. 7, no. 1, Reports at nineteenth annual meeting, December 22, 1916, and a paper entitled: "Some unpublished documents pertaining to Lebanon County's part in the war of the Revolution;" vol. 7, no. 2, "Life and services of Gen. John Phillip de Haas, 1735–1786"; vol. 7, no. 3, "Conservation of the Past." 595 pieces added to the library and museum.

Lehigh County Historical Society. Allentown. 1904. 160 members. George

T. Ettinger, Ph. D.; Chas. R. Roberts, 520 North Sixth Street, Allentown. Occupies a colonial stone building. "Trout Hall," built in 1770 by James Allen, son of William Allen, the founder of the city, colonial chief justice of Pa.; restored by city authorities at a cost of \$8,000. Lease of \$1 per year. Building contains marble mantels over fireplaces, walnut wainscoting, etc. Museum and library in building.

- Moravian Historical Society.* Nazareth. 1857. 379 members. Rev. W. N. Schwarze; W. H. Vogler. Publications: Transactions. Rest house and observatory built to mark site of old Indian cemetery, center of plot of 5,000 acres bought by Count Zinsendorf for the settlement of Nazareth from Whitefield.
- Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.* Easton. 110 members. David Bachman.
- The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.* Dec. 28, 1857. 52 members. Charles J. Cohen; John W. Townsend, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia.
- The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.* 1905. 45 societies Charles R. Roberts; S. P. Heilman, Lebanon, Pa. Publications: Acts and Proceedings of 12th annual meeting. This association holds an annual meeting in the capital city of Harrisburg, Pa., on the 3d Thursday of January each year. It has no building, museum, collections, etc. Is related to the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in a cooperative capacity. Its activities are defined under the general term: "The advancement of historical research relating to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, local and general." It seeks to promote this advancement by means of 10 standing committees.
- The Pennsylvania German Society.* 1891. 450 members. Rev. Jacob Fry, D. D., LL. D.; Daniel W. Nead, M. D., P. O. Box 468, Reading. Publications: Vol. 25 of Proceedings and Addresses of the Society, containing the Diarium of Magister Johannes Kelpius, with annotations by Julius Friedrich Sachse; Conditions of Pennsylvania during the year 1755; A translation of a French pamphlet found in the Ducal Library at Gotha, Germany.
- Presbyterian Historical Society.* Philadelphia. 1852. 320 members. Henry Van Dyke; Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, 520 Witherspoon Building. Publications: Journal of the Presbyterian Society, quarterly.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown.* 1900. 630 members. Charles F. Jenkins; Horace M. Lippincott, East Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.
- Society of War of 1812, Pennsylvania Society.* 1853. 231 members. John Cadwalader; J. E. Burnett Buckenham, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia. Publication: Annual report.
- Snyder County Historical Society.* Selinsgrove. 1898. 60 members. Rev. Frank P. Manhart, D. D.; W. M. Schnure. Publications: Vol. 1, no. 8 ready to go to press. The society inaugurated the good road movement that culminated in the Susquehanna Trail, a highway between Corning, N. Y., and Harrisburg, Pa., traversing the Susquehanna Valley over old Indian trails and historic post-roads. Secured a tablet for the Gov. Simon Snyder (War Gov. of 1812) mansion at Selinsgrove, Pa., from the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Military record of all Snyder County soldiers in the war of 1917 being compiled by the card index system.
- Susquehanna County Historical Society.* Montrose. 1890. 95 members Francis R. Cope; Edgar T. Carfield. Annual meeting only.
- Washington County Historical Society.* Washington. 1901. 100 members Samuel Amspoker; Miss Jane S. Hall. In connection with the county school superintendent, the society has endeavored to collect local history through the medium of township and borough schools and it is hoped to publish the result at no distant date.
- Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.* Wilkes-Barre. 1858. 188 annual 212 life; total, 400 members. Maj. Irving R. Stearns; Christopher Wren. Publications: Vol. 15, Publications and Proceedings. The death of Rev. Horace E. Hayden in August, 1917, was a great loss, as Mr. Hayden had filled various offices in the society for 25 years.

Woman's Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh. 160 members. Mrs. Charles B. McFail; Mrs. Edward J. Davies, 543 Norman Ave., N. S. Sixteen meetings, addresses, musicals, Red Cross, and war work. Erection of bronze tablet.

RHODE ISLAND.

Barrington Historic Antiquarian Society. Barrington. 1885. All the townspeople are members. Secretary, Miss Harriet A. Rear; president, Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle St., Providence. Publications: Program of Historic Celebration. Celebration of 200th anniversary of town during the year.

Bristol County Historical Society. Providence. 1894. Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Ave. This society takes note of historical celebrations and notable events in the county.

Newport Historical Society. Newport. 1854. 438 members. John P. Sanborn. *The Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.* Providence. 1883. 300 members. Mrs. C. A. P. Weeden; Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle St. Our activities are our only assets. 10 monthly meetings; 10 historical addresses; 17 half-day and all-day historic outings. Historic monument erected at Sowams. Unique celebration of Rhode Island Independence Day, May 4, 1917.

Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence. 1822. 375 members. Wilfred H. Munro; Howard M. Chapman, librarian; Howard W. Preston, 68 Waterman St. Publications: Views of Westminster St. in 1824. Obtained Jeremiah Olney papers, 600 Revolutionary MSS., for \$1,750. Marked Pomhams Fort, which was built in 1644. Compiled list of Rhode Island soldiers and sailors in the Colonial Wars.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Historical Commission of South Carolina. Columbia. 1894, 1905. A. S. Salley. *Huguenot Society of South Carolina.* Charleston. 1885. Rev. Robert Wilson, 75 Corning St.

South Carolina Historical Society. Charleston. 1854. 230 members. Mabel Louise Webber. Publication: South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine (quarterly), vol. 18.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of South Dakota. Pierre. 1901. 100 members. Doane Robinson.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee Historical Society. Nashville. 1849. 227 members. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University. Endowment fund, \$10,000, established in 1917.

TEXAS.

Texas Library and Historical Commission. Austin. Ernest W. Winkler, State Library.

Texas State Historical Association. University Station, Austin. 1897. 700 members. Chas. W. Ramsdell. Publications: Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. 20, 21.

UTAH.

Utah State Historical Society. Salt Lake City. 1897. 300 members. Spencer Clawson; J. R. Letcher. Income derived from State according to needs. Office in New Capitol building; exhibits at State University.

VERMONT.

Vermont Historical Society. Montpelier. 1859. 281 members. William W. Stickney; Edward D. Field.

VIRGINIA.

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society. Clay and 12th Streets, Richmond. 1890. Chartered May, 1890. Museum opened 1896. Approximately 700 members. Miss S. A. Anderson; Mrs. John Mason. Publications: Yearbook, 1916. Many relics added, especially the sword that Gen. Robert E. Lee wore when he surrendered to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. Working strictly on our charter lines—that is, collecting Confederate relics in all forms.

Virginia Historical Society. Richmond. 1831. 766 members. W. G. Gordon McCabe; W. G. Stanard, 707 E. Franklin St. Publications: Vol. 25, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. So far we have not been seriously affected by the war, except in the great increase in expenses, especially printing. We have not lost more members than usual by resignations, but found it more difficult to get new ones. Unless there is some great and unexpected change in our condition, we expect to continue our work and publication.

WASHINGTON.

Washington State Historical Society. Tacoma. 1891. 171 members. Henry Hewitt, jr.; W. P. Bonney. Made attempt to persuade Congress to provide some means of preserving valuable historic papers and delivering them to the historical societies in locality where they are of interest.

WEST VIRGINIA.

West Virginia Department of Archives and History. Charleston. 1905. Wilson M. Foulk, State historian and archivist, Statehouse. Library of 74,000 books and pamphlets. Also charged with the duty of maintaining the State museum and historical collections. The newspapers are an important feature of the library. Appropriation 1917-1919, \$23,600.

WISCONSIN.

Green Bay Historical Society. Green Bay. 1899. 100 members. Arthur C. Neville; Miss Minnie H. Kelleher.

Manitowoc County Historical Society. Manitowoc. 1904. 27 members. Emil Baensch; R. G. Plumb.

Ripon Historical Society. Ripon. 1899. Samuel M. Pedrick.

Sauk County Historical Society. Baraboo. 1905. 70 members. H. K. Page.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Madison. 1849. 750 members. M. M. Quaife.

Walworth County Historical Society. Elkhorn. 1898. 30 members.

Waukesha County Historical Society. 1906. 163 active, 8 honorary members. Mrs. H. B. Edwards; Miss Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc. Papers read in the meetings are usually published in the Waukesha Freeman. June 16 a boulder with bronze tablet was unveiled on Lapham Peak, formerly Government Hill. The name was changed by the United States Geographical Board in honor of Dr. I. A. Lapham, and the memorial placed by the Waukesha Historical Society. Many articles have been added to our collections during the past year, including posters, papers, and pictures relating to the war, especially locally.

Wisconsin Archeological Society. Milwaukee. 1903. 300 members. Dr. Samuel A. Barrett; Charles E. Brown, Madison. Publications: *The Antiquities of Green Lake, Lake Shawano, and the Wolf River*; *The Chetek and Rice Lakes*. Conducted researches in Door and Sheboygan counties.

WYOMING.

Wyoming Historical Society. Cheyenne. Created by legislature, Feb. 16, 1895. Six trustees appointed by governor, secretary of state, governor, State librarian, ex officio. Address, Custodian of Wyoming Historical Society, State Library, Cheyenne. Moved into new quarters in the new wing of capitol building, but the historical collections have not yet been permanently arranged.

CANADA.

- Belleville and Bay of Quinte Historical Society.* Belleville, Ontario. S. Russell.
- Brome County Historical Society.* Knowlton, P. Q. 1897. 30 members. H. S. Foster; Ernest M. Taylor. Books added and many relics added to the Paul Holland Knowlton Memorial Museum. Extensive improvements contemplated in the spring, and already funds have been raised for the purpose.
- The Champlain Society.* Toronto. 1905. Membership of 500 and a waiting list. Sir Edmund Walker, C. V. O., LL. D., D. C. L.; secretaries: Prof. George M. Wrong, Major Eric N. Armour. Address: The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, The Canadian Bank of Commerce. No publications on account of the war. The society has in type three volumes of Wood's War of 1812, and the first volume of six of the Works of Samuel de Champlain, and in manuscript material for several future volumes, including the Journals of La Verendrye, the Administration of Sir Charles Bagot in Canada, and Clergy Reserves.
- Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute.* St. Thomas, Ontario. H. S. Wegg.
- Essex Historical Society.* Windsor, Ontario. 1904. 70 members. A. P. E. Panet; Andrew Braid. A very handsome pillar was erected on the grounds of Assumption Church near Windsor, the spot where the first Christian place of worship was built by the Jesuits, 1728.
- Huron Institute.* Collingwood. 1904. 60 members. F. T. Hodgson, honorary president; David Williams, secretary-treasurer. Many additions to museum, particularly local pictures. About 4,000 exhibits in museum. Rooms given over to Red Cross, also used by Daughters of the Empire, and other patriotic organizations. Two scrap books on Collingwood and the war prepared and contributed by vice president, Miss F. A. Redmond.
- Kingston (Canada) Historical Society.* Kingston, Ontario. Prof. W. L. Grant.
- London and Middlesex Historical Society.* London, Ontario. Rev. George M. Cox, 746 Waterloo Street.
- Lundy's Lane Historical Society.* Niagara Falls, Ontario. 1887. 50 members. R. W. Geary; John H. Jackson. Two publications under way: *Church History of Niagara Frontier*, and *School History of Niagara Frontier*.
- Missisquoi County Historical Association.* Bedford, P. Q. 30 members. F. C. Saunders; R. P. Small, Dunham, P. Q. No work during past two years owing to war conditions.
- Niagara Historical Society.* Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont. 1895. 260 members. Miss Janet Carnochan; Mrs. E. Ascher. Publications: No. 30, Some notable results of the war, sketch of the Hon. William Dickson, original documents reprinted, nos. 2, 3, 4; no. 29, Correspondence of Sheriff Hamilton in 1837, presented to the society (800 copies) by Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun. Many

additions to the books, documents, and pictures. Address at an opening meeting by Rev. A. F. MacGregor. Annual picnic at Queenston Heights in August.

Nova Scotia Historical Society. Halifax. 1878. 425 members. David Allison; Harry Piers. Publications: Collections, vol. 19.

Ontario Historical Society. Toronto. 1888. 347 annual, 50 ex officio, 10 delegates, 6 honorary, 7 corresponding, 3 life, total 423 members. Prof. John Squair; A. F. Hunter, Normal School Bldg. Publications: Annual Report for 1917; Papers and Records, no. 15. Additions to library reported at last meeting: 232 books, 345 pamphlets, etc. Eighteen affiliated societies.

Société Historique de Montréal. Montreal. 1858. 80 members. Victor Morin, LL. D.; Prof. Napoleon Brisebois, 340 St. Denis Street. This society was reorganized last year and has held regular monthly meetings since, at which historical papers were presented by its members; organized the celebration of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Montreal, on which occasion it led the public in a visit of the historic places of old Montreal; has taken lead in the creation of a national museum of arts in Montreal; is making provision for the installation of commemorative tablets on historic places in Montreal.

The Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa. Ottawa. 1898. 148 members. Mrs. J. Lorn McDougall; Mrs. J. M. Somerville, 188 James Street. Publications: Annual Report for year 1916-17; Transactions, vol. 7, 1916-17. The city of Ottawa gave this year, for our headquarters, the old Registry Building, which was opened October 25, 1917, by Mayor Fisher, as the Bytown Historical Museum, and we have started an interesting collection of historical pictures, furniture, etc., pertaining to the city.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Miss M. Agnes Fitzgibbon, Hillcrest, Bracondale, Toronto.

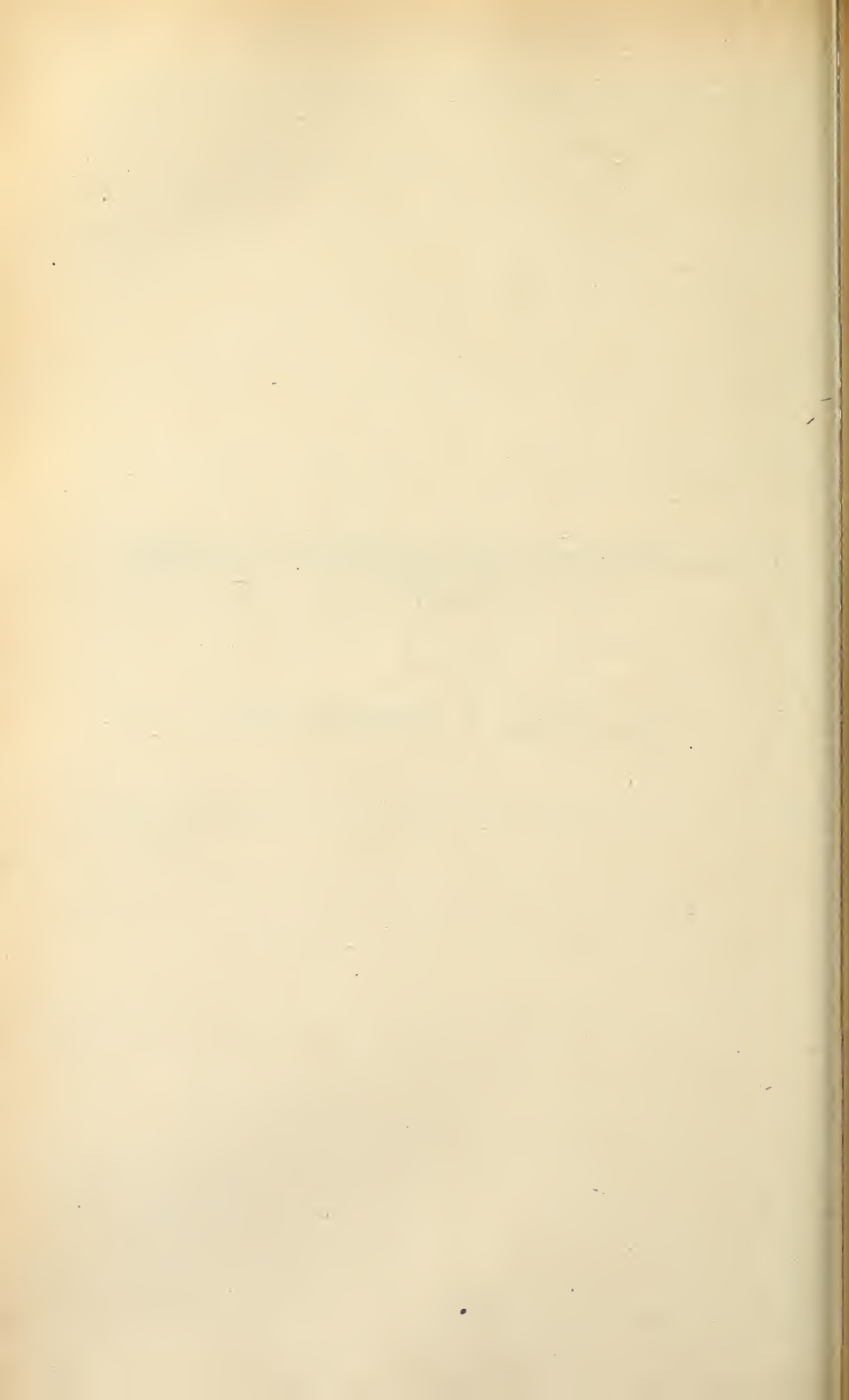
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V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS
OF HISTORY.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

At a joint session of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland and the American Historical Association, held at Philadelphia, December 29, 1917, Dean Marshall S. Brown, of New York University, presided.

The CHAIRMAN. The subject matter of Prof. Johnson's paper is so vitally important, and he is so full of that subject that I am going to take no time in introducing him. He is too well known to need an introduction, but we congratulate ourselves that we have this subject and this speaker this morning. Prof. Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University, will now speak to us on the "School course in history; some precedents and a possible next step."

Prof. JOHNSON. In the practice of Continental Europe a school course in history has come to mean a carefully graded, connected, organic program, adjusted to the needs of a given kind of school and designed to be completed by all pupils who pass through that kind of school. Courses in history in this sense began to appear in Europe in the seventeenth century. On the Continent they have for more than 100 years been a part of the established order in secondary schools, and for about 50 years a part of the established order in elementary schools. They have provided for secondary schools a continuous, required study of history extending over the entire school period, and for elementary schools a continuous required study of history extending over at least four or five years, and sometimes over the entire school period.

In the United States, from about 1815, when school instruction in history first began to assume perceptible proportions, until about 1890, the prevalent idea was to provide subjects in history rather than to organize courses in history. Neither the problem of grading materials nor the problem of establishing connection between the subjects attracted much attention. In elementary schools the subject was from the beginning the history of the United States, commonly taught in the eighth grade only, but sometimes also in lower grades. In academies and high schools the subjects, the arrangement of subjects, and the time allotted varied greatly. Sometimes the work was confined to general history or to ancient history; sometimes to the history of the United States. Sometimes two or all three of these subjects were offered, and even required. Sometimes English his-

tory was substituted for one of them, or added as a fourth subject. Other subjects separately listed were Grecian antiquities, Roman antiquities, mythology, and, occasionally, church history. Any one of these subjects might stand either at the beginning or at the end of the school program, or at any point between the beginning and the end. The time allowance for a subject ranged from six weeks to a year.

In the midst of this chaos the Madison Conference of 1892, after resolving unanimously to "suggest nothing that was not already being done in some good schools," found none the less some precedents for an approach to a course in history. The program proposed by the conference to the committee of ten was in a measure graded and connected. It embraced in one view both the elementary school and the high school. It provided for eight years of continuous, required study, with an alternative of six years of continuous, required study. But these ideas were apparently too far in advance of average American practice to be regarded as practical. The committee of ten rejected the recommendations for the elementary school as beyond its province and left history for the high school a collection of subjects. The committee of seven made familiar the "block system." The first two blocks taken in the order proposed might constitute a course. The other two blocks merely continued the subject system. As this program has been administered not more than two of the four blocks have on the average been made available, and the blocks actually taken, whatever the combination, have been treated in the main as subjects in history and not as related parts of a course in history. The committee of eight undertook to provide progressive steps and a continuous program for elementary schools, but the topics for the first six years lacked real connection. The committee of five, in revising the work of the committee of seven, made a distinct advance in the direction of continuity, but its view of the field of history was somewhat narrow. None of our numerous committees, and scarcely any of our individual contributors of the last 25 years, can be said to have achieved for the school course in history either the degree of grading or the degree of connection achieved in Europe.

Since the report of the committee of five we seem to have suffered a relapse. The sympathies of the general educational public, never very responsive to the course idea, are now plainly enlisted in favor of a principle that threatens, in some of its present applications, the disintegration even of subjects in history. What is important to us in the present, we are being told, must determine what is important to us in the past, and what is most important to us in the present is our own community. The history program must, therefore, be determined by the special interests and special problems of the community. There must be as many kinds of programs as there are kinds of com-

munity interests and problems, and a uniform program in history is neither possible nor desirable. Furthermore, these programs must change with the changing interests and problems of the community. What is important this year, or even this month, or this week, may not be important at all next year, or next month, or next week. The coming of the war has, it is true, directed the principle into broader channels. The need of international friendships and national patriotism, and incidentally the need of a reasonable and proper hatred for our enemies, tend in these tremendous and tragic days to overshadow the narrower interests and problems of the community. But the principle of confining history to issues directly suggested by present issues remains the same.

On this principle it is entirely feasible to construct a program in history. A program can, indeed, almost be induced to make itself. All that is necessary, as some very logical advocates of the principle have already discovered, is to let the program follow the current issue of the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, the *Literary Digest*, or the *Review of Reviews*. The principle itself is old enough to be respectable. It was suggested and applied in the seventeenth century. Christian Weise, as far back as 1676, was led by it to emphasize quite in our present manner even the study of current events. The French reformers who drafted the famous school decree of 1793 carried the principle farther than our own reformers have as yet ventured to carry it. But no one, so far as I know, has succeeded in constructing upon this principle a course in history. The reason is clear. If the content of history is to be determined by present interests and problems, and if such interests and problems are constantly changing, only a prophet could plan a connected, organic course in history for the whole or any considerable part of the 12 years of school life, and even such a course would require reconstruction for each set of pupils beginning the course.

Continental Europe has achieved grading, connection, and continuity in the history course to a degree that leaves our practice essentially primitive. It has not, however, achieved historicalness. From the seventeenth century to the opening of the twentieth century, history for school purposes was history always in the service of some immediate social need. Instruction was shaped with a view to educational results, and these results were rarely conditioned upon making the past itself intelligible. European compilers of material sinned consciously and courageously against fact. They admitted without hesitation doubtful anecdote and downright fable. They unblushingly paraded national bias. They violated the most elementary sense of historical proportion. They took, in a word, such liberties with history as seemed to them essential to make history useful. The French program of 1902 introduced the radically different

principle that the value of history, like the value of any other subject, consists in its being true, and in this spirit undertook to trace "the principal transformations of humanity." But such views are still exceptional. Outside of France the older tradition is still dominant. It may be summed up in the dictum: History is anything that history is good for.

For the lower grades of the elementary school we have sinned against the verities of history as courageously as any European people, but the best of our recent textbooks for the upper grades and for the high school may safely challenge comparison even with the best of French textbooks in their regard for fact. Like the French books, they seem to assume that history has something to do with the past as the past; that the past itself can be explained only in terms of what is important in and to the past, and that the past itself must be explained if the past is to be of any service in explaining the present. This, in comparison with the average practice of Europe, is revolutionary doctrine. It is, however, not generally recognized as revolutionary in the United States. It is, in fact, rather commonly regarded as reactionary by those who in the name of reform and progress are now leading us back to the older tradition that history is only what history seems at the moment to be good for. I do not say that our textbook writers have altogether succeeded in making the past intelligible; but in so far as they have recognized that history in school should be not only educational but also historical, they, and not their critics, are the real innovators, the real radicals, the real revolutionists.

The traditional and conventional attitude toward history as a school study has been accentuated and illustrated anew under the pressure of war. We must, as all of us know, win the war. To that supreme purpose every other consideration must be subordinated. Personal convictions, personal emotions, even the love for truth, must blend in one harmonious, overpowering, stern will to victory. What can not be blended must for the moment be ended. Inevitable, therefore, the question uppermost in the minds of thousands of history teachers to-day, and in the minds of other thousands who are not history teachers, is, "What can history do for victory?" Inevitably the first answers spring out of that wise human instinct which meets needs as they arise without paralyzing scrutiny of the logic involved.

Observing a certain lack of warmth in the attitude of some Americans toward the English, attention is directed to the old charge that the study of the American Revolution in our schools tends to promote an anti-British state of mind. Observing further that this state of mind might conceivably hamper cooperation with our British ally, it is a natural reaction to demand revision of our textbooks with a

view to the cultivation of a pro-British state of mind, and that reaction is now actually in evidence. In a similar spirit it is urged that our school instruction in history should be revised in the direction of a fuller and more generous recognition of our indebtedness to the French, to the Italians, to the Poles, and to other peoples. At a meeting in New York, some months ago, representatives of non-English elements in our population set forth with such conviction and eloquence the contributions of their respective peoples that Americans of English ancestry might well have wondered if anything of really great importance in the making of the United States remained for them to claim. That is one side of the balance. On the other side we have the disagreeable discovery of divided allegiance and a growing demand, in which some historians share, that history in school should, with all possible courage and all possible devotion, be turned to the one great task of building up a national patriotism. This appears to be just now the dominant call.

The call is, of course, not new. It has been sounded many times before in the United States and elsewhere, and history, in the United States and elsewhere, has many times responded, with consequences sufficiently apparent to those who care to look for them. We do not seem to look for them. We are not greatly interested in precedents. It is enough for us that an urgent need exists and that we have the instinct to meet it. We are, however, meeting it in a way that the precedents would approve, if we had the time and the inclination to invoke them. The Germans, for example, in the crisis of the conflict with Napoleon, had a problem in making history in school serve the cause of patriotism, identical in some fundamental respects with our present problem. Their arguments, and even their language, translated into English, would be found almost identical with arguments and language heard in the United States in 1917. The German arguments won. For almost a century history has been a factor in building up Germanism and that German view of the world of which we have had so many recent examples. We have of late not greatly admired the results. Shall we now, under the stress of circumstances similar to those that confronted Germany one hundred years ago, repeat the German response?

We can not, it may be urged, repeat the German response because the ideals and institutions which we seek to perpetuate differ radically from German ideals and institutions. But they also differ radically from the ideals and institutions of many other peoples. We wish to build up of course Americanism and an American view of the world. Shall we not in that way, unless we can Americanize the world, exclude, just as the Germans in building up Germanism and a German view of the world, have excluded an understanding of other peoples? The penalty imposed by the German experiment,

now beginning to be understood even by Germans, is the tragic isolation of Germany. We are not at present in a state of isolation, and we flatter ourselves that we understand at least the Germans. Some of us are not altogether certain that we do in fact understand the Germans, but if we do understand them, we scarcely give the credit to any history learned in school. Shall we now turn history into channels still further removed from an understanding of other peoples? Strong influences are urging us in that direction.

There are, however, counteracting influences. One of the most potent is the conviction of profound ignorance which has fallen upon us in our enforced study of the war. Instruction in history outside of school has been provided on a scale never before known and has ranged over a broader field than ever before. Corners of the earth not mentioned in our textbooks, peoples neglected because they were assumed to have nothing to do with the development of American civilization, have suddenly been thrust upon our notice in newspapers, in pamphlets, in books, in lectures, on the street, at church, at the theater until those of us who have not cried for mercy and stopped looking and listening, have actually discovered that the United States and western Europe have, after all, certain historical connection with the rest of the human race. Another conviction that has fallen upon us in the vast confusion of fact and inference and counsel created by the war is that there is such a problem as that of knowing how to look and listen intelligently. Outside of school we are feeling as we never felt before, the need of really understanding other peoples. Such progress as we have made in understanding the Germans has brought with it the pleasant sensation of seeming to understand ourselves better. Such progress as we have made in understanding our Allies has left a similar impression. We are in a mood for generalization on the need of understanding other peoples, even those other peoples in our own country to whom we are now striving to make clear the duties of American citizenship. We are ready to grant to an extent not hitherto granted, that the better we can understand other peoples, and the more other peoples we can understand, the better we shall be able to understand and to appreciate that part of ourselves which is distinctively American. So far the need is personal and selfish. But we are not entirely selfish. We feel a need of understanding other peoples for their sake as well as for our own. We have taken our place with other peoples in a drama that touches, and will continue to touch, the entire world, and for the good of the world we want to understand other peoples. The lesson for history teachers is plain.

If this analysis of precedents and of present tendencies is correct, it is a fair inference that the problem of shaping history for schools is somewhat complicated. If, however, we are, as we profess to be,

lovers of progress; if by progress we mean building upon the experience of the race, and not building as if nothing had ever been built before, there is a possible next step which can at least be described. Continental Europe has shown us how to make a graded, connected, organic program. Our own experience has taught us a certain regard for fact. France has developed both a graded, connected, organic program and a regard for fact, and has taken for its theme the development of humanity. The war has thrust us into the views of history even in the high and holy cause of patriotism. We can not in these spacious times rest content with merely provincial views of history even in the high and holy cause of patriotism. We want patriotism, but we do not want the patriotism of self-satisfied isolation. We want a patriotism founded upon the kind of understanding of ourselves which comes from an understanding of other peoples, and which brings with it a sense of duty to our neighbors as well as to ourselves. We want history for victory, but we want history still more for what is to come after victory. We are making and living world history, and we must face the problem of teaching world history. The logical next step, if we really wish to move forward, is, then, to take for our field, humanity, and to organize a course in history for schools that shall represent as accurately as possible and explain as adequately as possible the development of humanity. What does this imply?

In the first place, our facts must be historical and must be recognized as historical. They must represent history that actually happened and not history that might have happened, nor even history that ought to have happened. The best of our textbooks for the upper grades and for the high school have already met in part this condition. They treat of history that actually happened. They give us facts. They do not as a rule indicate what it is that makes a fact historical. Facts of widely different degrees of probability, mere personal opinion and pure speculation are mingled in one body of assured information, and the pupil is likely to reduce this information to one common level of certainty and to look upon a fact in history as any statement printed in a history book. Roger Williams was born in 1607. Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts because of his religious opinions. Massachusetts should not have banished Roger Williams. The Massachusetts Bay Puritans came to America to establish civil and religious liberty; the Puritan ideals were narrow and intolerant. Liberty of conscience would have fared better in New England if Roger Williams had never been born. The world knows the history of Massachusetts by heart. The Massachusetts Bay spirit has made the United States the greatest nation in history. We have the printed word for all of these statements. All of them are alike

historical in the sense that they are statements actually made in the past. But in other respects they obviously neither belong to one common species nor stand on one common level of probability or of generality. The simplest kind of intelligence in reading history requires some conception of the kinds of evidence behind such statements, and of the kinds of operations by which they are built up. History, that is, to be historical must involve not only the question, "What does the author mean?" but the further questions, "How does he know?" and "Is it true?" This does not imply the source method as commonly understood. It does imply some classification of facts according to kind and according to degree of probability and of generality, and sufficient illustration to make the pupil conscious of differences.

In the second place, facts must be selected and arranged from the standpoint of development and with a view to conveying an impression of development. In determining what is important or unimportant we must look primarily for interests and problems that shaped the past, and not primarily for interests and problems now shaping the present. Again, since development implies change, and since the idea of change in the world can be grasped only through a perception of differences, we must emphasize differences between past and present. Here again the best of our textbooks have already met in part the condition. Within the subjects provided by our history programs they have endeavored to trace development. They have not to the same extent nor in the same spirit endeavored to trace the development of humanity. They have not to the extent of modern French practice emphasized differences between peoples and institutions, and therefore have not brought home as vividly as French textbooks the idea of change in the world.

In the third place we must strive for continuity, for history one and indivisible, one continuous, continuing process. In this condition we encounter our greatest difficulties, and it is here that we have made the least progress.

The first difficulty is that of reducing the characteristics of the one continuous, continuing process to proportions that fall within the limits of school time and school intelligence. Here the French have, I think, in their program of 1902, succeeded beyond any other people. They have succeeded because eminently competent French historians had the courage really to face the problem and a sense of its importance which held them to years of devoted labor. One of them remarked in Paris in 1904 that he had deliberately turned aside from special research and given 20 years to the task of tracing for school boys "the principal transformations of humanity." No mind of equal training, equipment, and power has as yet given itself for any such period to the task in the United States. The occasion has

scarcely arisen. We have been talking and thinking of subjects in history, and not of courses in history.

The second difficulty is that presented by our system of school organization and administration. Pure democracy and undefiled in American public education has meant until recently a common opportunity for eight years of study that scarcely looked beyond the elementary school, followed abruptly by a common opportunity for four years of additional study that looked chiefly to the entrance requirements for college. By this scheme secondary education has been postponed two years beyond the usual period in Europe, and invidious distinctions in the elementary school between pupils with and pupils without high-school prospects, and in the high school between pupils with and pupils without college prospects have been avoided. The principle in the elementary school has been that what is good enough for the majority is good enough for the minority, and in the high school that what is good enough for the minority is good enough for the majority. In consequence of this system of organization we have been forced in the elementary school to shape programs for those who expect to drop out, and in the high school we have been held to subjects prescribed or accepted for entrance to college. Where under such a system is the place, and where the inspiration, for continuity of historical study?

The junior high-school movement promised at first some measure of relief. It looked for a time as if we might plan a related course in history extending throughout the six years of the elementary school and the three years of the junior high school. It even looked for a time as if we might base the work in the senior high school upon the nine years of preparation below. But the prospect is now changing. In system after system organized on the 6-3-3 plan the edict has gone forth that we can have at most two years for history in the junior high school, with American history in any case the one indispensable subject, and that in the senior high school we must continue to meet college entrance requirements. As for the six years of the elementary school, we are reminded that conditions for history must for the present be so adjusted as to admit freely of the transfer of pupils from six-year elementary schools to eight-year elementary schools, and from eight-year elementary schools to six-year elementary schools. We thus appear to have gained for history three independent, unrelated units in place of the former two.

We can not, of course, escape altogether the limitations imposed by our system of school organization. But between the difficulty due to these limitations and the difficulty created by the principle of continuity itself there is, I suspect, some relation. It is true that teachers of history have been occupied with subjects in history be-

cause school administrators have not left room for courses in history. It is also true that school administrators have not left room for courses in history because teachers of history have been occupied with subjects in history. The question of initial responsibility for this situation might be worth a quarrel. But teachers of history need not begin it. It is enough for them to admit that neither they nor school administrators have given really anxious thought to the significance of continuity in history programs, and that neither they nor school administrators have developed the kind of conviction that has been developed in Europe. This limitation at least can be removed.

Here, in my judgment, is the point at which our attack must begin. Do we really believe that a course in history is desirable? Have we any consistent principles that we are ready to apply? I have tried this morning to set forth the principles which have gradually unfolded themselves for me in the course of some years of attention to the history of history teaching. They seem to me in the light of past experiments and experiences to represent a step forward. Whether they are so regarded or not, whether they are worthy of consideration or not, some body of principles we must have if we are to have a course in history. The alternative is the confusion which has reigned from the beginning in the teaching of history in the United States and which still reigns.

In the ends to be sought by a course in history we are in part on old, familiar ground. We want to understand the present. We want to understand ourselves in the community and in the Nation. We want to understand American ideals and American institutions. We want to be made efficient socialized Americans of the twentieth century. But we want to be made also efficient partners in the grand enterprise of cooperating with the rest of the human race.

In closing, may I venture to suggest to those who are irrevocably committed to other ways of dealing with history, and especially to those who, on principle, do not believe in principles, that certain comments which have doubtless occurred to them have already been applied to most of the plans now actually in force and have grown so familiar that anyone bold enough to face an audience like this may be presumed to have given them his earnest consideration. I have, I assure you, been reminded beyond any possibility of forgetting, that college professors are ignorant of school conditions; that teachers of history are sometimes incompetent, usually untrained, and always overworked; that children in the elementary school have immature minds; that boys and girls in the high school are adolescents; that colleges have entrance requirements; that the curriculum is crowded; that the time for history is short, and that, after all, it is not the course in history that matters; it is not the idea of development; it

is not the idea of continuity; it is the personality of the teacher. On the one point that does matter I pause merely to remark that those who have personality—and it is always the other teacher who has not—should thank the Lord, and that those who have it not should pray for personality but not expect too much.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion of this very significant and, to us, vitally important and interesting paper, will be begun by Prof. R. M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago. Those who are to take part in the discussion whose names are on the program will be limited to 10 minutes. I hope that thereafter we may have a large number of pertinent discussions limited to five minutes.

Mr. TRYON. Mr. Chairman and fellow teachers, I want to say in the beginning that I thoroughly believe in a course idea as advocated by Prof. Johnson, and I also thoroughly believe that that idea will in time be injected into the history work done in our public schools. If this great association would take this matter up with enthusiasm definite results would soon follow. For the truth of this statement one needs but to look to what the association has accomplished in the past along this line. The chaotic state in which we find ourselves at the present time regarding history in the elementary and high schools is very similar to that found by the committee of seven nearly 20 years ago. At that time we were organizing new schools, we were perfecting the eighth grade, we were commissioning new high schools with courses four years in duration. No one seemed to know what history to teach in these rapidly growing high schools. At the opportune time the report of the committee of seven appeared; this report brought order out of chaos. Whether or not we now agree to the order it brought, the fact remains that it did bring order, and if you will study the statistics of history in the high schools, say 10 years after this committee made its report, you will be amazed at its widespread influence. The committee of eight referred to by Prof. Johnson had similar influence on the course of study in the elementary schools. While it has been less than 10 years since that report came to the public, its influence has been felt throughout the country. Its influence, no doubt, would continue to be felt through another decade were it not for the fact that the organization of the elementary school for which it was planned is being displaced by an organization to which the report does not seem to be adapted. This fact makes it very urgent that this association again attack the history program and bring some order out of the chaotic condition in which we now find ourselves. As Prof. Johnson suggests, when we upset the eight-year idea and substitute a six-year elementary school, we might say that we have overthrown the report of the committee of eight, however good it might have been. We have overthrown, in a measure, the report of the committee of seven

when we substitute a three-year high-school course for a four-year high-school course; and when we inject the junior high school of three years between the elementary grades and the senior high school, we have a new organization which was provided for neither in the report of the committee of seven nor in the report of the committee of eight; so we are facing a situation which we must immediately get under control. I think the American Historical Association should assume the leadership in adjusting the history program to these new organizations. There is danger of its losing the leadership at the present time. What is needed is an early realization that we are confronted by conditions unknown to the committees of seven and eight, and that we must make a history program to meet these new conditions. The association need not be autocratic in its suggestions. The truth of the matter is, I feel, that we can not put this thing over by being autocratic about it. I think that we must take our friends, the educational psychologists, the educational sociologists, and the educational administrators, into our confidence. We must realize that there is a conflict between the opinions they hold and those held by us. I have jotted down a few of these conflicts as I see them at the present time. I have put on one side the historians who are to-day thinking about a course in history, and the psychologists, the sociologists, and educational administrators on the other. Here are some of the conflicting opinions: The historians believe in history for its own sake, while the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators believe in history for the sake of the child. To them the child is the center of gravity, therefore everything must be turned in its direction; courses of study do not matter, subjects do not matter, but the child—in it all our interests must lie. Again, historians believe in the chronological method of approach and the logical development of the subject; while on the other hand the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators care little about chronological approach and logical development. Furthermore, the historians insist that we must have a whole story—that the history of the United States, for example, must begin at the beginning and the story must be told logically from 1492 right down to the present time. On the other hand, the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators have little interest in this complete story. They say begin at the present if you like, or in the middle, and go in any direction you choose. The historians also believe that there must be a rather detailed view of a period or epoch; the other folks say that a general view in most cases is sufficient. And finally the historians claim that one can not understand the present until one knows and understands the past. The educators tell us that the important thing is to understand the present, and if the past will help, well and good, but we

should start with the present and then if there is anything in the past that we need we can go back and bring it to view. I could go on and enumerate other conflicting opinions relating to history in schools held by the historians and the educators, but this seems unnecessary. I have mentioned enough for you to see the trend of affairs at the present time. It is to be regretted that Prof. Johnson can not continue at the head of our committee. He is the second chairman of this committee whom we have lost; we are drifting along, unfortunately, but of course we can not help these changes; but it seems to me that we should take this thing in hand soon and get to work. It is not a little job, it is a big job. Four or five of us can not get together and propose a program. The work of the committee of seven has amounted to something because the members devoted four or five years to the work; that is why its work has been so influential. The major portion of the time of some one must be spent in working out a program to meet the conditions that we are facing at this time. I think this committee needs the services of a paid secretary to take charge of this work. This would make possible a thorough survey of present-day conditions in order to find out what all classes of educators are thinking and a number are doing. Our committee would then be able to propose a real program to the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators—a program based on facts as well as opinions; a program which would be well received because of the method employed in its construction. To make such a program is the next step which I think this association should take and bring to completion as soon as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion will be continued by Dr. A. M. Wolfson, of the High School of Commerce, New York City.

Dr. WOLFSON. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the way my name appears in this program indicates, in part at least, the way in which I have been rapidly changing my point of view in the course of the past three or four years. Prof. Tryon spoke of the difference in point of view between the historians and the educational administrators and educational psychologists. When I was in the DeWitt Clinton High School I was perhaps a historian—certainly a history teacher. Since then I have perhaps changed my point of view; certainly I have become an educational administrator, maybe an educational psychologist. I am interested now in the history course as part of a general curriculum in a high school, whether it be in an academic high school or in a technical high school, such as the High School of Commerce. I believe from watching the boys and girls in high schools that our course of study must be so fashioned that while it is in progress it will meet the present interests of the boys and girls, so that when it is completed it will meet their interest as citizens of

the United States. That far I am, in spite of Prof. Johnson's assertions, a strong believer in using current events as part of the high-school course.

A year ago I had something to say on that subject, and I tried to make plain then, as I wish to make plain now, my point of view. I do not believe in abandoning all textbooks in history, in forgetting Greece and Rome and medieval Europe, in starting with the answer that was made a day or two ago by the Teutonic allies to the Russian proposal for peace, but I do believe there must be in our course something of what is going on in Austria and Germany and Russia if we are to keep our history in close touch with the lives of the children. I should say then that primarily our course of study must be made with the present interests of our children constantly in mind. So far, you see, I am an educational psychologist rather than a historian.

The thing that is distressing to me as an educational administrator is the fact that when I walk into the room of a history teacher I am apt to find the boys discussing, for example, the early history of England, the period of the Roman occupation, and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, and I am almost certain to find them reproducing word for word the same stories that they told when they were in the sixth and seventh grades in the elementary schools. There is, in other words, no differentiation in our work between the elementary-school attack and the high-school attack. Our children get the same thing over and over again. I wish that some one would work out a course of study so that boys and girls who studied English history or American history in the elementary schools should when they come to study these subjects in the high school at least study them from a different point of view.

Perhaps because I have in the past few years been associated with a special type of school, with a commercial high school rather than the general high school, I have become more and more convinced that one way out of the present difficulty is to adjust our courses to the different needs of the different types of pupils. I should like to see in the High School of Commerce, for example, an attack of our problem from the point of view of commercial development. I believe that our boys would get incidentally a larger understanding of the political development of the Nation if they made their attack from the point of view of the history of commerce. Similarly, I believe that in the industrial high school the course of study should approach history from the point of view of industrial development. In conclusion, I should like to take up, just for a moment, a somewhat unrelated topic. Prof. Johnson in his address referred to the necessity that appears at the present time of inculcating Americanism and American patriotism in our teaching of history. I have not been con-

vinced thus far that the doing of this thing consciously will result in the ends that most of us have in view. I am still convinced that what I believed and what most of this audience believed 5 or 10 years ago about the purpose of our history teaching, that it was to inculcate historical-mindedness and understanding of the past, and of the relation of nations in the past without regard to an emphasis upon American accomplishment and American ideals, is still here. I believe in the long run we shall serve our purposes best and that we shall be able to inculcate in our students a true Americanism if we continue our attempt to understand what were the things that led to temporary hostilities between the American colonists and the men in England, what were the things that led to the American Revolution, without attempting to gloss over the misunderstanding in England of American purposes. If we continue to teach the American Revolution, for example, as we have always taught it, we shall, I believe, perform the miracle in the future that we performed in the past; we shall make of boys and girls born in Germany, in Poland, in Austria, in Russia, in France, or in Italy, at the end of 10 years of schooling, good Americans. I do not believe that it would be wise for us to abandon, in the stress of war times, all the things that we stood for, for so many years before the war came.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion will be continued by Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of the Western Reserve University.

Prof. BOURNE. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say just a word or two about some of the aims of the committee of eight, if I may be pardoned, having been a member of the committee. The committee of eight set out to do the things which Prof. Johnson has commended—that is, to introduce a course of study in history in the elementary schools. What we had in mind was this program I have in my hand; that is, the French program of 1902. There were difficulties, which Prof. Johnson realizes quite as well and better than I. One of the difficulties was the fact that the committee could not obtain a block of four years for the course, including the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. That was our original plan. But the superintendents on our committee held that so many pupils leave at the end of the fifth grade that it was absolutely necessary to have a course in American history, treated according to the biographical method, in the fifth grade. We were accordingly restricted to a block of three years. This increased the difficulty of the problem.

Undoubtedly, our solution of the problem is open to improvement, but it is true that wherever the plan of the committee of eight has been introduced the schools are working, consciously or unconsciously, upon the principle commended by Prof. Johnson.

In the construction of the program I want to point out one or two difficulties. It has been said that the French program in history

embodies a study of the development of humanity rather than a study of the history of France. However, if we look at the program for the first cycle we find that the first year of the four is devoted to ancient history, but that the bulk of the material for the second year is drawn from French history. The French have the advantage that the history of their country illustrates the development of civilization better perhaps than does the history of any other country. From the Roman Empire down, their history may be treated as the nucleus about which the experience of the rest of the world is grouped. Not so with us. Although our civilization, being European, is as ancient as theirs, it is not until we reach the period of the discoveries that we seem to be on American ground. This complicates the problem of the continuous course.

The CHAIRMAN. The next discussion is by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College.

Prof. FOSTER. Among the admirable features of Prof. Johnson's comprehensive conspectus was the way in which he forestalled criticisms by mentioning them himself and sweeping them aside. His excellently planned structure is well adapted to a siege, for he has left us exits rather than entrances; his castle has sally ports for himself but no drawbridge let down for our attack.

He has mentioned the schemes of educational sociologists and psychologists, but are we sufficiently on guard against the uneducated sociologist? While he was speaking I found among my mail an appeal which took for granted that a teacher of history could without hesitation reel off, "a list of a few of the most comprehensive books with which you are acquainted," giving "a short outline study of the religious beliefs of the world; also the beliefs of men in the Stone Age, which I take to be the condition of the American Indians and of the African Negroes when the whites came first in contact with them." Is it any less absurd to expect a teacher in the secondary school to develop historical-mindedness and a reasonable amount of intellectual modesty while fox-trotting with her pupils over most of the surface of the earth in a single year?

However we may differ as to how long a period we should cover, can we not agree to recognize manifest limitations of time, maturity, and natural interest, and join in trying to help teacher and pupil in differentiating the essential from the unessential? When I sit down to talk over with a boy or girl a considerable block of a book, say like Green's Short History of the English People, I realize what a body of material there is that the young reader could not be expected to note or long remember, and how difficult it is for him to recognize the important things. The difficulty of the enormous body of material facing the immature pupil appears even more clearly when one

looks at even the most carefully prepared papers for the examining of secondary school pupils. The stretch of time, the variety of books, the range of topics are so tremendous that there is obvious need of some approach to a consensus of opinion as to what should be emphasized and what may be neglected. Only through elimination, selection, and emphasis can teacher and pupil win time for some degree of thoroughness, and opportunity for real training through enlightening questions and problems such as Prof. Johnson has suggested in his book and his address. Such selection and elimination can not be done solely by a single writer or teacher, or dictated to all and sundry in cast-iron form by any committee representative of only one stage of teaching. Such a piece of work, to command confidence and prove workable, must be somewhat elastic and must be the product of cooperation, and not of contention or exploitation.

If we are to work out a generally acceptable plan, teachers in elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges must pool their knowledge and experience. Through such consensus of opinion as to what should be and what has proved to be worth while teaching, we can arrive at some agreement as to what should be emphasized, so that to other topics the relieved teacher may devote as much or as little time as his own judgment approves. If this association, through its committee on history in schools, could cooperate with the committees of the various history teachers' associations who have already given time and thought to this plan, and then say to teachers, "we feel, having gone over the field together, that certain things prove to be fundamental, and you can afford to take time to teach these essential things well," then teachers and pupil would have a certain freedom from the feeling that they must cover, as of equal importance, everything mentioned in the textbook. Teachers would then feel a certain freedom to take up other topics in which they are especially interested or in which they find pupils taking keen interest; for they would find time for such matters of local or personal interest because relieved of the burden of the omnium gatherum of Father Time, and able to pass over altogether some of the antiquities in the rag bag, or make any passing use they may wish of the eventually negligible. Whatever your committee may do, however comprehensive and ambitious its program, this marking out of consensus of opinion as to what is essential and deserving of emphasis in the various fields of history is vital to any report.

It was the demand for something of this sort on the part of both school and college teachers, expressed repeatedly at conferences of the American Historical Association, at meetings of history teachers' associations from New England to California, and through replies to questionnaires, that gave this committee on history in schools its ex-

istence and its primary object.¹ A comparatively brief list of essential topics to be emphasized (not an elaborate syllabus) together with lists of topics for collateral reading, such as was asked for by replies from teachers in secondary schools and in colleges, might be used in the testing of pupils at the close of a school course or at their entrance to college. Is it fanciful to think that possibly such lists of topics and examinations based on such lists and given by the school might help to speed the day when school and college might unite in recognizing the great value of a written examination given by the school on the basis of material agreed upon by consensus of school and college teachers? It should, however, be always remembered that the matter of college entrance is not and has not been the main object of this committee. It is of course only one of the things to be considered in the problem of the continuous teaching of history.

As in the matter of topics to be treated there must be some range for individuality and locality, so in programs, why should we not frankly recognize that alongside an ideal program of courses for all schools (if we only had some central authority to carry it through as in France) we should take into consideration differences of conditions and aims and background? We have a multitude of educational authorities in different parts of the country, and entirely different kinds of schools. There is the ordinary high school, the technical and commercial high, the junior and the senior high schools, the private schools, and the historic endowed academies. Then there are existing and well established courses that should be recognized as such and entitled to definition, whatever new courses may be hoped for. In 1914 Prof. Johnson, in his excellent book on the Teaching of History, reports that he found out of 600 schools only 10 per cent entirely neglecting the epoch-making report of the committee of seven; 85 per cent offered ancient history; 79 per cent American history; 76 per cent European; and 58 per cent English history. American history was required in 63 per cent of the schools, ancient history in 59 per cent. A school unable to give four years of history and trying to map out three years might naturally give two years to European and one to American history. The difficulty here is as to how far to go in the first year and still do work that is really historical and not merely perfunctory and uneducational. Could we not say to schools, If you are giving a four-year course as recommended by the committee of seven and the committee of five, or the slightly modified four-year course suggested by the committee of five, continue to give these if satisfactory; or if you can give but

¹ The origin and purpose of the movement, with analysis of 412 replies from teachers, may be found in *The History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1916, pp. 191-193. Ninety-two per cent of those replying to the specific question favored a list of "essential main topics, with little or no subdivisions, which certainly ought to be included and emphasized."

three and are omitting the English (save as included in the European) continue to do so if the plan works well? If the ordinary high school can give but two years, one of these would inevitably be American and the other would probably be in the majority of schools with little interest in ancient and more interest in later times, a year in medieval and modern history, with emphasis on the modern period. On the other hand, where there is a natural interest in the classics and ancient civilization, why not make use of that environment and interest? Why should precisely the same selection of courses be made for the high school in Sleepy Eye, Dawn (in Darke County, Ohio), and in the Roxbury Latin School, and the Phillips Academy, Exeter? Why not teach thoroughly Greek and Latin civilization through both language and history courses, in schools with a sound historical background of appreciation of that civilization, where pupils can be led to understand and take interest in what they really know something about? That would give real knowledge and vital training. The quality of the knowledge and the training is more important than a uniformity which would have all pupils study the same period whatever the background and equipment of the school. We may well remember that England's cabinets have largely been drawn from the men who have been trained not merely in the classical languages, but in the politics, social life, and problems of Greek and Latin states, with that constant comparison with modern civilization which the well-read teacher and the reading and thinking pupil shall make. Quite different would be the environment and intellectual stimulus of the technical high school, or perhaps of a school in a town that had been lately founded, where interest would lie in more modern lines.

In any case let us try to cooperate in helping schools not to attempt more than they can do well. Let us give all the enthusiasm and intelligence we can to helping teachers and pupils in history to do something well, so that they may know the difference between the thing that is and the thing that is not, recognize the difference between knowing and guessing, and be ready to do their part not merely in making the world safe for democracy but in making democracy safe for the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose every one of us here has ideas about the subject that has been discussed, and I hope a very large number will desire to express those ideas. The time is yours, with the understanding that no one shall speak for more than five minutes.

Mr. MIMS. I was greatly impressed by what Prof. Foster said. I think he has struck one of the most vital problems that we have got to face. I think the first point of value that we have got to take up is not primarily the teaching of history. I am going to try to get out of one of the exits that Prof. Johnson closed up. I

think we must start with elementary and secondary education, and there we have immature minds, and the primary object of all educational systems is the training of those minds. What I am afraid of is this: If we go ahead and draft a program, the teachers will adopt it because it is something definite. That is where our textbooks have failed, very frequently, I think, in putting things into a too definite form. Students are continuing, on their entrance examinations (of which I have read a great many), to give back to you classified statements, classified knowledge, apparently without much effort at digestion. It has been a question of making the mind a phonographic record instead of an organ of digestion, and if you give a very definite program in the teaching of history, the teachers are going to accept it.

Now, I say we are after the education of those children, instead of teaching them so much history or attempting to teach them so much that we may keep them from studying subjects which are more profitable for them to study in the training of their minds. In other words, I think we must be very careful not to make too elaborate a program. Furthermore, might not the suggestion of subjects to be taught in the field to be covered by our teachers tempt them into too difficult programs? I am quite in sympathy with Prof. Foster's point of view that the prime need of American education, in history, or in anything with which we are concerned, is to teach well. If we do suggest a program, why can't we make some provision by which the teacher, if he does create a great deal of interest, or a school that finds itself in possession of a teacher who has enthusiasm, make provision by which the man that really teaches one thing well might teach that and not glide over a great many subjects? The course of American education to-day is along that line; we are wandering in the wilderness and trying to teach something of everything, and not teaching anything effectively. There are rare exceptions, but in general I think that is the great danger we are facing. I hope this association, therefore, will, through some form of committee, or acting as a body, not give to the secondary and elementary schools too much of a program, corrupting them along those lines in which I think our educational system has been corrupted too much. The great field which I hope to see developed under some program and of which I have heard no word this morning, is for the secondary school, the field of historical biography. I believe it is neglected, and it is a most fruitful field for approach to the study of history. Phillips Brooks once said at Exeter, in a talk to the boys there, that he thought the most effective way for a young chap to get interested in the past was through reading the life of some great leader, and that if he found himself unable to get interested in the first chapter of the book, he should turn to the close of the man's career and then read back.

We have this study of biography, and it seems to me that it is a tangible way to introduce the subject of history to children and I am surprised that it has not been more extensively used.

Mr. MOORE. I want to tell you what we are doing in Indiana. I never knew what was the matter with the State legislature, but I think I have found out this morning; I think its members have personality. Some time since the flood they demanded that if a student is going to study history for one year in high school it must be American history, and we have tried ever since to live that down. Last fall the State teachers' association, through the history section, appointed a committee to revise the history course. That committee did a good deal of work. It sent out several questionnaires. Eighty per cent responded, and we found some very astonishing things. We found that only 10 per cent of the students in the larger high schools have any use for a course in history, and 60 per cent of them with only one year which, under the State law, had to be American history. I am sorry I have not the figures with me. I can only give you general figures. We found that seventy-odd per cent of the Indiana high-school teachers are in three-teacher high schools. After a good deal of careful investigation, a committee reported this last fall to the State association and suggested a wise solution very similar to what Prof. Foster suggested—a two-year course. But we still have the State law, so that if we have a two or three year course the student must take one year of American history. Now, our two-year course is divided at 1715; that is, the first year is to cover the ground down to what we will say is the beginning of recent times, and the second year is to be spent on the last two centuries.

In addition to that there must be a course in American history which will include a good deal of civics. You see the two-year course includes American history, which is the State requirement. The association adopted that report of the committee and a resolution was sent to the State board, which adopted it, and the coming March the board is to make a five-year textbook adoption, and the new course is to be the thing around which the textbook condition centers. I am interested in the matter because I am on the committee, and the committee is to try to humanize the textbooks which have been sent in. We have already received two textbooks which fairly answer the demands of the two-year course. Each one is a two-volume set. I have looked them over very, very carefully. It is the same old story; most of the books deal with teaching the teacher, and the question is how to teach history to children. Now a great many of the teachers know a great deal more about history than they can possibly teach to the children. You gentlemen deal with college students; you are much nearer to the students than the high-school teacher is to his students, or to a still greater degree than the grade

teacher. There is a great gap which it is very difficult to bridge over even though one knows it exists and tries very sincerely to bridge it over. We are going to try to make possible the use of those textbooks in a variety of schools. We have made no specific plans as yet, but we are going to try to suggest as many possible ways of using those books as we can, whether it happens to be a Salt Lake City or some place in New Hampshire. We have a population which is largely German in some neighborhoods in Indiana; in some counties 50 per cent of the people still speak only German, and the other part of the population is made up of people from Kentucky and New England, and we are going to try to suggest methods so broad that they will cover the local demands; and if I am so fortunate as to be here a year from now I should like to tell you what we have accomplished in our attempt to adjust the situation. I think the discussion this morning illustrates the fluid state in which the association finds itself in regard to the question of the teaching of history. I think that something ought to be done along the lines suggested by Prof. Tryon. I simply rose to say that there is a gentleman who, along with Prof. Johnson, has been for a long time working on a course of history for the high schools of the State of New York. I wish that Dr. A. C. Flick, of Syracuse University, would speak to us for a few minutes.

Dr. FLICK. I shall be very glad indeed to tell you what the committee in New York State has been thinking about. I don't know that I can give away all of the secrets of that committee; that is not expected. Perhaps the general character of our work can be completely understood when I say that Prof. Johnson has been, in a way, the guiding spirit in that committee. The committee feels that it has a very serious problem before it in the State of New York. We have unusual conditions there; we have a great city down along the lower end of the Hudson, with its own particular needs; we have also small towns and villages scattered throughout the remaining portions of the State, and there the conditions are very different, and the problems must be handled in a different way. Now, New York State, along with other States of the country, I believe, has honestly attempted to do something with the old recommendation of the block system, but I think in general it is true that we have found that while the idea was one toward which a great many teachers desired to strive, they found it absolutely impossible to work it out, not only in the four-year course, but even in the three-year course. As suggested by the gentleman from Indiana, they found that the State, through its appropriations, virtually compelled all of the schools in New York to teach American history if the State money was to be received, and there was virtually little time left, as you will understand, for three years or even two years of history work. The com-

mittee at its annual session has sought to meet that condition. We have not been able to teach the four-year or the three-year course. What can we do? Can we count on two years? Can we count on three years? And if we have two years, or three years, then what ought we to teach? What ought we to put into the high schools? The committee has discussed those questions, and in a way it has answered them. We have been led to hope that in New York State we might have three years for history work, and if that is done—if that is granted to us—then I believe the committee will recommend that the three years be divided up somewhat as follows.

The first year will be devoted to ancient history and to that period following the ancient field down to some more recent epoch, say, 1750 or 1789. That would probably be the plan and would mean that one-half of the first year would be devoted to the field of ancient history and the second half to the period following, down to 1789 or 1750. If but two years are allowed, there is to be a separation at that point, and students will have the opportunity of one year of American history with the world view in mind, American history as the center of world history, or he may go on and take up modern European history with the world history as the goal. If, however, he can devote his time to two years, then he will probably take as his second year modern European history from the world standpoint, and go on to the third year American, still from the world standpoint, with stress on civics. I think it is the general hope throughout the State that we may be able to obtain these three years, and, if we can, as far as my own view goes, I believe it would be a very decided step forward.

Miss TALL. Those of you who are familiar with the elementary schools know that up to this time we know what to do in geography—we know we must have it from the third grade up; we know what to do in arithmetic from the first grade up—it is well defined. But for years we have been wondering what to do with history. The teachers are willing to do what you say; they are not specialists, as they are in the secondary schools; an elementary teacher has to be a very miscellaneous-minded person. She is teachable and is easily led.

A few years ago the committee of eight gave us some plans, and I should say that there has been no greater evidence of the interest in history, in our country, than is evident in our country school system. We still need more light. When Prof Johnson says that we want continuity, we are willing to have continuity in the elementary grades. We should be glad to have him lay out a plan for the teaching of history in the first three grades, something like the plan adopted by the Horace Mann School in the Teachers' College, and

this could go out over the country. It is not only necessary for the private schools, but it is necessary for the public schools. I am not considering the secondary schools right now; but we should be very glad to follow a plan and come back with our evidence for discussion at the joint meeting of elementary teachers and historians, and I think we would have very good results. But there must be definite standards, set up for the grade teacher, just as there are definite standards in other branches, such as English. We know whether the sentence idea should be taught in the first grade, whether there should be the recognition of a period as punctuation; do we know definitely whether the third grade should have at least 10 facts in history? Probably the facts would not be stated, but a statement should be made to the effect that pupils should have 10 facts in history, that the child shall have come in contact with at least the primary sources, that the child shall have come in contact with at least four evidences, four phases of historical evidence, shall have seen several relics, something of that kind. Can it be made as definite as that? It has got to be if the foundation for historical-mindedness is to be made in the elementary school; and according to Prof. Foster the elementary school has got to lay the foundation. They want the secondary free to do the special things; so we have got it all to do in the elementary. The matter of standard is one that I should like to leave with you this morning. It will not meet the situation just to lay down the cycles, you must lay down definitely the historical facts, the historical events that you want the children in the first and second and third grades to know, and I think it can be as definite as that; and the textbooks that are placed in the hands of the teachers must be well worked out. The textbooks have got to be improved very, very much before history teaching can be improved.

Miss BELCHER. I was in absolute sympathy with every word that Prof. Johnson said. We all deeply regret the resignation of the chairman of this committee; it will be a great loss. I was also in sympathy with the remarks of Prof. Tryon. I have felt that the secondary school teacher has been in a quandary; we have been under some pressure to accept the educational, psychological study, and it has been a question whether we should accept it or not. I feel that the American Historical Association should be the leader, should assume the leadership, and I wish to follow that association because it seemed to me that the committee of history teachers spoke with more authority than the educational association. That is the stand I have taken so far, but it is difficult to keep that stand unless the American Historical Association explains the definite stand which must be taken. I think this association has more authority, because we represent the two sides of the question; we are

not only historians, but also educators; we represent both points of view. The other committee has some of the historical profession, but has also other members who have nothing to do with history; they are school superintendents and administrators. I think Prof. Tryon is right; we ought to get together and work in sympathy; there should be no antagonism, because the evidence points very strongly to the fact that the different committees are following the guidance and mandates laid upon the other committee of school superintendents and school commissioners. We must have something definite to follow, and the report of the committee of seven did furnish some sort of a plan; did bring order out of chaos. I should prefer to get along with that, modified, until we can have something of equal authority, something authoritative from this same association. We have individual schemes, and I think the committee should continue its work without creating more disorder at the present time. Personally I should be heartily in favor of this committee being continued and getting to work with great enthusiasm and scholarship to give us something definite. Otherwise we shall be forced to some other leadership.

Dr. KNOWLTON. At the risk of being considered an opportunist, it would seem to me that the next step is rather a matter of defining the field already marked out by the committee of seven and by such committees as have worked over the fields of history. I heartily sympathize with the remarks of Prof. Foster. It seems to me that in working out the definition by topic, with some idea of the content of the topic, we should be ready, probably within two or three years, to take the step which has been suggested here as the possible next step, that is, a continuous course. A continuous course—that is the point. Let us take what we have and make a logical course. I would like to see such a logical course mapped out along the lines suggested by Prof. Johnson, with that kind of a theme; but I am thinking of the practical side of the problem, and I know that the conditions in the high schools where we have together three or four teachers, make it hard to get them to work toward a definite goal. If it is a hard thing to get three or four teachers to cooperate with the head in a single school, to work over the same ground and with the same aims, how much more difficult when we have to consider the schools of the entire country or the schools of an entire State. It seems to me that this is the line of least resistance. Let us do something. There is nothing that needs sound teaching more than history, and we need it now more than ever. Can we not within a year or two define a certain field; we have already made some plans; we have a basis to work upon; and I think we should map out a program, a continuous program, running from the first grade on to the last grade of the high-school course. That is where I stand, and I

feel that my convictions have been reinforced by the clarifying discussion of the morning. I was rather inclined to believe with Prof. Johnson that the first step was a course system; but I feel I have been switched around; I think the matter has been forced upon this association and we must face it, as has been suggested by two or three speakers. The elements are already mapped out. In the block system we must determine the points that we are to lead up to, the points that would appeal to the student when first taking up the subject. It seems to me that the coming textbooks for the elementary and secondary school should be encouraged to make their first chapters a good deal easier than the last chapters. It seems to me that most textbooks are too continuous; they tell the story in too uniform a manner. The textbooks on other subjects start in with the easy, elementary work in the first chapter and then gradually lead up to the more advanced work. The third point I should like to make is the question of having the longest course first in the high school; the course from primitive man to 1715 seems to me much more difficult than the next course, the next two centuries, of European history. It is very difficult for the young person to cover that vast extent of time. It seems contrary to the idea of taking up the more elementary and easier portion of the subject first.

Miss EVANS. Has this body the power to act or are we simply to discuss this? I should like to know if we could crystalize some of this discussion and draft some resolution which could be given to the council of this association as the fruits of what we have been talking about; otherwise they may not be present and may not realize the points that have been brought out to-day. I was personally very much interested in Dr. Tryon's suggestion of seeking from the council the continuation of this work by securing a grant of money and the paid service of a secretary in order that the work might not fall too heavily upon people already overburdened; such work always falls upon the people who are most overburdened with other things.

Perhaps we could get Dr. Johnson to do the directing. I should like Dr. Tyron to offer a resolution which might, if it suits this body, be passed on to the council, asking that Prof. Johnson be persuaded to help the committee in an advisory capacity, and that sufficient funds be subscribed to carry on the work. We are going to lose a year or two by losing the direction of the work—that is without doubt—and all of these discussions to-day have shown the great need for some sort of crystallization. As a member of the committee of the National Education Association, I was interested to see that we are not taken seriously, that our recommendations are unorthodox because they are not stamped with the approval of the American Historical Association. I expected that; but I also noticed,

Miss Belcher, that orthodox historians are being somewhat influenced by that report although we were branded as sociologists and failed to put over an historical program without the backing of the American Historical Association. We need either one of two things; either Mr. Knowlton's idea of this morning of defining the field, the ideas he has just voiced, or his idea of last night of having a continuous course in history. We want something done. Why wait a year or two years and then perhaps meet the same conditions? If Mr. Tryon, who suggested the idea, would present a resolution which could be passed on to the council, so this committee might be continued without burdening Prof. Johnson, but might have his advice, I think we might be able to accomplish results.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not a body capable of taking action, but it is an indisputable right of any body of Americans to offer and pass resolutions.

Prof. DUTCHER. There is some information which I judge has not been put in general circulation, that a committee was appointed consisting of six secondary teachers and five college teachers of history, to define, as several have suggested here this morning, the different existing fields as outlined by the committee of seven, or later modified by the committee of five, so that the teachers who are trying to prepare students to meet the college entrance examination may have a uniform method to follow in giving their instruction; and it is the purpose of the college examination board to have this report in the course of the present college year, and it is intended to make that work simply a matter of simple expedience. There has been no attempt to encroach upon the field of Prof. Johnson. The committee has taken pains to acquaint itself with Prof. Johnson's work and the necessary relation of the work of the two committees.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now a little after half past 12 and I think we shall have to close this meeting in a few moments; but the Chair will recognize those on the floor.

Mr. CALDWELL. I have felt in the discussion that there must be a reactionary cause; there has been so much stress laid on a program of a diversified character. I have felt from my experience and from my own study the impossibility of expecting too much from boys and girls in the way of covering a wide ground, and particularly in the way of philosophizing. The college entrance board on examinations and the committee on definition of standards have just been mentioned, and that is, it seems to me, more important almost than the laying down of a program, because the college entrance board in past examinations has required from students of history a standard of knowledge that not 1 out of 10 of the average school students could attain. It seems to me that we ought to hold clearly in mind that

girls and boys up to the age of college students have limitations. We can not expect large acquirements of definite facts along the lines of history. We can suggest the general principles and establish those in our minds, but the actual relation of those principles must come in later years from the contemplation of facts which they have acquired in school, and I think we ought to satisfy ourselves with that knowledge and recognize that general principle in any program which we may formulate for the study of history in the schools.

Mr. HARDING. I have been very much interested in the discussions this morning from several points of view. I am interested in the work of the committee, and I should like to say as a member of the council of the association that certain arguments advanced this morning are very essential, and that they ought most assuredly to receive the attention of the council. But there are difficulties with which perhaps all of the members of the association are not familiar. This is a lean year, a very lean year, and the association is suffering from a lack of means. The committee was greatly handicapped last year owing to the illness of Prof. Johnson, which prevented his personal direction, and it was also handicapped by the lack of funds. During the present year, I regret to state, the lack of means still continues. I think I shall not be guilty of divulging secrets if I say that the association is faced with a considerable deficit. Now, I do not know that I shall continue on the committee during the coming year. I can not speak for the other members of the committee, but I shall be glad, at my own expense, to give wherever it is needed; and in regard to the problems that face us it occurs to me that the matter first of all is the matter of definition of the field of which Prof. Foster has just spoken. The committee has the benefit of a considerable number of individual attempts at such definition, and those attempts, that material, ought not to be lost. All that is needed is a certain amount of coordination of combinations and publications, and inasmuch as the commission or the committee of the college entrance board is already at the task, it seems to me that the work might be turned over to that body; the material collected by our committee might be given to the college entrance board as the definition of the content of the existing needs. We are passing through an extremely critical period, and there is no question that an important study will have to be made; the program will have to be modified. That, it seems to me, is the function which the American Historical Association might assume. The committee might be continued and offered these suggestions. In reference to a resolution being adopted, I hope you will consider the resources which will be available for the continuation of this work. I suggest a continuation of the work and also a division of the labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry to have to close this extraordinarily interesting discussion.

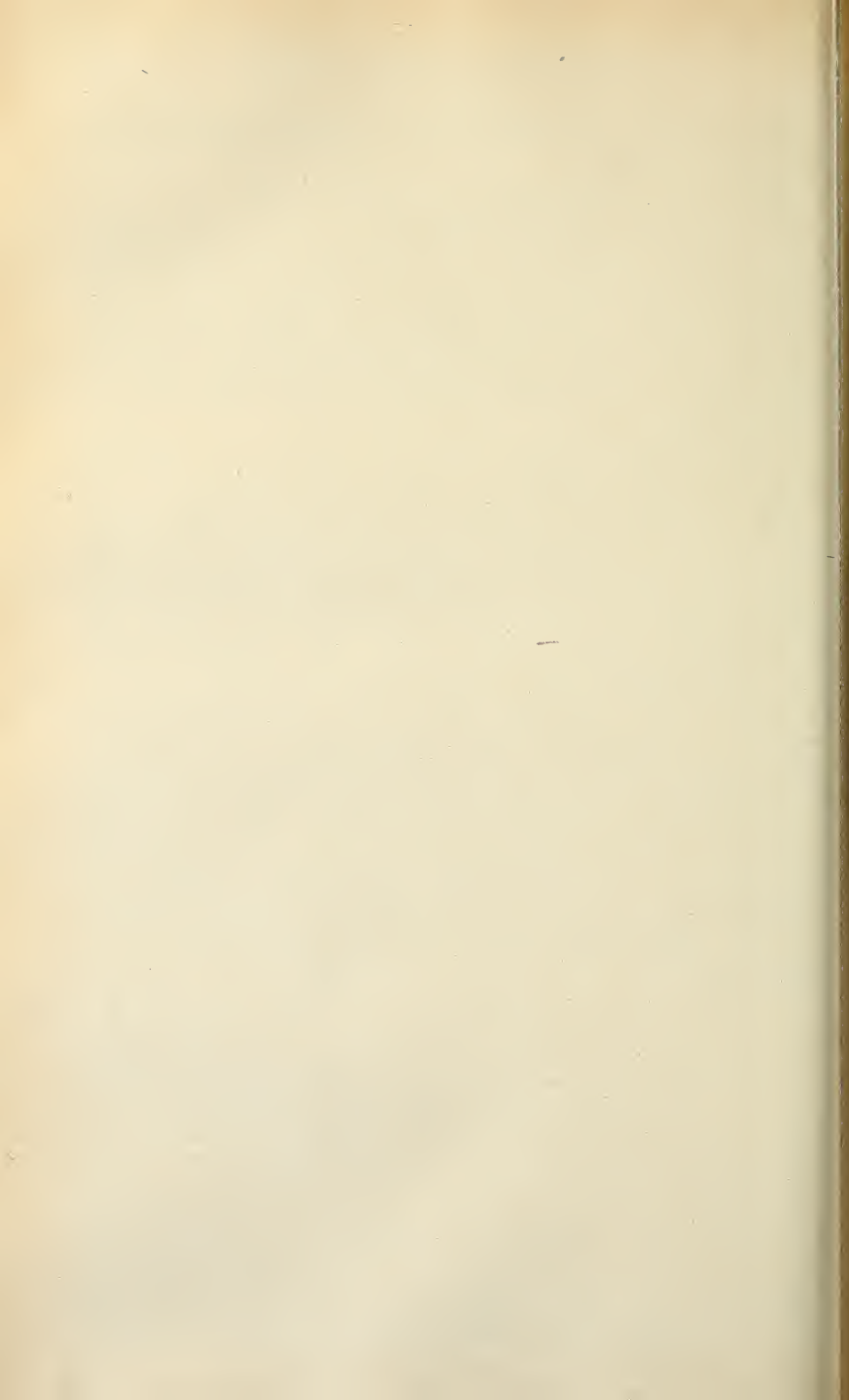
Miss EVANS. May we not act upon some resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. That right is still yours.

Dr. TRYON. Miss Evans has suggested that I present a resolution. I would not care to do so. Dr. Harding has attended our session and I feel sure that if there is any possible way to get any money or anything from the council, Prof. Harding will present it to the council and get all that we could get through a resolution of this kind. I am personally willing to trust the entire matter to Prof. Harding.

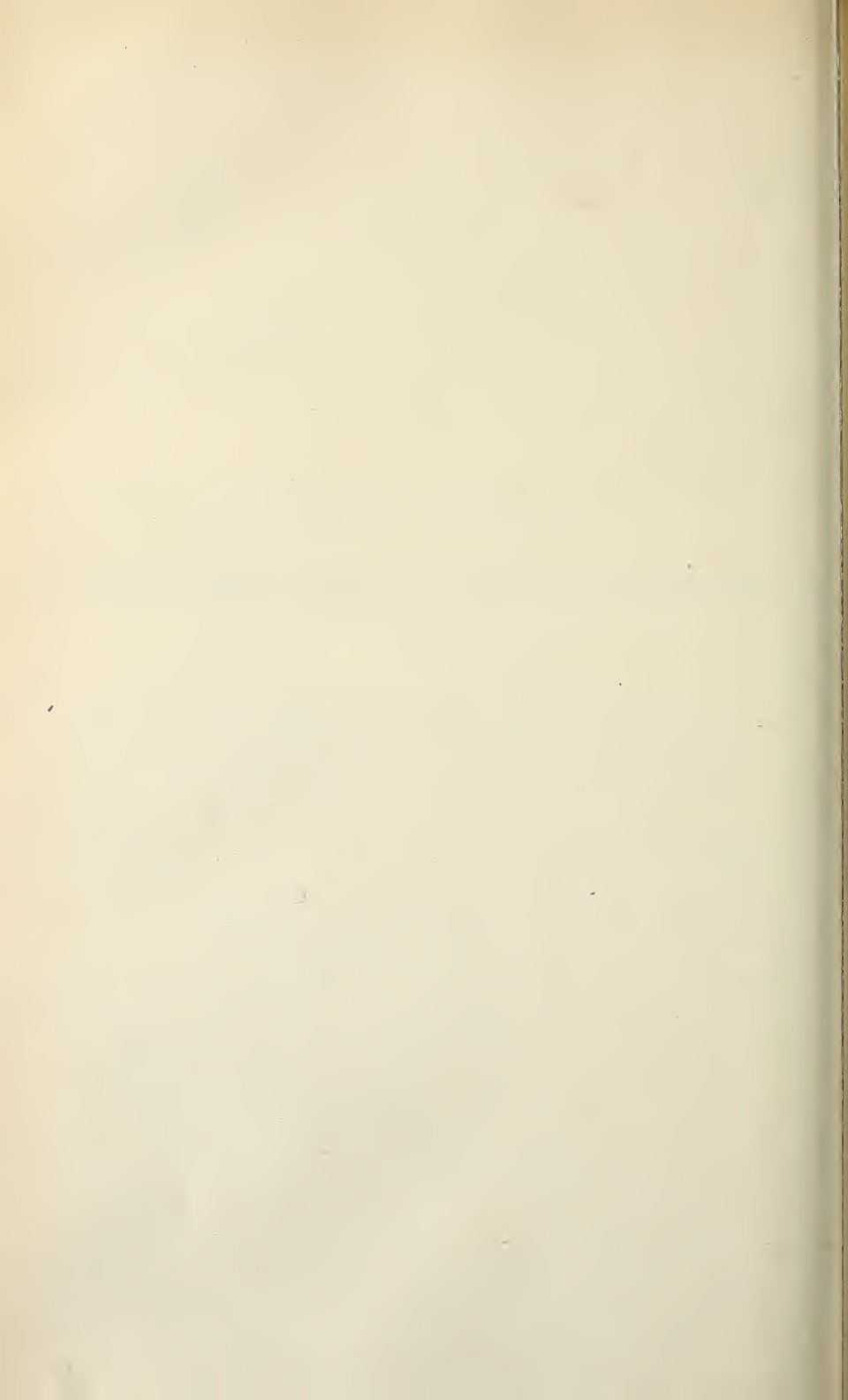
Prof. FOSTER. May I suggest that we do not fully understand the financial standing of the association, and we had better leave this matter to the council which has all information in its hands.

The CHAIRMAN. This discussion has been most interesting to me, and it has been extraordinarily interesting in point of view of the failure of all discussers to take up points that I thought might be made the subject of rather heated discussion here, for example, the question of the relation of history to patriotism. The position taken by Prof. Johnson and Mr. Wolfson seems to have aroused no dissent upon the question of interpreting history of the past by the motive of the present; there seems to have been no dissent. Perhaps I have phrased that unfortunately. The position taken by Prof. Johnson, and perhaps suggested by one or two others, was that the past should be interpreted by the motive that induced the action of the past. There seems to be no dissent from that position. Those two points, I thought, would meet with a great deal of discussion, and the fact that they have not seems to imply that we have reached a consensus of opinion on that proposition, and that the points advanced by Prof. Johnson meet with our approval. The meeting stands adjourned.



VI. THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
President of the American Historical Association.



THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.¹

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The long line of my abler predecessors in office has given expression to many views and convictions. There are definitions of history, the application of historical principles, the interpretation of periods or of events, and experiment in forecasting the future in terms of the past. Scholar, publicist, and public servant have expressed their beliefs, outlined their hopes, and even intimated their disappointments in historical language. After such a series of treatments the field has been so well gleaned as to leave little yet to be garnered. If, therefore, I say a word for an historical agency on which almost no words have been spent, my apology must cover at once the poverty of the subject and the comparatively low rank of the agency. I refer to the editor of original sources of history, the ginning or picking machine which deals with the raw material, the first stage toward the warp and woof of historical writing.

Let us start with something definite. "Was it you," wrote an Englishman to Joseph Jefferson, the actor, "or was it your grandfather who wrote the Declaration of Independence?" The inquirer and the question are always with us and one of the objects of writing and teaching history is to make both harmless, if not impossible. And the lowest round of the ladder of accomplishment is the editor. He assumes the existence of the anxious inquirer, he seeks to measure his wants, and he frames the answer on such a plane as to hit the average degree of ignorance. "Ignorance," wrote Emerson in his journal, "is but an appetite which God made us to gratify." The editor is a source of information and a measure of quantity suited to a dose. A physician selects his remedies on case practice on a range of experience which has eliminated every factor of doubt but the personal equation of the subject. The giver of information has few rules based on experience for his guidance, and has a double personal equation to meet—that of his subject and that of his questioner. No wonder the failures are many.

The art is comparatively new, for it arose out of myth and fable and is still painfully groping toward truth. Evolutionists tell us that the development of moral concepts has been as gradual and

¹ Presidential address, reprinted from *American Historical Review*, XXIII, 273-286.

certain as the development of physical characteristics, and some would lay down a rule of thumb to show how the ideas of truth, right, and justice have been evolved from moral nescience. What would the writer of history not give for such a standard or measure! The pleasure and the relief of being able to determine thus almost mechanically the degree of faith to be given to this or that relator; the delight of placing him in his proper stage of development and the mastery of purpose which would follow—what boons to the plodding reader who must rest his story upon what others, of another time and place, have related. The strata of dependence thus defined would mean a scientific test for reliability, something far beyond the existing method of setting relator against relator and accepting the mean as truth.

Three centuries ago, before there was a wide public to be gulled, the little circle of readers was given on the death of a great man a volume of his testament or parting advice. The contents had just enough verisimilitude to be accepted in part, and the advice was wholly interested. The practice common in its day on the Continent of Europe easily slipped into the later form of memoirs, and from the memoirs came biography. To pass upon the career of a public man immediately after his death involves no light task. The secretarial writer, of which Boswell is such a shining example, may be truthful and interesting; but if he is sincere and loyal he will not lightly relate what may tell against his employer. That appeal to prurient curiosity which finds a market in sensation has been framed in many ways and still attracts support. A Pepys holds up a personal mirror with the reflecting surface toward himself, and unconsciously gives material for judging others and his own times such as no serious-minded historian could give and such as no writer on Pepys's period can neglect. The little has become the important.

The United States has not been rich in self-written history, nor is the little it possesses of startling moment. An explanation offered by some declares the lack of real interest in American history. However rich in pictures and incidents it does not present flashes and explosions of overwhelming importance. Another explanation is that its people have been too occupied in opening territory to settlement and development to expend much energy on recording and explaining the course of events, much less the participation in the struggle where the overscrupulous were doomed to defeat. A third would say that a democracy is against good history, for it means a slow vulgarizing of the best. No such explanations will account for the absence of those willing and able to relate their own careers after their own point of view. Their names should be legion. The foreign visitor, in the rawest period of our growth,

has not failed in picturesque, even lurid contrast, and has not found us inarticulate on ourselves or bashful of suggesting our merits. If the tone has been one of bluster rather than of philosophic analysis, it is genuine and not assumed, even to the wincing at the reflection returned by the not too faultless mirror.

In colonial New England publicity in the religious experiences of members or would-be members of the churches was exacted. If printed they take rank with the confessions of condemned criminals just reprieved, interesting not for their content, but for the state of mind and surroundings they show. They constitute a necessary item in the social history of the time, a crude form of the third degree, by which it was hoped a corner of the curtain of the soul, the token of immortal man, would be raised. The diaries, chiefly kept in interleaved almanacs by the ministers, were never intended for the public eye, and rarely rise above the level of a record of church ministration, with items of farm and household of a singularly bald nature. Once in a great while some one has the itch of putting all his thoughts and feelings on paper, and in seeking to imitate St. Augustine in frankness and scope, presents the most repellent features of religious ecstaticism. Sainthood and martyrdom are able to endure that form of exhibition; but the atmosphere of early New England lacks in the quality which makes martyrdom picturesque; and this self-immolation to dogma long since passed away leaves the reader cold, even in a critical frame of mind. Did the situation of soul really demand this suffering? Is it not the symptom of physical derangement so easily mistaken for a divine afflatus? Of the sincerity of the sufferer there need be no doubt; but for permanent effect the acting is a little overdone.

Whence comes this expansiveness which often mounts to the grotesque; this tendency to publicity of thought and action? It is not English, for that people avoid exhibitions of feeling lest they make themselves ridiculous. It is not French, for they have a better sense of finish and proportion. It is not Scottish, for they are too canny to waste even emotion without some definite return. The Irish have a humor that saves them from ridicule, though it does not endow them with the needed balance wheel of wisdom. The sentiment of Germany overruns proper bounds, but is not reflected in the leading examples of American self-written biography. The American expression is peculiar, a proper accompaniment of a territory almost without limits. Virgin land at settlement, it had a strong influence on those who came to it. Its symbol is a screaming eagle, and who would blame an eagle for screaming in boundless space? Every American claims the right of free utterance. As a child he has used it, as a man he has abused it, the only restraint being a wholesome fear of the law of libel or an appeal to the

medieval and murderous law of honor. Even this right of utterance is quite modern.

Censorship of the press, one stage in the development, is an historical survival, and in English-speaking countries (except Ireland) is merely of historical importance. Liberty "to know, to utter and to argue" Milton placed above all other liberties; but so long as it could be interpreted by an autocratic ruler, by virtue of an undefined general prerogative, the liberty existed only in name. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* made it punishable by death to speak against the ruling power, and by one of those strange sequences of events he was himself brought to trial for countenancing the pretensions of a nun who was charged with treasonable language. Freedom came slowly, and such was the effect of the supervision of the press that under the Restoration the newspaper press was practically reduced to the *London Gazette*—an official and inspired organ. In two centuries and a half such interferences have been abolished. While Great Britain has, after its fashion, never rested the freedom of the press on law but on its unwritten constitution, the United States have glorified in its recognition in their bills of right, an essential part of their constitutions. The price paid is a confusion of tongues, a multiplicity of opinion which produces indigestion, and an absence of standards which permits the glorification of the seamy and the sordid as freely as of the great and the admirable. Laudation of self and institutions is justified by accomplishment, and if it is pitched in too high a key is excusable by its honesty.

One compensation may be found in this discordant circle of self-praise, filial praise, and disciple praise. The note is unharmonious even in development. There has not long existed a studied combination singing praises of one man or one policy; at no time do we trace that blind sacrifice of opinion which marks the devoted adherent to faction, to party, to church, or to State. There has been no suggestion of general interference by the State to impose upon the people a single interpretation of policy outside of law. The opposition has been as free as the supporters of government, and the third or independent party, or the silent independent voter, tends to correct such an overwhelming drift as could be interpreted as an unrestricted mandate from the people to their representatives, or from the Government to the people. Except in great crises the American conception of liberty of speech has been maintained, and in the severe crises, as Rhodes says of the War of Secession, the great principles of liberty have not been invalidated by the exercise of extraordinary powers, although the arbitrary exercise of those powers were to be condemned. Even against the Government the citizen can invoke the protection of the courts.

Self-editing finds expression in autobiography, and the one great example of American autobiography is that of Franklin, written, be it remembered, late in life and never finished. Unable to live his life over again in fact he took the nearest to it, to make a recollection of that life as durable as possible by putting it down in writing. And he gratified his vanity in so doing, believing that vanity is "often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life." The entire relation is redolent of a studied frankness that lulls the reader into a forgetfulness of much in Franklin's career that a moralist would dwell upon. I almost fancy that Cotton Mather would have been pleased to preach the last sermon heard by the condemned Benjamin Franklin. And the circumstance would have been possible, for Franklin was born in 1706 and Mather lived until 1728. The autobiography was first published in 1817 and could occasion no serious controversy; but the papers printed with the autobiography by the grandson did arouse comment on both sides of the ocean, more for what had been omitted than for what had been included. The question of an interference by the British Government is not one which need delay us in passing. That Government and that people have not shown strong inclinations to edit their expressions on America and its history, least of all at the time the Franklin volumes appeared. Jefferson intimated that William Temple Franklin may have been "an accomplice in the parricide of the memory of his immortal grandfather," but the result of the publication gave proof of the incapacity of the grandson. There is not a line of Franklin's writings which could not have seen the light in 1817 with as little injury to his reputation as in 1917.

An earlier and the earliest printed autobiography after the War for Independence appeared in 1798. Maj. Gen. William Heath took us into his confidence in the form of a journal of events compiled after his active service was past, and published, it has been charged, before its intended time, to promote an election to office. Fully acquainted by his studies, as he believed, "with the theory of war in all its branches and duties, from the private soldier to the commander in chief," he wrote sometimes as a private and sometimes as generalissimo. He was the preacher of preparedness from 1770, and like most such preachers was lacking in action. A trusted lieutenant he attained rank without distinction, and grew corpulent in inaction and performance. "Our general," as he pleases to call himself, a term reported to have been applied to him by Bernard in one of his prophetic moments, printed his book, which was greeted by smiles on

all sides. It was impossible to misinterpret such a delightful piece of vanity. Its historical value shrinks before its personal quality.

Gradually an interest in personal history was awakened. In biography Marshall's *Life of Washington* was easily first to challenge attention. It was based upon original documents; it appeared at a time when the power of the Federalists had been shattered, and their shrewdest opponent was in full possession of the executive. Did Marshall intend to raise a monument to Washington or to the Federalist Party? It was good history, good politics, and good biography for the time, yet the neglect into which it has fallen is due more to the writer than to what he used of the subject. Fourteen years later, in 1818, Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, necessarily largely based on tradition, carried into biography the oratorical flowers of Independence Day, and succeeded so far as to make its transplanted garden a desert place in comparison to a later and saner cultivation. It is something to have manufactured a good book, yet an example that is to be avoided—otherwise the sense of relation would be weakened. Virginia still held the field for a period. In 1825 the life and correspondence of Richard Henry Lee and in 1829 that of Arthur Lee were given out by a grandson of the former. They were defensive, colored by deliberate but mistaken purpose. Both compilations showed how good material could be wasted in an effort to prepare a brief in a cause of secondary importance.

The first compilation of Jefferson's letters, by his grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, appeared in 1830. Monroe and Madison, the closest intimates to Jefferson after his presidency, were still living, not to mention some of the opposition whose feelings might be touched. They knew some years in advance that this work was in preparation, yet neither attempted to interfere or to control what should be inserted. Randolph possessed the courage of his necessities, for on the last pages of the last volume he printed the *Anas*, that body of comment which is so characteristic of the Jefferson epos. Yet he did not let stand the criticism of Washington or the word which made John Marshall the mountebank of the X Y Z mission, and he omitted more than half of the record as of lesser importance. Jefferson's opinions invited dissension, and the publication of the volumes led to an exchange of epithets that enlivened, even if it did not much enlighten, the history and practice of politics. Having gone as far as he did, Randolph need have omitted no part of the record. Those who disliked Jefferson were convinced of the soundness of their dislike; those who practised politics as a profession busily engaged themselves in constructing that Jeffersonian myth which still persists and, judiciously used, has exerted a constant effect in hypnotizing the wavering voter.

These lights of the War for Independence used language unrestrained by a fear of publication. They lived in the day of a newspaper which seems singularly harmless for attack. The party scribblers of low character might dip their pens in venom; the very excess of their invective discounted and the small circulation deadened its force. When Callender turned upon Jefferson, his benefactor, he was obliged to set up a sheet of his own, and the few copies in existence are eloquent on his poverty and incapacity. In the respectable press the discussion of men and measures rarely rose above mediocrity, and mere personalities could not explain policies. Hamilton, one of the best controversialists of his time, might have repeated his letter to John Adams six times over, with six different objects, and had either the diary or letters of John Adams seen the light in his day, the pot of discord would have remained at boiling point. Both men in their own time experienced the effect of an untoward publication of confidential communications, and the experience embittered their later years. Hamilton's papers drifted for years looking for a biographer, and when at last in 1840 they were used by a son, his brothers openly expressed their disapprobation and regret on the event.

In this early period of personal relations the editor had no place. The member of the family sufficed. However marked a curiosity over a public character might exist, it did not extend to his writings. An early experiment (1810) of printing Hamilton's financial papers failed. With the current questions interest ceased, and newspaper discussion rarely dipped into past American history. Precedents and comparisons were drawn from Greece and Rome, not from colonial Britain. In the small number of instances where elaborate defense was deemed proper, it was the leading actor who performed the task—as in Monroe's defense of his French mission and in Edmund Randolph's Vindication. A pamphlet would cover the emergency; and it was prepared by an interested party. Yet in the first years the editor appears in a modest but efficient form, dealing with original sources and with some comprehension of the office he was to fulfill.

The earliest example is Ebenezer Hazard and his Historical Collections, printed by the author—a euphemism then as now, for printed at a loss—in 1792. Wait's State Papers (1815) were a forerunner of Force's Archives. As to the publication in 1819 of the Acts and Proceedings of the Convention of 1787 by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, as related in his Memoirs, he enlists the heartfelt sympathy of everyone who has dealt with original material as arranged by ambitious but badly equipped adventurers in history, or by pious hands directed by filial apprehension. These

early essays in printing sources were guided by the proper spirit. Without undue reverence for the written word, they followed the text without modification in language or in intention. Why should this attitude have undergone a change which for half a century persisted in mutilating the text and giving excuse for every vagary of statement?

'Tis woman that seduces all mankind;

By her we first were taught the wheedling arts.

And it was a Massachusetts woman who pointed out the way. Secretly Eliza Susan Quincy compiled a memoir of her grandfather, Josiah Quincy, the patriot, and when she had completed the task she induced her father, Josiah Quincy, to put his name on the title-page and thus assume responsibility for the dark deed. How she doctored the text—altering, omitting, and mutilating as seemed to her proper and best—has only recently become known. I will not say that she violated all the commandments of good editing, but she was remarkably successful in sinning against the great majority. This volume appeared in 1825, and the first volume of Sparks's Washington followed nine years later, so perfect an imitation of all the faults embodied in the Quincy publication that collusion might be assumed without the excuse of family reticence.

I wish to be just to Mr. Sparks. Admit that he designed and carried into execution large undertakings, and a series of 10 volumes is a large undertaking even now; admit his singleness of purpose and consistency of operation; is it harsh to say that his judgment is condemned by the necessity for going again over the ground he covered, not because of new material discovered or available since his day, but because of an unreliable text? The writings of Washington, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris and the Diplomatic Correspondence which he edited—all have since been republished, and with patience, not from a few samples but from the many, may be discovered the manner in which Sparks misused his opportunity. His good fortune in being a pioneer in this form of compilation and his industry as an editor have placed his volumes on the shelves of every self-respecting library, public and private; yet his reputation as an authority has been steadily falling.

Deliberate falsification can hardly be charged to these early practitioners in editing. They felt the presence of some who had participated in the events they were to describe. Why print anything unpleasant or unkind or partisan, or personal? Why expose the foibles of men looming big as historical characters? These contemporaries, wearied by perpetual party strife, were beyond a capacity to reply; they asked only to be permitted to close their lives in peace. Others were actually in office, honored by the free

choice of the electors or by the trust of those who held their office by election. Why raise disputes of the past, much and probably ignorantly discussed at the time, now the ashes of controversy? The supposed necessity of party supplied the newspapers with abuse of individuals, and the pamphlets of the day could match the newspapers in directness and scurrility of language. History and biography should rise to a higher level and in style attain to some merit. If it bordered on the ultrapatriotic, that was an excusable foible, for the men of the War of Independence then looked large, larger even than the principles for which they fought.

The influence of official relations must be held responsible for some serious blunders. When Congress assisted to publish Hamilton's works in 1850, it was the son who edited the material; the Jefferson, three years later, was intrusted to the librarian of the Department of State, and he took remarkable liberties with the text—inexcusable unless we accept the theory that political exigency rather than historical truth guided the undertaking. The dominance of the South made expedient suppression of some features, for the South had become sensitive to the growing antagonism to slavery and the increase in material power at the North. Even the foreign relations of the United States remained in good part unknown; the Executive could give out what it pleased and withhold information on the plea of prejudice to public interests. The Department of State harbors an unmeasured mass of historical material, and has used only what has seemed good to more or less well-informed officials in the past when weighing it in the scale of occasion. Diplomacy, even the open diplomacy of the United States, has had its high victims, and both Secretaries of State and agents stand as sacrifices offered to smooth over blunders or to quiet public clamor. What a field for judicious editing!

It may thus be said that the editor has been coming into his own, not rising in importance, but better recognized as a useful albeit somewhat erratic adjunct to the writing of history. The quality of product has improved, and the shadows of family or political doubt are less frequently encountered. Public archives have been made accessible, a generous freedom of use accorded by private owners of papers; and pride of ancestry has contributed its share to the ever increasing quantity of product. If only certain possessors of material could appreciate how far they are like the ostrich, and what damage their aloofness is working on their pet admirations! Imagine trying to prove anything against public morals on John Jay! Yet he has been fastened in a niche of the 1833 model, when reserve darkened reputations. I could name a number of such distorted models, still cramped under a silence that almost confesses guilt. Where

papers have been destroyed in the hope that criticism would be ended, the ghosts of old controversies arise and the worst or opposition phases of character are remembered. Descendants who have nestled in self-confidence and wrapped themselves in forgetfulness are pained and shocked to have the old gossip and tradition of their ancestors served up highly spiced in modern journalese. They have only themselves to blame.

For nearly a century after the Declaration of Independence both biography and editing of original materials had not attained success. They lisped, fearful of speaking aloud, and they avoided crucial matters of controversy. Was it this example which led to a series of political autobiographies in the last two generations? From Benjamin F. Butler to George F. Hoar and beyond—the mere writing of the names suggests startling comparisons of product. Was it a suspicion that they could not intrust their reputations to editors or to biographers which tempted them into a difficult adventure? Was it a desire to anticipate the opinion of contemporaries, and while yet living to taste the sweets of servile flattery? They chatter of many things, but are reticent on those most important to the historian. As appeals to a simple faith, and as childlike murmurings of unrelated facts they awaken wonder without gratifying a reasonable curiosity. To compile such works and then to destroy the original records, as if the last word had been said, is a crime against history, and a futile plea in abatement against further consideration. Yet most of those self-constituted apologists have been lawyers, and some of them good lawyers.

To approach such modern instances with due reverence is difficult. Conditions have altered, the standard of greatness has changed, and the demands as well as the responsibilities of biographer and editor are other than were accepted unquestioned a half century ago. History is better written, and the subject is attracting the best; but autobiography lags behind, good-naturedly accepted for its defects rather than for its virtues. The charm of literary autobiography persists, but the unreliability of political autobiography has come to be a by-word. To describe action directly and intention truthfully after the event appears to demand opposite qualities. *Magna pars fui*—the accent is on the *magna*, and the relator exaggerates his own importance while twisting his facts and misstating his motives.

Is it not a form of conceit, and a vulgar form at that, to suppose that the story of a life can be only self-written? Is man so little influenced by circumstances and so greatly molded by his own will that he can consciously assume to be master of his own fortunes? The self-made man is subject to attacks of assurance which awaken in him an anxiety to tell others how he accomplished it—it referring to any achievement from making a large fortune to writing a popu-

lar song. Success is the worst judge of itself, and some other tribunal should take cognizance and, if possible, commit such budding sprouts to safe quarters where they may interchange their confidences without making an undue exhibition of themselves. The thing is possible, for did not an Italian saint not only overcome the devil but make him confess all his sins?

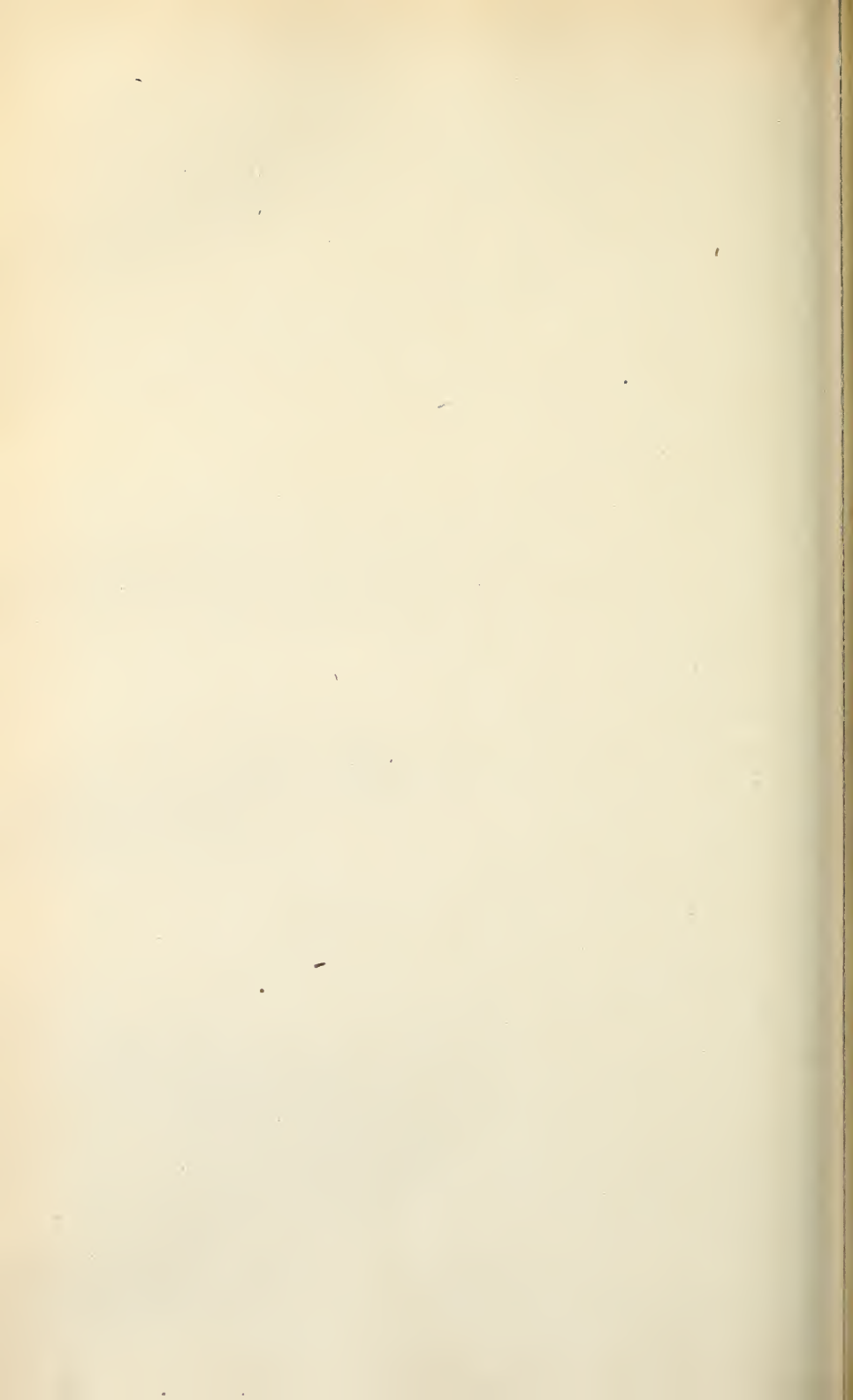
The human machine is self-advertising, for its wants are imperative and its acts come for judgment before an immediate tribunal—public opinion. Is not, then, the desire of writing an autobiography a confession that some explanation of conduct is to say the least expedient? The atmosphere of publicity in which a public character of to-day moves gives to surrounding objects and relations a certain distortion. The distortion becomes natural to him, and he wonders why others do not accept him as unquestioningly as formerly, why they adopt a critical attitude with a tendency to open opposition. If he is pushed out from a public career, and gains time for reflection and self-examination, the injustice and unreasoning of his former constituency loom large and to him are based upon misconception. So he enters upon his defense, and tells the old story in the old way, with distorted vision and with vanished glamor. It requires a greatness of character to stand the test, and there are few great characters. The majority babble, retail half-truths and vamp the worn and patched shreds until they have encased themselves in nothing but their own too transparent self-consciousness, still not undisturbed by doubts. Seeking to invest themselves with a cloudlike splendor and halo as the reward for upright conduct, they retire into the smoke-shield of their own creation, to emerge streaked with smudge. As a mode of defense autobiography is a failure; it too often confirms the old saying, that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for a client. The ghastly skull of St. Charles Borromeo looked out from its gorgeous trappings and surroundings, always a reminder of what he had been—a mortal; as ghastly figures stare from the written pages of autobiography, reminders that the mortal or weak parts dominated the whole, and left a record that is unchangeable.

To the biographer, not too closely related to his subject, and to the editor, belongs the task of telling the truth—not the simple or the whole truth, but as much as the records will afford. The writer of biography has the wider field, the better opportunity, for he may wander far and invoke the dramatic and the picturesque, even infusing into the relation a color of his own. His story may read like a romance, it may be a fairy tale, or it may be a verbal cenotaph wherein nothing of its subject may be found; it soon is weighed, judged, and ticketed for remembrance or oblivion.

An editor is restricted to the written record; the memories of oldest inhabitants and the tradition of generations have no attraction for him. His purpose is to give all that may be of service to our host of anxious inquirers and the ever-increasing number of writers of history, and to give it unvarnished, as the documents contain it. This is not to say that he will be unsympathetic. I defy anyone to live among the records of the past without absorbing some spirit kindred to that which actuated the men of that time. He sees through their eyes and reenacts their deeds with a wider vision and a knowledge of consequences not vouchsafed to them. Whatever reserve is imposed arises out of a sense of decency; all else may safely be left to the judgment of history. It is good to humanize Washington, to have the means of tracing the tortuous policy of Jefferson, to measure the ability and ambitions of Hamilton, to comprehend the rash but honest conduct of the Adamses, and to wonder at the little greatness of Monr e. We owe these to modern editors, and in no instance did they inflict injury upon good repute, nor did they greatly modify the great lines of historical writing. They supplied treasuries of fact from which incidents and characters may be written or newly written. To furnish the material in its full and unaltered shape—that is the achievement of the change which has come to editorial methods in a generation.

True perspective requires time and space, and neither historian nor editor can use material of the day in the hope of attaining finality. Yet both are in possession of a trained quality of which few journalists, few civil and military officials, can boast. A knowledge of what has gone before, of past events, a habit of analyzing character, of combining facts and weighing evidence, constitute an added sense in seeking some solid foundation in the welter of to-day. They have tested the politicians' position. They know that from the very beginning of history the country has been in a chronic state of crisis, requiring the election of this or that man to office, demanding sacrifices which constitute the stock claim of the politician to reward; that the years are strewn with such sacrifices, and that the number of pretended and willing saviors of the country would fill several Valhallas. They know that family, censors, and state are futile against time and that no cause has been without its evil features which can not be forgotten and ought not to be suppressed. They know that no human agency can belie the character for which the man himself is responsible. The inevitableness of history lies before them in too many examples to be neglected. The editor deals with individuals; the historian with generals. The cultivation of a balanced and nonpartisan spirit and utterance, no small accomplishment, brings its reward in confidence and clarity of vision.

What is the application of this excursion? For three years the country has been under a stress which has tested its people and its Government. In the mass of interested discussion and propaganda, licit and illicit, it has been difficult not to take a position and express the faith that is in us. Even before actual participation in the war necessary information was wanting. Of partial statements the number was and is in excess, but it may be doubted if the fullest exposure of motives and performance will much change general opinion. The extremist is beyond change, and among these extremists on both sides are some historians. Their honesty of conviction is not to be questioned, but their violence of expression is to be regretted. Exaggeration in language is not confined to the newspaper. The time is not yet come for a final weighing of evidence, for we are living, as in the England of the Restoration, under a "Royal Gazette." Cables and mails are under a censorship which tends to become more rigid; discussion of governmental policy and execution is under a threatened interference by officials, who are wanting in experience and are fallible and extremely sensitive to currents of public opinion; and American public opinion is subject to strange excitements, fitful and explosive. But unless a man sells his soul he can be heard and answered, or left to the certainties of time. It is all very well to speak of the sober second thought of the people; the first thought may not be sober and may inflict great injury, and in war times the first thought is explosive. How long has it been since our writers of textbooks on history consented to modify their denunciation of Great Britain? How many years have allowed the war with Mexico to pose as a shocking example of greed and broken faith? The word "rebel" as applied to the South is a survival; the bitterness has slowly turned into sweetness, and the glory of honorable conflict is shared between the two sections. Much of what parades as history to-day will fortunately sink into the forgetfulness of the future, to be exhumed at times as curious examples of misdirected energy and ill-exercised thought. What remains, clarified of its partisanship, may serve for real history. It will be two generations before the full publication of documents can begin, and then will be applied the tests of fair judgment. In the meanwhile we should adopt the editorial attitude, keeping our minds open, and exercising the same patience and restraint under wrongs and violations of good faith and comity of nations as have placed our country with an unsoiled record at the front of a world movement.



VII. EARLY ASSESSMENTS FOR PAPAL TAXATION OF
ENGLISH CLERICAL INCOMES.

By WILLIAM E. LUNT.

EARLY ASSESSMENTS FOR PAPAL TAXATION OF ENGLISH CLERICAL INCOMES.¹

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The first papal income tax was imposed in 1199,² when Innocent III ordered the clergy to pay a fortieth of their yearly revenues³ to aid the Holy Land.⁴ The assessment and collection of the tax were intrusted to the bishops, in order, as Innocent III explained later,⁵ to disarm the suspicion of those who, like Ralph of Diceto, feared that "unless by chance the Romans should renounce the cupidity natural and innate in them, it [i. e., the money] would never be delivered in full to those for whose use it was sought."⁶ The bishops of each province were directed to meet at an early date for discussion of the mandate and immediately thereafter to hold diocesan synods.⁷ Here each clerk was to declare the value of his income. Then, within three months, he was to deliver the fortieth at some designated place within the diocese, where the act could be attested by the bishop, some monks, and some laymen. Those who fulfilled these conditions honestly would receive a rebate of a quarter of their enjoined penances; those who contemplated disobedience were reminded of the account that must be rendered at the final day of judgment.⁸

How these rules for the assessment may have worked it is difficult to imagine, since they leave so many details of the procedure in

¹ The editions of all chronicles cited are those issued under the direction of the master of the rolls unless otherwise noted.

² A Polish chronicler of the fifteenth century speaks of a tenth levied on the Polish clergy by a papal legate in 1188 and 1189. Gottlob (*Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 18-22) discards his evidence as worthless, but Cartellieri (*Philipp II, August, II, 74, n. 1*) thinks further investigation is necessary before final judgment is passed.

³ "Quadragesimam partem omnium ecclesiasticorum reddituum et proventuum."

⁴ A copy of the papal decree addressed to all prelates is dated 27 December: Roger of Hoveden, IV, 108-112; another addressed to the archbishop of Magdeburg and his suffragans, 31 December: Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXIV, 828-832. Portions of the copy addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans are given by Ralph of Coggeshall, pp. 113-116. The provisions are explained by Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 21-23, 170-176. The pope and the cardinals paid a tenth and certain religious orders a fiftieth.

⁵ Luchaire, *Innocent III, la Question d'Orient*, pp. 10, 11.

⁶ II, 169. See also Luchaire, *Innocent III, la Papauté et l'Empire*, p. 271.

⁷ The exempt clergy were ordered to attend these synods, Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXIV, 835, 867.

⁸ "Sub interminatione divini iudicii districtè præcipimus"—"sub divini iudicii obtestatione mandamus."

obscurity. The contributor did not have to testify to the extent of his income under oath, and there is no indication that a falsehood would be punished in this world. The bishop and his assistants appear to have had no authority to revise the estimates submitted. They witnessed the delivery of the money, but their instructions do not provide for any verification of the accuracy of the sums rendered. In some measure the rules guard against the possible elasticity of the taxpayer's conscience. The valuation had to be announced in the diocesan synod, where too great a discrepancy between the professed and the actual income might arouse comment. But such deterrent effect upon dishonesty as publicity may have been expected to exert was probably weakened by the hostility of the clergy to the tax. The French clergy for a time openly refused to submit,⁹ and, though there is no record of similar action in England, nevertheless the English clergy did not assume the burden readily. In 1201 payments were still being made,¹⁰ and the Pope thought it expedient to renew his orders to the English bishops.¹¹ Indeed, one obstacle to efficient administration was the sympathy of the bishops with the taxpayers.¹² Innocent III, despite his disclaimer, does not appear to have trusted fully to their good faith, for early in 1200 a papal nuncio, Master Philip, the notary, arrived in England¹³ to superintend, to some extent, the collection of the fortieth.¹⁴

Records of the sums paid by individuals, which might afford a basis for comparisons with the actual incomes, or with later valuations, are lacking.¹⁵ In fact, it is doubtful if any itemized accounts were kept by the collectors, since the pope required a report only of the total sum realized in each diocese.¹⁶ Perhaps it may be a reasonably safe conclusion that the decentralized administration, the lack of any official supervision of the estimates, and the absence of any mundane penalty for dishonesty would be likely to result in much undervaluation by members of a body opposed in principle to the tax.

The next papal demand upon the incomes of the clergy came from the fourth council of the Lateran held in 1215. There the assembled fathers, under the guidance of Innocent III, drew up the most de-

⁹ Luchaire, Innocent III, *la Question d'Orient*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 167; Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 140; Registers of Walter Brouncombe and Peter Quivil, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, p. 293.

¹¹ 5 May, 1201, Roger of Hoveden, IV, 166, 167.

¹² Luchaire, Innocent III, *la Question d'Orient*, p. 8.

¹³ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Ralph of Diceto, II, 168, 169.

¹⁵ The valuation of the income of Bury St. Edmunds, which is assigned to 1200 by a contributor to the *Victoria History of the County of Suffolk* (II, 57), is a copy of the valuation of 1291. The scribe wrote "anno domini M^oCC^o" and neglected to finish the date: British Museum, Harl. Ms. 633, fo. 223.

¹⁶ Roger of Hoveden, IV, 110.

tailed constitution on the subject of the crusade yet promulgated.¹⁷ It provided among other things for the compulsory payment by the clergy of a twentieth of their incomes for three years.¹⁸ The execution of the decree was left to the pope, with the provision that any who failed to observe its terms would be excommunicated. With regard to the method of assessment the decree is silent. Its provisions, however, display in general a more centralized administrative plan than that employed in 1199,¹⁹ and from the registers of Honorius III we learn that the papacy kept a closer control over the disposal of the proceeds.²⁰ We should expect such developments to carry with them an improved method of valuation. The direct evidence on this point is meager and unsatisfactory.

Innocent III began to make the arrangements necessary for the collection of the tax,²¹ but apparently they had not been completed at the time of his death,²² since the appointment of collectors was continued by Honorius III.²³ Unfortunately no copy of the original instructions issued to the collectors by either pope appears to be extant,²⁴ and our information of the mode of assessment is derived from a letter of Honorius III announcing to the prelates of the province of Gran the appointment of the collectors for that province.²⁵ According to its terms the execution of the conciliar constitution was given to the masters of the temple and the hospital and to the treasurer and cantor of the chapter of Gran. They were empowered to appoint as assistants two or more clerks, a templar, and a hospitaler. Each clerk subject to the impost was required to declare to the agent who came to him the amount of his twentieth reckoned on casual as well as fixed income. The penalty for fraud was excommunication. This machinery appears to have been better adapted to produce accurate estimates than that used before. The

¹⁷ Rocquain, *La Cour de Rome*, I, 420.

¹⁸ "Vigesimam partem ecclesiasticorum proventuum." The pope and cardinals, who paid a tenth, those who took the cross, and certain religious orders were granted exemption: Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, VII, 74, 75; *Ann. Cambriae*, pp. 72, 73; Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 343.

¹⁹ Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 176-85.

²⁰ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp. 111, 381; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum Sacram Illustrantia*, I, no. 8; Bliss, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, I, 74, 75; Potthast, *Regesta*, 5209, 6285.

²¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, nos. 151, 152; *Idem*, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, no. 8

²² 16 July, 1216.

²³ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, nos. 2, 8.

²⁴ Possibly there was a copy in the lost register of the last year of Innocent's pontificate, but none is found in the fragments which have been recovered. See Delisle, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLVI, 91, 92; Rocquain, in *Journal des Savants*, 1873, p. 441; Hampe, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXIII, 546, 547. Theiner (*Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, no. 77) prints an inventory of a portion of this register made in the time of Innocent VI. and Hampe (in *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, XXIII, 550-67) edits some letters of the nineteenth year preserved in a formulary. See also Potthast, *Regesta*, I, pp. 439-60.

²⁵ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, no. 2.

heads of the knightly orders would ordinarily be more interested than the bishops to obtain as large a sum as possible for the Holy Land, while the threat of a concrete penalty would be likely to have a deterrent effect upon underestimation. The letter of Honorius III was encyclical²⁶ and probably kept the formulas used by Innocent III in the similar communication which he had addressed to the prelates of several provinces.²⁷ We ought to be able to feel comfortably certain that the system established in Hungary was applied without great change in England. Yet such scattered references as we find in English sources indicate the possibility of some variations.

For one thing the legate appears to have had charge of the business in England. The first papal instructions to the English collector, which I have found, were issued to Pandulph on 18 August, 1220.²⁸ But they merely urge him to diligence and order the disposal of the proceeds; they do not constitute the original commission. Pandulph had been engaged in the work earlier in 1220²⁹, and some assessments had been made in 1217.³⁰ Either of two hypotheses seems to be possible. Since others than the masters of the temple and the hospital were originally appointed collectors in some provinces,³¹ the first commission may have been issued to Gualo, who was sent to England as legate soon after the council of the Lateran³², and taken over by Pandulph when he succeeded Gualo as legate in 1218.³³ On the other hand, the masters of the temple and the hospital may have been commissioned originally in England, as in Hungary, and later subordinated to Pandulph or superseded by him. Early in 1219 Honorius III sent members of his immediate household to various parts of Europe to superintend the work of the local collectors,³⁴ and these appointments were part of his settled policy to remedy the defects which he had found inherent in a decentralized administration.³⁵ In view of the evidence so far discovered, I see no reason to regard one hypothesis with more favor than the other. As in Hun-

²⁶ Potthast, *Regesta*, 5362-65.

²⁷ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, nos. 151, 152.

²⁸ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, no. 40. See Mengozzi, "Papa Onorio III e le sue Relazioni con l'Inghilterra," in *Notizie e Documenti di Storia Senese*, an extract from *Bulle Tino senese di Storia Patria*, XVIII (Siena, 1911), pp. 38, 39.

²⁹ Potthast, *Regesta*, 6285.

³⁰ *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 52. Payment of the tax is first mentioned under the year 1219 in *Ann. de Theokesberia*, p. 64; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 411.

³¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, no. 252.

³² Norgate, *John Lackland*, pp. 264-68; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 24; H. Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 46.

³³ Pandulph was appointed on 12 September and arrived in England early in December: Norgate, *The Minority of Henry the Third*, p. 111; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 44; Turner, in *Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, N. S. XVIII, 290; Potthast, *Regesta*, 5905.

³⁴ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIX, 676. Pandulph was the papal camerarius, but none of the members of the papal household appointed in 1219 was a legate.

³⁵ Jordan, *De Mercatoribus Camerae Apostolicae*, p. 71.

gary, the principal English collectors were assisted by deputies selected from among the local clergy.³⁶ Another divergence appears, however, in the method of assessment. At the monastery of Dunstable the valuation was made in 1217 "secundum communem aestimationem bonorum virorum."³⁷ If it was the general practice in England thus to determine the liability of each taxpayer by the testimony of several witnesses, the valuation ought to have been more thorough than that made in Hungary. That such was the case is a plausible hypothesis,³⁸ since the supervision of a legate would be likely to produce better results, and since this mode of procedure was a well-established English custom. Yet the incident may be an isolated example of the way chosen by one monastic community to decide its own responsibility. I am inclined to think this the more probable explanation. The papal mandate to the clergy of the province of Gran indicates that the collectors were to play a passive part and accept without question the valuations offered by the contributors. The sentence of excommunication was self-executory and required no action on the part of the collectors to put it in motion.

On the whole, it seems probable that this assessment was an improvement over the first, although the paucity of evidence makes it rash to assert that there was a significant advance in administrative technique.³⁹ Nevertheless, the second valuation constitutes a landmark in the history of the taxation of clerical incomes. The results were entered upon rolls kept by the collectors,⁴⁰ and this valuation was the first preserved in written form.⁴¹ In 1226 the valuation was used for the assessment of a sixteenth granted to the king by the clergy.⁴² Subsequently it became the invariable practice to levy royal taxes upon the spiritual revenues of the clergy according to the apportionment fixed under the direction of papal agents for some tax previously levied by the pope.

The third assessment of English clerical revenues for papal taxation was made in 1229.⁴³ Gregory IX found it so difficult to finance his war against Frederick II that in 1228 he invoked the "plenitudo potestatis" for the first time to compel the clergy to contribute to the

³⁶ Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, II, 70, n. 1.

³⁷ Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 52.

³⁸ Graham suggests that this method was generally employed: Eng. Hist. Rev., XXIII, 138.

³⁹ Compare Gottlob, Kreuzzugs-Steuern, p. 220.

⁴⁰ Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, II, 70, n. 1.

⁴¹ Gottlob believes that the valuation of 1229 is the oldest: Kreuzzugs-Steuern, p. 221. He seems to have been misled by a statement made in the chronicle called Flores Historiarum, II, 207, 208.

⁴² Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, II, 64, 67, 69; Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry II, 1225-1232, p. 64; Ann. de Oseneia, pp. 67, 68.

⁴³ Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 114; Ann. de Burton, pp. 364, 365; Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, IV, 202. According to a letter issued by Stephen, the collection began in 1228, but the "anno secundo" of the date obviously should be "anno tertio": Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, II, 149, 150.

papal needs.⁴⁴ He ordered the clergy of the province of Canterbury to deliver the tenth of their annual revenues to his chaplain Stephen of Anagni,⁴⁵ who had been acting as collector of the papal dues in England since late in 1227.⁴⁶ He informed them that he had made his intentions more fully known to Stephen and enjoined them to pay their shares without delay at the times fixed by him.⁴⁷ In case any doubt should arise about the exact meaning of the phrase "decimam omnium reddituum et proventuum vestrorum," they were to accept the interpretation of the collector under pain of the sentence customarily meted out to rebels.⁴⁸ Stephen's commission authorized him to excommunicate taxpayers guilty of fraud. He was directed to make the valuation with the aid of competent and trustworthy deputies, whom he should bind to the faithful performance of their duties by oath or in any other manner which seemed to him expedient.⁴⁹

His deputies in each diocese were empowered to summon the archdeacons, the rural deans, the rectors, and any others whose presence they desired, to come before the bishop.⁵⁰ They could compel the clergy, when assembled, to disclose under oath the number of churches in each rural deanery and the value of each church. They were to allow the bishop to substitute for a sworn declaration his personal manifest based on the evidence of his officials, stewards, and other servants who would have knowledge of the facts. In the cathedral church

⁴⁴ Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 69-71; Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, II, 41.

⁴⁵ 20 December, 1228: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienense*, II, 144-46. The same mandate "etsi naturalit sit," with many variations, was addressed to the clergy of Milan on 22 November: *Registres de Grégoire IX*, 251. For the provinces required to pay this tenth see Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, II, 41, n. 2.

⁴⁶ His royal safe conduct was issued 22 October, 1227 (*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1225-1232, p. 150). His commission as general collector of papal dues is dated 23 December, 1228 (*Vetus Registrum Sarisberienense*, II, 146), but he was acting in this capacity earlier, since he received payment on 21 February, 1228, of the royal tribute due to the papacy (*P. R. O., Liberate Roll, Chancery*, no. 7, m. 8). The annals of St. Paul's (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVIII, 548) notes his coming under the year 1228. Roger of Wendover (*ed. Coxe*, IV, 193) and the annalist of Dunstable (p. 114) place his arrival in 1229, and they have been followed by Luard, *On the Relations between England and Rome*, pp. 51, 52, and Gasquet, *Henry III and the Church*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ "Cum pro tuendo," 28 December, 1228: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienense*, II, 148.

⁴⁸ "Cum ad exigendas," 30 December, 1228: *ibid.*, II, 147.

⁴⁹ "Cum ad exigendas," 17 December, 1228: *ibid.*, II, 147.

⁵⁰ Concerning the activities of the deputies we possess fairly full information. The executory letters which Stephen issued to the two assistants whom he assigned to the dioceses of Salisbury and Worcester were transcribed and preserved by the dean and chapter of Salisbury: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienense*, II, 149-52. Roger of Wendover (*ed. Coxe*, IV, 200-203) follows the tenor of these letters fairly closely in his narrative and several of the many other chroniclers who give less detailed accounts supply additional particulars: *Flores Historiarum*, II, 206, 207; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 114, 115, 125; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 73, 77; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 421; *Ann. de Wintonia*, p. 85; *Ann. de Oseneia*, p. 70; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 245, 364, 365; "Ann. de Southwark," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 431, 432; *Chron. Petroburgense*, *ed. Stapleton*, p. 10; *Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 274; *Cont. of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 128; *Chronicle of Abingdon*, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 993, ad annum 1229; *Chronicle of Peterborough*, Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, Swaffham Cartulary fo. 3.

they could require three or more members of the chapter to give sworn testimony to the value of the goods of the whole community, and in each monastery as many members of the convent as they desired. The assessors were authorized further to excommunicate any who should give false evidence or commit fraud, and to excommunicate, suspend from office, or place under interdict those who should oppose them in the discharge of their duties. The collector reserved to himself the right to depose defrauders from their benefices and to reserve for papal provision benefices thus voided.

The oath required from the clergy summoned to appear before the assessors explains exactly what information was demanded. "We swear," reads the formula, " * * * to assess such a church faithfully and completely, namely, the benefices of the parson and the vicar, the pension, and anything which the chaplains and clerks appointed to the service of the church receive, not according to the valuation made for the twentieth, but according to whatever assessment can be made in a better way and more productively, and without fraud or deceit, or any abatement, to declare and to reduce to writing and to deliver to Masters B. and S. [i. e., the assessors], or to him whom they delegate, the full truth concerning all rents, revenues, crops, oblations, tithes, increase and fruits of animals, and all incidental receipts which in any way belong to us or to the church by whatever name they may be called,⁵¹ no expenses or debts having been deducted under any circumstances. Moreover, if any one ventures to hinder the said valuation by threats, blandishments, promises, or alarms, we will obtain from the said masters his ecclesiastical censure; and we swear to observe this without fraud, guile, or evil intent."

This procedure was far better designed to secure true estimates of taxable property than any previously tried by the papacy. This time the papal agents had the initiative, they could compel the taxpayers to reveal their incomes under oath, and they could enforce their authority with adequate penalties. The deputies were bound to the general collector by oath, and Stephen, in the one instance recorded, selected as deputies members of his own and the papal households, whose interests would tend to be with the administrative service and not with the taxpayers. The papal camera could check the work of the collector and his assistants by inspection of the written accounts which they were required to keep. The process of centralization, which began apparently under Honorius III, was completed in all its essential outlines in 1229.⁵² For the remainder of the thirteenth century the papacy followed the fundamental prin-

⁵¹ An explanation of these terms is given by Gottlob Kreuzzugs-Steuern, pp. 206-8.

⁵² Gottlob ascribes this centralization to the time of Innocent IV, but he seems to be unaware of the documents preserved in the register of Salisbury: Kreuzzugs-Steuern, pp. 185, 186.

ciples of assessment established in 1229, although there were many subsequent improvements in their detailed application.

Testimony is not lacking that the valuation increased notably the burden upon the taxpayers. None of the chroniclers gives definite comparisons, but several voice forcibly the outraged sensibilities of the clergy. The annalist of Waverley, whose house was exempt, contented himself with the observation that the nuncio caused the tenth to be collected "very severely,"⁵³ but others did not hesitate to accuse the pope of extortion.⁵⁴ The most vigorous protest came from the historian of St. Albans, as was apt to be the case when papal taxation was concerned. "For he [i. e., Stephen]," says Roger, "was such an unjust exactor in the execution of this business that he compelled each to pay to him the value of the tenth even from the crops of the next autumn, which were still growing in the blade. The prelates, indeed, having no other resource, sold some of the chalices, goblets, reliquaries, and other sacred utensils of the altar and placed others in pawn at interest. The land is filled with continuous though secret maledictions and with universal prayers that such an exaction may never be of benefit to the extortioners."⁵⁵

Gregory IX⁵⁶ did not again attempt to utilize this source of revenue until 1238⁵⁷ when he was organizing relief for the hard-pressed Latin kingdom of Constantinople.⁵⁸ On November 24 he

⁵³ Ann. de Waverleia, p. 305.

⁵⁴ Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 73.

⁵⁵ Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, pp. 202, 203. See also Flores Historiarum, II, 207, 208.

⁵⁶ The history of the valuations for papal taxes on incomes levied between 1229 and 1254 is exceedingly difficult to piece together. The evidence is so fragmentary and so confused that no historian yet has succeeded even in the mere correct enumeration of the papal taxes paid during the period. The following instances of confusion on the part of secondary writers may be cited by way of illustration: Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 179, 240-269; Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III*, pp. 264, 267; Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, pp. 139-43; Richardson, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III*, pp. 89-104; Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 74-80; Tout, *History of England from the Accession of Henry III*, pp. 58-60; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, 4th ed., II, 70; Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, pp. 111-115; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 34, 35, 67, 72; Weber, *Ueber das Verhältniss Englands zu Rom*, p. 99.

⁵⁷ Two chroniclers record the levy of a tenth during the interval. Internal evidence indicates that the writer of *Flores Historiarum* (II, 207) misplaced the tenth of 1229. The other chronicler probably did the same thing. In a set of annals found in the register of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, commonly called the Red Book (Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS., Julius D. II, fo. 20), under the year 1234, appears the entry: "A tenth part of all the goods of the whole English church is given to the pope." In this compilation the numerical dates are often wrong, but the dominical letters are right. Richard's death, for example, is located under 1205, but the dominical letter is that of 1199 (Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, III, p. 75). The tenth of 1229 seems to have been misdated by five years in a similar way. No other chronicler mentions a tax in this year, nor is there record of any among the papal letters. On 4 September, 1234, however, the pope requested the clergy and various communities of England to provide armed warriors equipped with funds for their expenses for the aid of the Holy Land (Potthast, *Regesta*, 9525), and nuncios came to England empowered to collect alms for the same purpose (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III, 279-88). The second entry may be due to the confusion of these alms with a tax.

⁵⁸ Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp. 305-13; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, 4205-19.

addressed letters to the Kings of England and France, requesting them to seek the assent of their bishops to the payment by their clerical subjects of a thirtieth of their incomes for three years.⁵⁹ He suggested craftily that they deal with the prelates individually and secretly, and speak first with those who were their closest friends.⁶⁰ A year later Gregory offered the proceeds arising in England from this and several other sources to Richard of Cornwall to provide for the expenses of his projected expedition to the Holy Land.⁶¹ What action was taken by the bishops in answer to the papal request I have not discovered; but, if there was any, it was probably unfavorable. In 1244, Richard of Cornwall, who had meanwhile fulfilled magnificently his promise of a crusade,⁶² acknowledged the receipt from the bishop of Salisbury of a portion of the papal concession. He specifies the revenues whence the sum was derived, but among them does not mention the thirtieth.⁶³ His silence is not conclusive, but it renders probable the supposition that the tax was not granted by the clergy.⁶⁴

It is not unlikely that Gregory IX ceased to insist upon the grant of the thirtieth for Constantinople because of his desire to tax the clergy on his own account. In 1239 the renewal of war with the Emperor plunged him heavily into debt,⁶⁵ and to satisfy his creditors he ordered the clergy of France and of the British Isles to provide him with a subsidy.⁶⁶ The tax has left such scant trace in written rec-

⁵⁹ "Tricesima reddituum suorum."

⁶⁰ Registres de Grégoire IX, 4605, 4607, 4609, 4610, 4615, 4618; Raynaldus, Ann., 1238, secs. 23, 24; Bliss, Calendar, I, 177.

⁶¹ 23 November, 1239; Registres de Grégoire IX, 4965; Bliss, Calendar, I, 185.

⁶² Röhricht, in Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, XXVI, 67-102.

⁶³ Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, IV, box A, 1.

⁶⁴ The silence of Matthew Paris is also significant, since he rarely lost an opportunity to inveigh against the pecuniary demands of the pope: Plehn, *Mattheus Parisiensis*, pp. 102-6; Smith, *Church and State*, pp. 174-78; Luard, introduction to vol. III of *Chronica Majora*, p. xi. Gasquet (*Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 179) and Mitchell (*Studies in Taxation*, p. 264) confuse the thirtieth with the aid sought by Gregory IX in 1239 for the war against Frederick II. I have found no mention of the tax in French chronicles.

⁶⁵ Nicholas de Curbio in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III, 592*β*.

⁶⁶ The letters are not to be found in the extant registers or in Potthast's *Regesta*. They were published in England by the legate, Otho, at the council of Reading held in 1240 (*Matthew Paris*, IV, 9-11), but I have not found the exact date of that assembly. The decree was known to Henry III before 22 February, 1240 (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1237-1242, pp. 175, 176). A papal letter, addressed to the bishop of Palestrina, papal legate in France, dated 10 January, 1240, refers to the aid in France as already ordered (*Registres de Grégoire IX*, 5067), and it seems probable that the original mandate was issued about the time of the appointment of the legate, namely, on 21 October, 1239 (Teulet, *Layettes*, II, 2835; Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Legation*, pp. 112-14).

That the papal letters were in the form of a mandate is evident from one of the objections offered by the English bishops and archdeacons against the imposition of the tax: "Dicunt quod contribuere non debent * * * tum, quia feret contra libertatem ecclesiae, quod patet ex forma ejusdem scripti (i. e., apostolici) ubi dicitur, *contradicentes ecclesiastica censura comspescentes*"; *Matthew Paris*, IV, 37. The annalist of Tewkesbury (p. 115) says: "Omnes et singuli clerici contradixerunt, ne consentirent in contributionem ad mandatum domini Papae."

ords that its very nature is now obscure.⁶⁷ The papal mandate has been lost, and we have to rely chiefly on the descriptions of chroniclers, who seem to have had an aversion to exact statement when dealing with taxes.⁶⁸ Without doubt foreign clerks beneficed in England were asked to give a fifth of their incomes.⁶⁹ The native clergy were divided into two classes. The prelates apparently made individual agreements with the legate to pay lump sums,⁷⁰ bearing no definite proportional relation to their incomes.⁷¹ The lower clergy paid a fractional portion of their yearly incomes, varying in rate from one diocese to another.⁷² I have found no indication of the mode of assessment desired by the pope, or of the practice actually followed; but I doubt if it could have been worth the effort to make a new valuation which would have omitted the great wealth of the prelates.

Innocent IV, who had to meet fiscal obligations contracted by Gregory IX,⁷³ turned to the English clergy for aid at once. Early in 1244 he dispatched to England his cameral clerk, Master Martin,⁷⁴ whom Matthew Paris has rendered notorious.⁷⁵ He sought from the English clergy an aid of 10,000 marks. The demand was opposed, and Martin was forced to leave the country in 1245 without the desired concession.⁷⁶ But the pope did not give up his quest. At

⁶⁷ The amount of confusion existing may be ascertained by a comparison of the following secondary accounts: Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 70; Tout, *History of England*, p. 58; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 179-88; Ramsay, *Dawn*, pp. 92, 93; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 34, 35, 72, 73; Weber, *Ueber das Verhältniss*, pp. 98-120; Mitchell, *Studies*, pp. 264, 265.

⁶⁸ *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 154, 155; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 432; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 257, 366; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 115, 116; *Ann. de Wintonia*, p. 88; "Ann. de Southwark," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 432; *Chron. Petroburgense*, ed. Stapleton, p. 14; *Hist. et Cart. Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, I, 28; *Matthew Paris*, IV, 9-11, 15, 35-43, 60.

⁶⁹ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1237-1242, pp. 175, 176; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 154; "Ann. de Southwark," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 432; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, p. 115. *Matthew Paris* (IV, 9, 10, 15, 35) displays his usual prolixity and confusion. He speaks in one place of a fifth of the goods and revenues of the foreigners beneficed in England, and in another of a fifth part of the goods of the English prelates.

⁷⁰ *Ann. de Burton*, p. 366; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 154; *Matthew Paris*, IV, 15, 35.

⁷¹ *Dunstable*, for example, paid either 40 or 60 marks for the tenth of 1229, and 20 marks for the aid of 1240; *Burton* paid £24 14s. 2d. and £20; *Tewkesbury*, 109 marks and 50 marks; the priory of *Worcester*, 30 marks and 120 marks; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 115, 125, 154; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 365, 366; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 77, 116; *Ann. de Wigornia*, pp. 422, 432.

⁷² *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, I, 403; *Idem, Reports on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, pp. 175, 176; *Matthew Paris*, IV, 38-43; *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 1862.

⁷³ *Nicholas de Curbio in Muratori*, III, 592β.

⁷⁴ I have not found Martin's commission. On 7 October, 1243, he was sent on papal business to Viterbo: *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 167; *Pothast, Regesta*, 11153. On 7 January, 1244, the pope addressed letters, of which Martin was to be the bearer, to the abbots and convents of the diocese of Canterbury: *Matthew Paris*, IV, 369, 370. His commission was probably issued about the same time.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 284, 285, 358, 368-76, 379, 391, 402, 416, 418, 420-22.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 362-76, 420, 421; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 166, 167; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1232-1247*, p. 463; *Prynne, An Exact Chronological Vindication*, II, 618, 634; *Sweetman, Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, I, 2746, 2757; *P. R. O., Close Rolls, 29 Henry III, m. 9 v.*

the council of Lyons, held in 1245, he persuaded six English bishops to attempt the assessment and collection of the aid previously sought by Martin, which was now stated to be 6,000 marks.⁷⁷ Since the aid was called a twentieth by contemporaries,⁷⁸ it was without much doubt a tax on incomes.⁷⁹ The collectors apportioned it in accordance with arrangements made by Martin before his departure.⁸⁰ Since he could not have made a new assessment for a tax which the clergy refused to grant, presumably he was prepared to use an old one. In all probability it was the valuation of 1229. The papal camera, in which Martin was a clerk, had a copy of this valuation,⁸¹ and, unless a new appraisal was made in 1239 or 1240, it was the most recent and consequently the most likely to have been used. There is, moreover, some reason to believe that 6,000 marks was the yield of a twentieth assessed upon the valuation of 1229.⁸²

Meanwhile the council of Lyons had commanded the payment by all the clergy of a twentieth of their incomes for three years in aid of the Holy Land⁸³ and the payment by certain classes of the nonresident clergy of a fractional portion of their incomes, varying from a twentieth to a half, in aid of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople.⁸⁴ The decree aroused from the English clergy prolonged opposition and repeated protests, which received the hearty support of Henry

⁷⁷ An undated papal letter quoted in a letter of the bishop of Norwich, dated 24 March, 1246: Matthew Paris, IV, 555-57. Potthast (Regesta, 11611) dates it between 1 January and 23 March, 1245, but it probably was issued late in 1245 or early in 1246. In his letter the pope states that he has received no reply to his earlier letter written to the six bishops after their return from his presence. Since at least four of the six bishops had attended the council of Lyons (Huillard-Bréholles in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXI, ii, 271; *Ann. de Wintonia*, p. 90; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1232-1247*, p. 453), the earlier letter was probably written after 17 July, 1245, when the council had its last session ("Brevis Nota," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Const.*, II, pp. 515, 516). The letter cited above was sent after the allowance of an interval sufficient for the receipt of a reply to the first letter.

⁷⁸ Matthew Paris, IV, 584; *Cont. of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 202; *Chronicle of Glastonbury*, Bodleian Library, Laud MS., 750, fo. 4.

⁷⁹ Mitchell (*Studies*, p. 267) says "the tax was not based on an assessed value of clerical revenues," but he produces no evidence to substantiate the assertion.

⁸⁰ Grossesteste, *Epistolae*, p. 341.

⁸¹ *Flores Historiarum*, II, 207, 208.

⁸² The annalist of Dunstable (p. 186) calls an aid of 6,000 marks levied in 1253 a twentieth. The part of this sum levied on spiritualities was assessed on the valuation of 1299 (below, p. 279), but this tax was paid by the clergy of the Province of Canterbury alone, while the aid of 1246 was paid by the clergy of all England. The annalist of Tewkesbury (pp. 150, 151), however, thought that the levy in 1253 applied to all England, and the annalist of Dunstable may have had a similar misconception.

⁸³ Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, VII, 392-95. The decree repeats nearly verbatim that of the fourth council of the Lateran, and the same classes are exempted from the tax.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 390, 391; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 276-78. Contemporary chroniclers generally describe these taxes inaccurately. See, for example, Matthew Paris, IV, 580; "Annales Stadenses," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XVI, 369. Secondary writers treat the tax carelessly with the exception of Berger and Dehio: Ramsay, *Dawn*, pp. 111-18; Mitchell, *Studies*, pp. 266, 267; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 241, 253, 254, 263-69; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 48-52, 66, 67, 75-7; Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 77, 78; Smith, *Church and State*, pp. 139, 143; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 70; Berger, introduction to vol. II of *Registres d'Innocent IV*, pp. cxxxiv-clxi; Dehio, *Innocenz IV und England*, pp. 30, 31, 38-42.

III.⁸⁵ The last word of Innocent IV on the subject, given on 12 June 1247, was to the effect that these taxes had been imposed universally by a general council and could not be remitted.⁸⁶ The subsequent course of events affords abundant opportunity for speculation, but it has left no trace in the series of documents which record the earlier history of these taxes. The collection of the subvention for Constantinople had begun.⁸⁷ Whether it continued and whether the twentieth for the Holy Land was levied at all are open questions.⁸⁸ The silence of the chroniclers may mean that the taxes were never paid. It may equally well mean that Henry III and the clergy gave way before the papal insistence as they had so often done before. A successful resistance would have been an event so exceptional in character that contemporaries would have been as likely to notice it as to notice another of the postponed acquiescences so habitual in this period. The silence of the registers of Innocent IV is more significant,⁸⁹ since they contain many letters, issued after 12 June, 1247, concerned with the levy of these taxes in other lands.⁹⁰ Whether the pope intended to have a new assessment for these taxes does not appear in the evidence at our disposal, but if the taxes were not levied, as seems probable, it is also probable that no new valuation was made.

In 1247 Innocent IV again appealed to the English clergy for an aid to meet his personal needs.⁹¹ The exempt clergy agreed to pay lump sums, fixed by individual negotiations with the papal commissioner,⁹² and the remainder of the clergy to contribute 11,000 marks.⁹³ This sum was apportioned among the clergy according to the assessment of 1229.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Matthew Paris, IV, 473, 518-22, 526, 560, 581-85, 590, 594-97.

⁸⁶ Rymer, Foedera, I, 266. The letter is erroneously dated 1246 by the editor.

⁸⁷ Bliss, Calendar, I, 232.

⁸⁸ Berger (introduction to vol. II of *Registres d'Innocent IV*, p. cxli) asserts that the collection of the twentieth had also begun, but I have found no evidence of it. He concludes, however, that we can not determine whether the taxes were levied in England or not. Gottlob (*Kreuzzugs-Steuer*, p. 67) decides that they were levied and Dehio (*Innocenz IV und England*, p. 41) that they were not. Other modern historians assume that the taxes were levied, but they offer no proof, or supply evidence which relates to the papal aids and not to the subsidies for the Holy Land and Constantinople.

⁸⁹ I refer to the extant printed registers, which, I assume, include all those known to exist.

⁹⁰ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 3055, 3057, 3058, 3065, 3383, 3384, 3432, 3438-40, 3450, 3451, 3459, 3468, 3488, 3545, 3551, 3719, 3755, 3979, 4120, 4166, 4238, 4292. See also the references given in Berger's introduction to vol. II, pp. cxxxix-cxli.

⁹¹ Matthew Paris, IV, 599; VI, 119, 120, 144, 145.

⁹² *Idem*, IV, 599, 600, 617-23.

⁹³ *Idem*, VI, 144, 145. The sum probably represented a tenth with the incomes of the exempt clergy omitted.

⁹⁴ Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 307. In addition to this aid, Italians having benefices or pensions in England were required to pay a fourth of their annual incomes, if their incomes were less than 100 marks, and a half, if their incomes were more than 100 marks; *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 2997, 3025. The many Italians who farmed their benefices paid their quotas on the sums actually received from the farmers: *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, I, 85; II, 558. What mode of assessment was used in other cases does not appear.

Before the valuation of Norwich in 1254 the clergy of the province of Canterbury paid one more aid to the pope. On this occasion the clergy took the initiative and the aid was offered in return for papal privileges granted at their request.⁹⁵ The collectors were appointed by the pope, with instructions to distribute the burden among the contributors in proportion to their respective faculties.⁹⁶ They ordered their agents to fix the value of the temporal goods of religious houses by estimation and the value of churches and ecclesiastical benefices "secundum taxationem antiquam." Both were to be ascertained by inquisition.⁹⁷ The work was done during the autumn of 1252.⁹⁸

Two aspects of this valuation are of especial significance. The first is the use of the "antiqua taxatio." The phrase could have been used loosely to denote any old valuation, but collectors giving instructions to their agents must have intended to designate a specific valuation. Since the valuation of 1229 had been employed to assess the aid of 1247, it was the only one which could have been described in 1252 as "antiqua" without danger of confusion. The second noteworthy aspect is the different procedure with regard to the temporalities. They were not assessed like the churches at the values assigned to them in 1229, but at values estimated in 1252.⁹⁹ The reason for the distinction is not made apparent in the instructions of the collectors, but two explanations may be suggested. It is possible that the returns from temporal goods had increased in value so much more rapidly than those from churches and benefices, that a new valuation was deemed advisable for the one and not for the other. Since the sources of both kinds of income were mainly of the same economic nature,¹⁰⁰ this does not seem probable. It is a more plausible supposition that the temporalities had not been assessed in 1229. The directions given to the assessors in 1229,¹⁰¹ and such fragments of the valuation as we now possess¹⁰² do not conflict with this hypothesis; and Wykes's description of the valuation as "antiqua beneficiorum taxatio"¹⁰³ assumes significance in this connection. It seems probable that the valuation of 1229 was confined to those classes of clerical income later known as spiritualities.

This survey of the subject has necessarily been brief; it has been sufficiently thorough, perhaps, to demonstrate that the evidence is

⁹⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, II, 563; Matthew Paris, V, 225; Ann. de Burton, pp. 300-3.

⁹⁶ Matthew Paris, VI, 213-15.

⁹⁷ Ibid., VI, 213-17.

⁹⁸ Ibid.; Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 150.

⁹⁹ Matthew Paris, VI, 215, 216.

¹⁰⁰ Hudson, The "Norwich Taxation" of 1254, p. 46 (reprinted from Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, vol. XVIII).

¹⁰¹ Above, pp. 272, 273.

¹⁰² British Museum, Cottonian MS., Tiberius B II, fo 235.

¹⁰³ P. 225.

for the most part too fragmentary to admit other than tentative conclusions. Apparently the three valuations of 1201, 1217,¹⁰⁴ and 1229 were the only assessments of English clerical incomes made for papal taxation previous to 1254. They probably included only the spiritualities and did not extend to the temporalities.¹⁰⁵ The last of the three was the most thorough; it furnished the precedents for the methods followed in later valuations; it probably was used for the assessment of all papal taxes imposed upon the incomes of the English clergy between 1229 and 1254; and it was probably called "antiqua taxatio" before the valuation of Norwich acquired that appellation.

¹⁰⁴ These seem to be the dates when the valuations ordered respectively in 1199 and 1215 were taken in England: Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 167; Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 52.

¹⁰⁵ The temporalities probably would not have been omitted in 1229 if they had been included earlier. When the attempt was made to extend the valuation of Norwich to their temporalities, the clergy offered a strenuous opposition on the ground that *ecclesiastical* revenues, upon which the tax was ordered to be levied, did not include the profits derived from their lay tenements: Matthew Paris V, 524-7, 553; Ann. de Burton, p. 361; Rymer, Foedera, I, 280, 342, 345, 346; Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum, p. 57; Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1247-1258, p. 396; P. R. O., Patent Rolls, 53 Henry III. m. 23 v. The three earlier assessments had applied to ecclesiastical revenues, and if they had included the temporalities of the clergy the contention made in 1254 would have lacked force.

VIII. THE ASSESSMENT OF LAY SUBSIDIES, 1290-1332.

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THE ASSESSMENT OF LAY SUBSIDIES, 1290-1332.

By JAMES F. WILLARD.

The dates selected as the limits of this paper, 1290 to 1332 inclusive, mark important stages in the history of the taxes upon personal property or movable goods. In 1290 the exchequer was placed in charge of all the transactions having to do with these subsidies.¹ Henceforth it watched over their assessment and collection, received directly or indirectly all the money gathered by the collectors and kept a record of the partial and final accounts rendered by the same collectors. The change was therefore administrative in character. The later date, 1332, is that of the last tax of the type that was developed under Henry III, and levied so frequently under Edward I and his immediate successors. The methods of assessment and collection used for the next subsidy, that of 1334, were, in answer to charges of corrupt practice in the levy of the subsidy of 1332, especially devised to insure a just valuation of movables. The crisis passed, there was no return to the older way of doing things. A fifteenth and tenth, after 1334, meant something quite different from what it had ever meant before.

During the years from 1290 to 1332, taxes were levied upon the personal property of the nation sixteen times.² In every instance they were granted either originally or finally by a properly constituted national assembly. The grant took one of two forms: It was either a uniform proportion of the value of the personal property of all parts of the population, such as a thirtieth, a fifteenth or a tenth, or it recognized the economic and political distinctions between the rural districts and the boroughs, and imposed different rates upon each. Whenever there was a double rating, such as an eleventh and seventh, or a fifteenth and tenth, the men of the cities, boroughs and ancient demesne paid the higher rate, and the men living in the rural districts, the lower. The first plan, or uniform rating, was used five times during the period; the second, or double rating, eleven times.

¹ The evidence of the changes that took place in 1290 and the following years is to be found on the receipt rolls, issue rolls, and memoranda of the exchequer. It is the purpose of the present writer to describe these changes at some time in the near future.

² See my papers in the *English Historical Review*, XXVIII, 517-521; XXIX, 317-321; XXX, 69-74.

After the grant had been made groups of commissioners, usually called chief taxers, were appointed to oversee the assessment and collection of the subsidy.³ Such chief taxers were assigned to all parts of England, with the exception of the palatinates of Chester and Durham. The normal procedure was to select two men, though three and even four were at times appointed, for each county. There are a few exceptions to this rule. In 1316, for the tax levied upon the movables in the cities and boroughs, there are a number of examples of the appointment of one group of chief taxers to act in two counties. The same year furnishes the only example of the assignment of two groups of chief taxers to the same district—one to take charge of the urban, the other of the rural assessment and collection. Chief taxers were sent to each of the ridings of Yorkshire, and after 1313 to the parts of Lincolnshire. London, York several times, and Lincoln once, were treated as separate districts.

The men appointed to act as commissioners were usually laymen and men of affairs. In 1295, on the other hand, of the two chief taxers assigned to each county or part of a county, one was an ecclesiastic and one a knight. Most of the men appointed were residents of the districts to which they were sent and had there or elsewhere served the government in various capacities. Many had been or were at the time of the grant county members of Parliament. A rather large proportion had the additional qualification of experience. For seven subsidies of the eight levied from 1306 to 1322 about 41 per cent. of all the chief taxers had served at least once before in a like capacity.⁴ The proportion was not so high either before or after that time.

With the writs of appointment issued to the chief taxers, in which they were told to assess and collect the subsidy and when to answer for it at the exchequer, were sent their instructions concerning the manner of making the assessment and collection.⁵ These were known as the form of the taxation and were written in French in

³ Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, I, 24 (1290), 27 (1294), 45-46 (1295), 51 (1296), 63-64 (1297), 106-108 (1301), 178-179 (1306); *ibid.*, II, ii, 14-15 (1307), 38-39 (1309), 116-17, 119 (1313), 163-164, 167-168 (1316), 211-212 (1319), 278-279 (1322). The writs for 1290 and the names of the chief taxers are found on K. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 64 (19 Edward I), mm. 5, 6; those for 1296 on K. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 71 (25 Edward I), mm. 87, 88; and those for 1315 on L. T. R. Originalia Roll, No. 73 (8 Edward II), mm. 29, 30. The writs for the two subsidies of the reign of Edward III are found in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, 425-426 (1327), 447-448 (1332). For purposes of convenient consultation, I add the following references to the calendars of patent rolls: C. P. R., 1292-1301, 103-104 (1294), 170-172 (1295), 611-613 (1301); *ibid.*, 1301-1307, 456-457 (1306); *ibid.*, 1307-1313, 22-24 (1307), 183-186 (1309); *ibid.*, 1313-1317, 49-51 (1313), 473-475 (1316); *ibid.*, 1317-1321, 347-349 (1319); *ibid.*, 1321-1324, 224-225 (1322); *ibid.*, 1327-1330, 172-173 (1327); *ibid.*, 1330-1334, 357-358 (1332).

⁴ The subsidies were those granted in 1306, 1307, 1309, 1313, 1316, 1319, 1322.

⁵ These instructions are usually placed with the writs sent to the chief taxers by Palgrave, and on this account no separate list of references is necessary here. Convenient summaries of the instructions are to be found in Vincent, *Lancashire Lay Subsidies*, I.

contrast to the Latin of the writs. In the nature of things it would be too much to expect the instructions to be followed with absolute fidelity by any group of human beings. So after the letter of the forms has been described an attempt will be made to discover how closely it was followed in practice.

Throughout the entire period one fundamental principle was embodied in the instructions: The personal property of every individual was to be valued by men of his neighborhood. Two methods of attaining this result were used, the first set forth in the form of the taxation of 1290, used until 1296, and again in 1306; the second found in the form of 1297 and thereafter, with the exception of 1306.⁶ According to the plan of 1290, the chief taxers were to summon before them the best men of every hundred and from these they were to cause to be chosen twelve for each such district. The twelve, with the assistance of the reeve and four lawful men of each township, were to make a true valuation of the movable goods possessed by the people on a day named. The form of 1297 placed the responsibility for the assessment squarely upon the shoulders of men of the township, without the intervention of any intermediate jury for the hundred. The only variations after that date were in the method of selection and in the number of these subtaxers. In 1297 and 1301, the chief taxers were directed to cause to be chosen two to four men, more or less, who were to serve as assessors in the villis. In 1307 and the ensuing years they were to summon before them the most lawful men of each borough, city, and vill and from these they were to select four to six or more men to act as subtaxers.⁷ There was a provision in the form of 1319, which was omitted from the subsequent instructions, that the ward, leet, or parish should be the administrative unit of taxation in the cities and boroughs.⁸

The evidence of the practical working of these systems is found on the rolls of the assessment, which will be described later. During the years when provision was made for the intermediate juries of twelve subtaxers the extant rolls usually show a close adherence to the instructions. There are some examples of a contrary practice. On the Sussex roll of the eleventh and seventh of 1295 the hundreds are frequently divided and juries of six named for each half.⁹ There are also instances of juries of nine, ten, and eleven for the full hundred.¹⁰ The Northumberland roll for the same subsidy names juries for villis and groups of villis in addition to juries for the ward, which

⁶ The instructions of 1290 are accurately summarized in Vincent, *op. cit.*, I, 177-178; those of 1297 are in Palgrave, *op. cit.*, I, 62-63.

⁷ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, II, ii, 213.

⁹ Sussex Record Society, X, 18, 19, 29, 47, 49, etc.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, nine jurors, 4, 24; ten jurors, 28, 41, 43, 45; eleven jurors, 78.

is in that county equivalent to the hundred.¹¹ The plan of 1297 and 1301, which provided for two to four subtaxers, or more or less, if convenient, to serve in the vills, allowed for a very wide latitude in the number of these sworn assessors, but designated the vill as the unit. Yet on the few rolls that have been preserved two or more vills are found assigned to one group of subtaxers.¹²

The deviations from the instructions of 1307 and the following years seem even more striking than those mentioned, though this appearance may be due to the fact that a much greater number of the documents relating to the assessment have been preserved. Provision was made for four or six subtaxers, or more if desired, to serve in the cities, boroughs, and vills. There would, therefore, seem to be no official warrant for less than four subtaxers or for any other units than those named. Despite this, in county after county, there were usually two or three subtaxers assigned to one district. Four or five are also found at times. It was the same with the administrative units of taxation. In Hertfordshire, in 1322, two, three, four, and even six vills were joined, and there is one instance of the union of nine vills.¹³ Throughout Sussex in 1327 both the hundred and half hundred were used instead of the vills, but subtaxers were also assigned to groups of vills and even to single vills.¹⁴ The county roll of Berkshire for the same subsidy shows the use of single vills, groups of two, three, or four vills, and hundreds.¹⁵ In all parts of England it was the same—free manors, manors, hamlets, groups of vills, parishes, and hundreds were all substituted in different districts for the vill of the instructions. Local custom or local convenience would seem to have influenced the chief taxers to disregard the strict letter of the forms of the taxation. In the larger boroughs the ward or parish frequently served as a convenient unit for the purposes of assessment, while there was no subdivision of the smaller boroughs.¹⁶

The remaining details of the instructions, which have to do with the manner of making the assessment, were essentially the same throughout the period and, so far as can be discovered, were carefully observed by those persons whose duty it was to put them into practice. Once selected, the local assessors, whether of the hundred or township, were placed under oath to value the personal property of the people which they had in their possession on a

¹¹ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 1297.

¹² E. g., Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, XVI; Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 1297, 1298 (Bedfordshire), 1298, 1299 (Lincolnshire). Compare the remarks on the jurors in Northumberland in 1297 in *Archæologia Æliana*, 3d series, XIII, 200-201.

¹³ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 1298.

¹⁴ Sussex Record Society, X, 109-222, *passim*.

¹⁵ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 1298. For additional examples of variations, see Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 1298 (Somerset, 1332), 1298 (Shropshire, 1332).

¹⁶ Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 1298 (London, 12 Edward II, the ward), 1298 (Cambridge, 8 Edward II, the ward), 1298, 1299 (York, 1 and 6 Edward III, the parish), 1298 (Norwich, 6 Edward III, the leet).

day named. This was usually Michaelmas, when the crops were in and such property could be easily assembled and valued. No loss or sale of movable goods subsequent to Michaelmas was to be taken into account by the subtaxers when they reached the potential taxpayer. After the valuation of personal property had been made, the results of the labor of the subtaxers were recorded upon duplicate local assessment rolls.¹⁷ Unfortunately not many of these documents have been preserved at the Public Record Office. The reason for this is that they were not sent to the exchequer, except for some special reason, such as the investigation of charges of fraudulent assessment. Upon these rolls are described in detail, after the names of the property owners, the various kinds of movables in their possession with the assessed valuations of each item. These valuations are then totaled and the amount to be paid by each person estimated. The assessment of the goods of the subtaxers, made under the direction of the chief taxers by men of the district, is at times separately recorded on the same rolls.

After a general survey and correction of the local assessments by the chief taxers, the information contained in the local rolls was summarized in two large rolls for the entire county.¹⁸ On these appear, arranged by hundreds and townships, or whatever the divisions used, the names of the owners of property and the sums with which they were charged to the subsidy. One of these rolls was taken to the exchequer for its information, the other retained by the chief taxers for the purpose of collecting the tax. During the reigns of Edward I and Edward II only a relatively small number of these county rolls seem to have been kept by the officials of the exchequer. Apparently it was not the special duty of anyone to preserve them. By Stapledon's ordinance of 1323 it was, however, made the duty of the king's remembrancer of the exchequer to care for the rolls of taxation. The remarkably complete series of the rolls preserved for the taxes of 1327 and 1332 is direct and sufficient evidence of the efficacy of this enactment. When the chief taxers appeared before the exchequer to account for what they had accomplished, the assessment of the personal property of the nation was brought to a close with the valuation of their goods by the treasurer and barons.¹⁹

¹⁷ There are relatively few of these local rolls in print. The following examples illustrate the character of the assessment in both urban and rural districts: Rot. Parl., I, 228-238, 243-264 (Colchester, 1295, 1301); Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, XVI (Yorkshire, 1297).

¹⁸ A number of these rolls have been edited and published by the English local historical societies. See the list in Gross, Sources and Literature of English History, second edition, 428-435.

¹⁹ This valuation is at times noted at the end of the county roll. E. g., Sussex Record Society, X, 334; William Salt Archæological Society, X, 132; Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 1st ed. (Shropshire, 6 Edward III). On the enrolled account of the subsidy of 1332 the valuation of the goods of the chief taxers is recorded; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies, No. 8, mm. 2-3.

The way has now been cleared for a discussion of the personal property that was valued and of the owners of property listed among the taxpayers. The instructions, upon examination, do not contribute any exact definition of movables. They state that all such goods were to be taxed with the exception of certain kinds of goods specifically excused. In like fashion all the people were to be liable for their goods except those therein relieved from the burden of taxation. By first considering these exemptions it will be possible to eliminate not only several classes of property, but also some property owners from further consideration. It will then be in order to turn to the more definite information found in the local and county rolls.

The standard list of movables exempt from taxation is found in the instructions of 1290.²⁰ Such changes as were made in later years were either ephemeral in character or unimportant modifications of this list. It was divided into two parts, one having to do with the property of men living in the rural districts, the other with the goods of those living in the cities and boroughs. The first or rural list exempted the armor, riding horses, jewels, and clothing of the knights, gentlemen and their wives, and their vessels of gold, silver, and brass; the second or urban list exempted a garment for a man and one for his wife and a bed for the two, one ring, one clasp of silver or gold, and a girdle of silk, if these were in daily use, and a drinking cup of silver or mazer.

Among the property owners receiving special consideration in the forms of taxation, the lepers occupied a peculiar position. Their movables were not to be taxed if they were ruled by a master who was a leper; if their master was sound their goods were to be taxed.²¹ The only other class dealt with in the forms was that of the clergy. Though it is hardly possible without a detailed discussion to fully explain their relation to the lay subsidies, it is believed that the following brief statement indicates its more important features. In 1291 was completed the valuation of the property of the English clergy made by order of Pope Nicholas IV.²² This valuation was thereafter available for the use of the crown as well as of the papacy. During the remainder of the reign of Edward I it was the practice to base clerical grants upon the taxation of Pope Nicholas and to tax only the goods on the temporal lands of the clergy whenever they, either individually or collectively, refused to grant a tax to the king. In the instructions of 1307 the position of the clergy

²⁰ Vincent, op. cit., I, 177-178.

²¹ The clause reads: "E les biens des meseaux la ou il sount governez par sovereyn meseal ne seient taxez ne prisez. E sil seient meseaux governez par mestre seyn seient leur biens taxez come des autres gentz"; Palgrave, op. cit., I, 63.

²² See the paper by Miss Rose Graham in the *English Historical Review*, XXIII, 434-454, and the returns of the valuation as published by the Record Commission, *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ auctoritate Nicholai IV.*

was clearly defined and placed upon a sound basis. All property, whether temporalities or spiritualities, which was taxed under the clerical grants and so included in the taxation of Pope Nicholas, was to be excused from the valuation for the lay subsidies.²³ But for movables upon or issuing from lands acquired since 1291 or not taxed when the clerical subsidies were levied, the clergy were to pay whenever lay subsidies were granted. This clause reappears in all the forms of the reign of Edward II, but is not found in those of the years 1327 and 1332. The practice of these years, despite this omission, followed the older instructions.²⁴

There remains but one other exemption clause to be considered. It had to do with the smallest holding of personal property that was to be taxed. This minimum was frequently changed. In 1290 it was 15 shillings' worth of property. From 1294 to 1297 it varied with the rate of taxation, a tenth and sixth having the corresponding minima of 10 shillings and 6 shillings. There was no exemption of small holdings in 1301. For the later subsidies the minimum for the rural districts was 10 shillings, with the exception of the year 1307, when it was 15 shillings. In the cities, boroughs, and ancient demesne the minimum was also 10 shillings, save in 1319, when it was half a mark, and in 1322 and 1332, when it was 6 shillings.

Special exemptions from the burden of one or more subsidies, granted by special writs and not indicated in the forms of the taxation, were fairly numerous. Individuals were at times excused, though very infrequently.²⁵ The goods of the workers in the royal tin mines in Cornwall and Devon, the stannary men, were not subject to the levy of the national taxes upon movables after 1305.²⁶ The king's moneyers, the workers in the royal mints at London and Canterbury, were in a like privileged position.²⁷ Because of poverty caused by fire, flood, pestilence, or the havoc of war, townships, boroughs, and even counties were at times excused. The most notable

²³ The clause reads: "Et fait a savoir, que les propres Biens des Prelatz, & des Religious, & d'autres Clerks, lesqueux Biens sont issantz de Temporautez que sont annex a leur Eglises, & sont taxez entre leur Esprituantez a la Disme, ne serront mie taxez en ceste Taxacion des Lais; Por ce que les ditz Prelatz, Religious, & autres clers donnent au Rol le Quinzime de lor Esprituantez & Temporautez selonc la Taxacion darreinement faite. Netredent, si Prelat, home de Religion, ou autre clerk, eit Terre ou Tenement de heritage ou de purchaz, ou a Ferme, ou en noun de Garde, ou par Eschete, ou en autre manere, qe ne soit cea en ariere taxe au Disme qe la Clergie ad done, soit taxacion fait de tous les Biens qe lour feurent en mesmes les lieux le jour de Seint Michel desus dit, en la forme qe ceste Taxacion se ferra des Biens des Lais"; Rot. Parl., I, 443.

²⁴ See the references given in my paper, "The English church and the lay taxes of the fourteenth century," *University of Colorado Studies*, IV, 217-225.

²⁵ C. P. R., 1307-1313, 152, 153, 179, 204, 229, 274, 321, etc.

²⁶ Lewis, G. R., *The Stannaries*, 164-165; *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, I, 536.

²⁷ C. P. R., 1272-1281, 416; *ibid.*, 1307-1313, 152; C. C. R., 1333-1337, 549-550; *Calendar of Letter Books*, London Letter Book C, 102-103; *ibid.*, Letter Book D 260; L. T. R. *Memoranda Roll*, No. 80 (3 Edward II), m. 62 d; *Pipe Roll 152 A* (35 Edward I), m. 27 (Moneyers of Canterbury); *Exchequer Lay Subsidy 1292* (Kent, 8 Edward III).

example of such a special exemption is that of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland during the greater part of the reign of Edward II and the early years of Edward III because of the devastation caused by the raids of the Scots.²⁸ Ecclesiastical communities, such as abbeys, priories, and hospitals, at times sought and obtained the exemption of their taxable goods.²⁹

These exemptions, numerous as they may seem to be, left the bulk of the property of the nation and the majority of the property owners untouched. Though the movables of the very poor and a few articles in the hands of the gentry and burgesses would escape the assessment, there remained subject to the taxation all the essentials of life in either town or country. With the enumeration of the goods that were not to be valued the contribution of the instructions to a definition of movables ends.

The evidence of the returns of the subtaxers is, on the contrary, very clear. In the rural districts there were valued all kinds of domestic animals, horses, oxen, sheep, and swine, and all kinds of grain, wheat, barley, rye, and oats. Peas, beans, and hay were frequently enumerated. At times hives of bees appear. Some carts were valued, though they were usually designated as carts shod with iron, some wool, and now and then the goods of the rural tanner or small artisan. On the borough rolls are to be found not only the cattle, sheep, and grain of these semi-rural, semi-urban communities, but also household goods of all kinds, the tools of the artisan, merchandise, and many articles of luxury. The term "movables" meant, therefore, in actual practice, one thing in the country and another in the towns. But there is no indication of any such distinction in the forms of the taxation.

What is more, it may be categorically denied that the list of movables as it appears on the local assessment rolls for the villis includes all the personal possessions of the taxpayer. Where were the cheese, beer, cider, butter, eggs, salted or fresh meat, and other victuals of the peasants when the subtaxers appeared? Where were the plows, small carts, harrows, and other farming implements? Where were the household goods? There is no doubt of their omission, but how explain it?

What seems to have happened, in part at least, is that the subtaxers in the villis were following customs based on earlier instructions, but not mentioned in the forms of the taxes of 1290 or later. The list of exempted goods of the villains in 1225 includes the armor to which they were sworn, their tools, and their fish, flesh, drink, hay,

²⁸ See my paper, "The Scotch raids and the fourteenth century taxation of northern England," *University of Colorado Studies*, V, 237-242.

²⁹ The following are references to typical exemptions: C. P. R., 1307-1313, 207; C. C. R., 1323-1327, 421; *ibid.*, 1330-1333, 513, 520; *ibid.*, 1333-1337, 566.

and forage, which were not for sale.³⁰ In 1283 the list of exemptions was more specific and also more comprehensive.³¹ For those who were neither merchants nor burgesses it includes treasure, riding horses, bedding, clothing, vessels, tools, geese, capons, hens, bread, wine, cider, beer, and all kinds of food ready for use. These two lists would eliminate from the valuation all food in the larder, the farming implements, the household goods, the smaller domestic animals, and most of the products that were not for sale. Grant that these exemptions were customary, or that they became so, and it is possible to explain the records of the assessments made after 1290. A definition of movables in the rural districts made in conformity to the returns of the subtaxers would therefore include cattle and other domestic animals and, presumably, such grain and other produce as was for sale. In some districts it would have to include wool, a heavy cart, hives of bees, and probably a few other possessions, but at that it would always be subject to correction if a larger number of the local rolls were brought to light.

How far the subtaxers observed their instructions to value movables at their true value is a difficult question to answer. Some light is thrown on the problem by the local rolls. On approximately half of the rolls for the West Riding of Yorkshire, the subsidy being the ninth of 1297, there is much evidence of what may be called conventional valuation.³² In Burton, 28 oxen are enumerated, each ox being valued at 5 shillings, and 34 cows, each valued at 3 shillings 4 pence. In Austwick, there were 43 cows of the value of 4 shillings each. In Thornton, there were 15 cows valued at 3 shillings 6 pence, and 12 oxen valued at 4 shillings 6 pence. In Bentham, 36 cows were valued at 3 shillings 6 pence each, and 12 oxen at 5 shillings. In other vills elsewhere in the same riding the values placed upon both oxen and cows vary in relation, presumably, to the age, health, or usefulness of the ox or cow. It is hardly to be presumed that 43 cows in Austwick should each be worth exactly 4 shillings, 34 in Burton exactly 3 shillings 4 pence, and 36 in Thornton 3 shillings 6 pence, when it is considered that all these vills were in the same wapentake of Ewcross, and near neighbors. If the subtaxers adopted a plan of conventional valuation, it is quite likely to have been at the value of the poor rather than the higher grade cow or ox. Even if they did not go quite so far they were evading the strict letter of the instructions. Without reference to the sale prices of oxen and

³⁰ Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1216-1225, 560.

³¹ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, I, 12. For lists of the movables taxed see E. Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred in 1283*.

³² Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XVI. The references to the vills named below are as follows: Burton, 1-4; Austwick, 4-6; Thornton, 11-12; Bentham, 12-14.

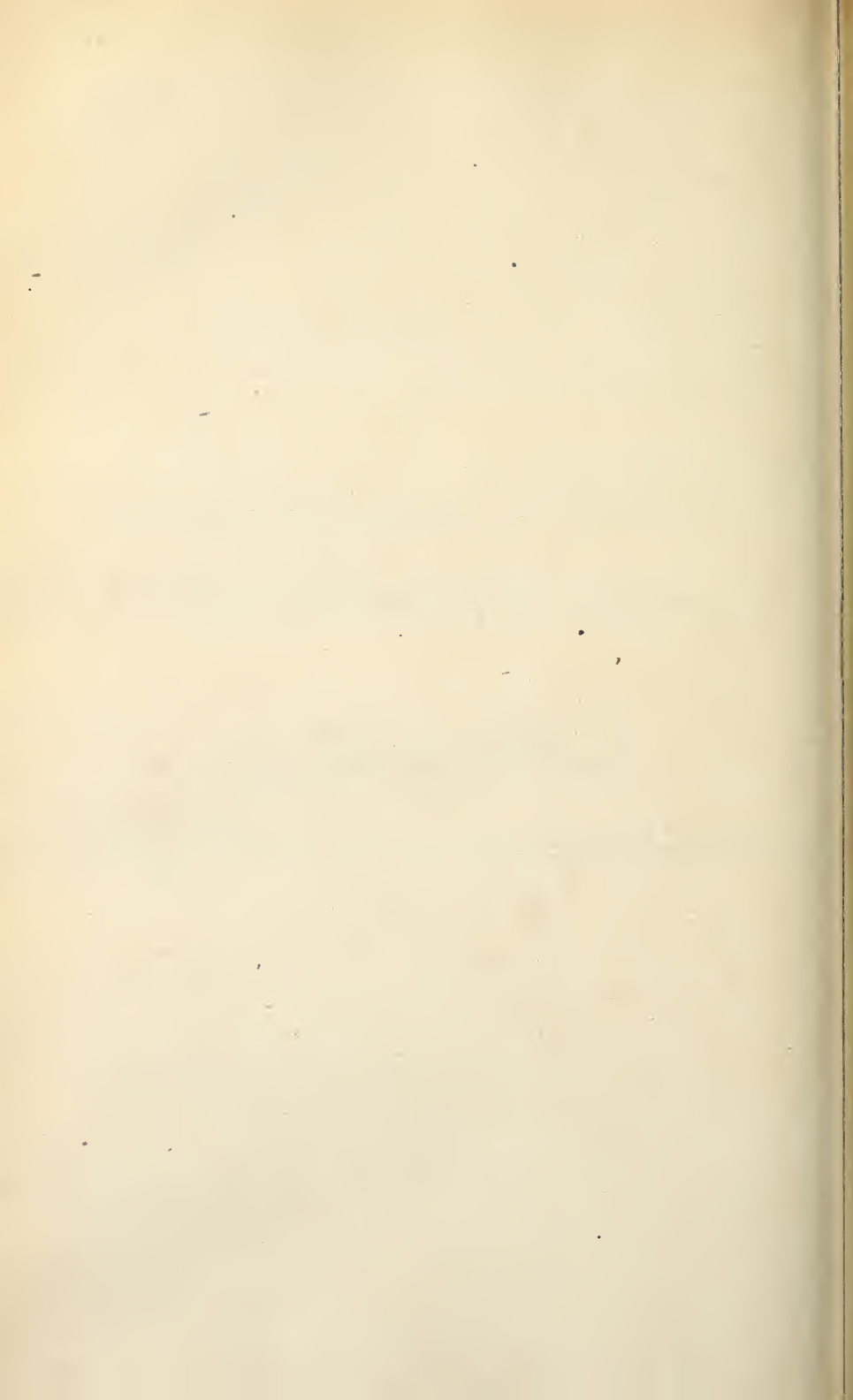
cows as found on the rolls of contemporary manorial bailiffs, it is hardly possible to extend the investigation of valuations further.

The property owners whose names appear on the local and country rolls charged with the payment of the taxes upon movables came from every rank and condition of medieval society save the very highest and the very lowest. The king's name does not appear on the rolls, or the queen's, and the very poor would escape taxation because of the provision for a minimum holding of taxable property. The goods of all others were taxed. Earls, barons, and simple knights; the two archbishops, the bishops, abbots, and other clergy down to the chaplain in a country village; and on the same lists John the reeve, William the carter, and Adam the miller, the peasant folk of the countryside.

The assessment was completed. The subtaxers, who were also the collectors of the subsidies, at once began to gather the money, which was soon on its way to the exchequer at Westminster.

IX. ENGLISH CUSTOMS REVENUE UP TO 1275.

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ENGLISH CUSTOMS REVENUE UP TO 1275.

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The history of the English customs duties may be conveniently divided into several periods. The first is up to 1275, which we may call the period of unsuccessful beginnings. Between 1275 and 1347 the customs system, which is so well known in history, was established. This was made up of five groups: The ancient custom of 1275 on wool, woolfells, and hides; the new custom of 1303 paid by aliens; the cloth custom of 1347; the subsidy on wool, woolfells, and hides; and the subsidy of tonnage and poundage. In the next period—1347 to 1558—these were consolidated and maintained with but minor changes. Between 1558 and 1660 there were many royal impositions and considerable manipulation of valuations. During this period the constitutional struggle over the control of the customs took place. In the period from 1660 to 1787 Parliament controlled the customs, piling up one subsidy on another till the rates were in confusion. From 1787 to 1860 Pitt, Peel, Gladstone, and others carried through a policy of simplification and reduction. And since 1860 England has had free trade.

This outline is given in order to indicate the remoteness of the period of our present interest—that is, the period up to 1275.

The customs have been studied more or less carefully since 1606 when Bate's case of impositions precipitated the struggle between Crown and Parliament for the control of the customs. Lawyers such as Coke, Bacon, Davies, and Hale have endeavored to discover and explain the main lines of development. Historians, too, have devoted their energies to the task, notably Madox, Hallam, Stubbs, Round, and Hall. The works of all of these are useful, but they have many shortcomings.

Since the appearance of Hall's book in 1885 not a single important treatise on the customs has appeared. This may be explained by the widespread acceptance of Hall's views. Much more surprising than this is the fact that, since the legal case of 1606 and the parliamentary discussion of 1610, not a single capital fact or a generalization of weight has been adduced for the better understanding of

the earlier history of the customs, that is, the period of origins up to 1275.

The only comprehensive theory of the origin of the English customs, an old one in essentials, was formulated and elaborated by Hall. According to this theory, the customs arose out of the royal right and practice of seizing goods from merchants. Whether this was acquiesced in because the King gave protection in return for the goods seized, or because such a seizure was regarded as a prerogative inherent in sovereignty, we do not need to inquire. It is enough to note that according to the theory the seizure of goods, at first irregular, was later systematized, reduced to a definite percentage, and finally commuted to money payments. Old as this view is in some of its essentials, and widespread as has been its acceptance, we must reject it in its general application. There can be no doubt about such seizure of goods in Angevin and late Plantagenet times, but for the view that it grew into the customs system there is no evidence. This "seizure," or, as it was called in the Norman-French of the time, the "prise" of goods, was the well-known practice of purveyance so indelibly written into the early legislation of England.

Usually where there is smoke there is at least a little fire. In most fables we are accustomed to look for an element of truth, and so in this theory there is a measure of genuine financial history. The prise theory, as we shall see presently, holds true for the development of the wine custom paid by aliens. To apply this theory, which rings true in the case of one commodity, to the whole situation is to make the exception the rule.

The purpose of this paper is not so much to disprove an old theory as to discover a new one. Not in the general and vague royal right of seizure, but in certain definite customs are the origin and early development of the national system to be sought. But before setting out on the quest let us reflect on the precise nature of our search. The essential characteristic of the system evolved in the period beginning in 1275 is indicated by the word "national." The customs were levied on foreign trade, were paid by both denizens and aliens, and were collected by officials directly or indirectly responsible to the sovereign to whom the returns were periodically made. It is hardly necessary to add that reference is here made to the sovereign as such rather than to the lord of lands held in demesne. With these criteria in mind, then, we may begin our search among the numerous taxes on trade which we encounter in medieval documents.

As we might expect, it is in connection with towns or boroughs that the assortment of customs is largest. These dues were so numerous and in some instances so difficult to understand that whenever we meet with an unfamiliar tax we readily put it down as a town custom or perhaps a fair due. A special investigation based upon comparative studies should be made to determine the precise nature of these

local or so-called local or town dues. Until this is made, however, we shall have to be content with a partial treatment of the subject.

With these town dues such as *custuma ville*, anchorage, *murage*, and the like, which were unquestionably local and not national in character, we do not need to concern ourselves, reserving our interest for those which on examination have at least some characteristics of national taxes. The earliest ones found are *lastage* and *scavage*.

Lastage was a tax on goods exported abroad, levied at a specific rate of so much per last, for example, per last of hides or herring. It was collected in at least nine or ten ports and is accounted for in the pipe roll of 1130 and in the pipe rolls of Henry II. Whether it goes back to the Anglo-Saxon rule or was imported by the Normans is not clear. An uncertain passage in the customs of Chester recorded in *Domesday Book*, seems to push *lastage* back to 1086, or perhaps even to the time of the Confessor.

The reasons why this tax has been neglected by the historians of the national customs are not hard to discover. At an early date *lastage* was defined as a tax on goods sold in fairs. With the question whether there ever was such a tax we are not so much concerned as with the fact that our *lastage* was collected only in seaports and on goods going abroad, if we are to trust an early fourteenth-century deposition made by a jury at Skirbeck. A further confusion is found between our *lastage* and the *lastage* meaning *ballastage*. Equally disturbing is the fact that *lastage*, unlike the late customs, came into the hands of local barons and gentry. In the twelfth century it was *infeudated* in one case at the tenure of *grand serjeanty*. If our Chester reference really be to *lastage*, we have an eleventh-century instance of a similar situation, the King and the Earl of Chester each sharing in the returns from the tax.

Not only did *lastage* as a tax suffer from *infeudation*, but from exemptions in favor of *burgesses* residing in certain privileged towns.

As to the origin of *lastage*, we can only speculate. It may have been a national tax imposed by Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish kings, which was all but buried in the process of *feudalization*, and which, because of the rise of prices and the unchangeableness of local (or localized) rates, came to have small value. Accordingly, when the later customs system was imposed, its identity was lost.

Analogous to *lastage* was *scavage*, a tax paid on showing goods. While *lastage* was an export tax, *scavage* was an import tax. Its earliest appearance is in a London document belonging to the eleventh century, but whether to the earlier or the latter half of the century we have no means of determining with any degree of certainty. The document in question smacks of the Anglo-Saxon régime and by one authority was assigned to the Anglo-Saxon

period. Accordingly, we may raise the question whether scavage had a history analogous to that of lastage.

No instance of scavage in any port other than London has been discovered. Whether this is indicative of its early decline in other points or of the restricted area of its application, is not apparent. If we regard it as a tax imposed by the national sovereign, we must see in it another example of localization, since it was in later days collected not by a feudal lord, it is true, but by the officials of the city. It was local in character, also, in so far as citizens of London were exempt from payment.

Occurring later than lastage and scavage are two other national taxes, both on wine, which have quite a different origin. The first of the two was sometimes called "cornage," a tax of a few pence on each tun or cask of wine imported from abroad. What the word means is unknown. It may have been of Norman origin, for we find a cornage in Normandy in 1099 and in England probably not earlier than about 1150. The name cornage was apparently not widely used in England, it may be, because it was already applied to the northern English tax of horngeld. The identity of the tax, however, may be traced right through the thirteenth century when it was called a "custom of pence," due to the King and to others. Like lastage and scavage it fell from the hands of the King into those of local potentates, a fact which in part explains its obscurity; and, if our information was not so scanty, we should probably find that like them, it, too, probably underwent local exemptions which would account for its gradual decline.

The other tax on wine is the "prise," later called "prisage." At first it was a seizure of a rather loosely-defined character; but the wine so seized was to be paid for. It is obvious that this was a device for filling the royal cellars with a commodity that was not so much a luxury as a necessity at the royal table. From an early date, too, the wine so seized, was given to nobles and high churchmen, somewhat as gobelins and sèvres were later on in France.

The history of the prise of wine runs somewhat parallel to the history of the other dues already dealt with. It, too, was infeudated and so lost to the Crown, and exemption from it was won, and always highly prized, by London and the Cinque ports. But here the analogy ends, for the prise, because of its original peculiar relation to the royal needs and the resulting prominence of the tax, had a close relation to the later customs system. It was commuted to a money payment in 1303, in the case of aliens, and centuries later in the case of denizens. It is this commutation that probably served as the suggestion for the general prise theory of the origin of the customs; but as we have noted, such a commutation was the exception rather than the rule.

Additional evidence that wine was unique is the fact that the prise of wine was originally hardly a tax at all. The King paid for the wine taken at a slightly less than market rate. The original wine tax was cornage. The prise of wine became a tax only when the early official valuation, which had become fixed at 20s. fell much below the market price in the general rise of prices in the thirteenth century. The prise as a tax was historically an accident, the King becoming the beneficiary of an unearned increment.

Whence the prise of wine came, we can do little more than conjecture. An analogous Norman tax, the modiation or measurage of wine, has priority in the records and may be the progenitor. At least two editors of documents have translated modiatio by prisage. But there is no good reason for closely associating the two, except in so far as both may have arisen in answer to the same need, that is, for wine for the sovereign's use.

All of these taxes, lastage, scavage, cornage, and prisage, have three points in common. The assizes or decrees bringing them into existence have been lost. While they were all national in so far as they were on foreign trade, imposed on alien and denizen, and apparently originally imposed by the sovereign, they all have traits of localism that are unmistakable. They were all infeudated in whole or in part and to all of them, with the possible exception of cornage, exemptions were made in favor of individuals or such groups of individuals as burgesses and the inmates of ecclesiastical establishments.

Infeudation and exemption are suggestive of what is probably the key to the origin of the national customs. Probably the model of the national system was the local system of the towns. The purely local customs of the towns, which we now call "tolls," were indeed at this early date called "customs," the very term applied to the four taxes above mentioned whenever they were described without being named. Exemption and infeudation are likewise the characteristics of local taxes. Seemingly then the town customs were at once the models for a national customs system and the rocks on which that system finally foundered. It was localism which was likewise to prove the stumbling block to later royal efforts as we shall presently see.

The concept of national customs is now familiar enough, but we must not take it for granted at the beginning. If the local system of taxation on trade antedated the national, as is probable, then the national system involved a new step not only of financial but of economic import. It would be going beyond what we know of the times to assign the invention to anything but fiscal expediency. Town customs already in existence were needed for local purposes. They bore many exemptions, at any rate at a later date. They did not hold out much prospect for further development at the hands of the sovereign. Accordingly a new system was evolved, based not

on local but on foreign trade. Any tax on such trade would seemingly be paid by foreign merchants who were the first to organize the export and import trades of England.

This new system was made up of lastage and scavage, with the later additions of cornage and prisage. The sovereign might evolve a new system, but he could not make it an entire success without changing the social and economic system of the time and the mental make-up of his subjects. Accordingly the new customs soon began to be assimilated to the local system with its exemptions and infeudation, and for this reason, as time went on, yielded less and less to the King, with the exception of prisage above noted. Time and tide, however, were with the central government which could make further efforts. These fell within the thirteenth century but still previous to the year 1275.

When hard pressed for money, King John imposed a new system of customs practically unrecognized by historians of English taxation and when at all noted, wrongly understood. The tax was a fifteenth of goods exported or imported, an ad valorem duty of $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Although we have a summary account of the amount of money returned to the exchequer from this source, we do not know how long the tax lasted. Apparently its history was brief, for it has been traced only from the beginning in 1203 to the year 1207. Why it was so short-lived is unknown. The high percentage suggests opposition from the King's subjects. The loss of Normandy would point to the end of the most pressing need for its existence. But London's purchase of exemption for a lump sum is the significant event, indicating the most potent enemy of national taxes on trade, the privileged burgess class of the town. Localism was ready to do for this tax what it had done for lastage and the others.

In the reign of Henry III there is some general evidence of the desire on the part of the sovereign to use the royal right of purveyance as a means to establish a new tax on trade. The Barons' War checked this, and in its stead came a tax which apparently has never been isolated and identified, though it has been accidentally noted by historians. This is the new aid of 1266.

The new aid of 1266 was the invention of Prince Edward, later Edward I. It was an ad valorem tax on foreign trade, which lasted apparently down to the laying of the corner stone of the later customs system in 1275. What the rate was is unknown, for no accounts of the tax are extant. Why it was of so short life is likewise uncertain, though we may conjecture that the reason was chiefly the extraordinary character of the tax, which like other aids was levied to meet a special situation. But this much is clear that, as in the case of the other customs, towns at once sought and obtained exemptions through the influence of patrons or by the payment of money.

With this our outline ends; that is, with the disappearance of the new aid, about Easter, 1275. All the taxes dealt with have been national in whole or in part. All have been called into existence by special action of the sovereign, with some little doubt (because of lack of evidence) in the case of only two, lastage and scavage. All have suffered from the dominant localism of the day. All have been money payments, except prisage which was peculiar in many respects, as has been shown.

According to long-accepted opinion, the order of development of English national taxes has been, first, those on land (the Danegeld), then on movables (the Saladin tithe), and only later on trade (the commuted prise). If what has been said about the development of the customs be true, then this order must be changed. National taxes on trade preceded those on movables and possibly those on land.

Vinogradoff has lately resurrected the question: What was the ordinary means of meeting the requirements of the early national government? He has answered it orthodoxly by asserting that services not taxes were the main reliance, services from Crown lands rather than revenue from public taxation. He probably misses the main point at issue when he speaks of the tenth and eighth centuries in the one breath. What may have been true at the time of Bede would probably not have held in the year 1000. Bede might well have complained of the alienation of the royal demesne, but this alienation was one of the processes that made a new field of taxes essential. All this leads us merely to the speculation about the time when the first national customs duties were imposed, the lastage and the scavage. The conservative answer is in the period 1050-1150, but this may be a century too late.

In place of the gradual and vague development underlying the prise theory, we should substitute a series of clearly defined actions and inventions which, though in themselves single events, were not isolated facts. The establishment of lastage, scavage, cornage, prisage, the fifteenth, and the new aid marked in each case an episode in the struggle between localism and nationalism. The struggle was in no sense won by nationalism in 1275, but at that date there was every assurance that it would be. The history of the period from 1275 to 1347 is replete with evidence of the waning strength of localism and the growing power of nationalism. Localism was carried into the Parliaments of the period, while nationalism was enthroned in the royal council. By means of gradual encroachment, tact, and cooperation, the Crown ultimately had its way. Up to 1275 every effort on the part of the Government to found a national customs system resulted in a large measure of failure; in the subsequent period every effort ended in partial or complete success.

X. THE ASSOCIATION.

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THE ASSOCIATION.

By J. F. JAMESON.

The purpose of this brief paper is to set forth some facts and make some suggestions or conjectures regarding the history of the institution called the association in a specialized sense of that word. When the First Continental Congress met in this historic city, in a hall not many squares from that in which we are to-day assembled, one of its first acts was to appoint a committee to prepare an association. What did they mean by that word? If used in this present day of highly developed social organization, it would mean an organized body having a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, an executive committee, a constitution, and probably also by-laws, and as many other of the paraphernalia of organization "as the traffic would bear"; but what the members of the First Continental Congress meant was a document of the nature of a non-importation agreement. In their journal, under date of October 20, 1774, we read: "The association being copied, was read and signed at the table, and is as follows." Then the document is inserted, with 52 signatures of members, followed by the vote: "Ordered, That this association be committed to the press and that 120 copies be struck off."¹ Of these first 120 printed copies one, bearing the signatures of the members, may be seen in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Although in the year 1774 the word "association" was occasionally used in other senses, yet its main sense, in the minds of men occupied with such tasks as those of the Continental Congress, was that of a signed agreement to pursue a given course of public action. It is the history of the association in this sense that I wish to discuss in outline on the present occasion.

Whence came the word, and the device which it denoted, into the minds of the members of the First Continental Congress? Like so much else in their procedure, it came directly from precedents in the action of their respective colonies. For one instance not long before, when the Virginian House of Burgesses, on May 17, 1769, was dissolved by Gov. Botetourt because of their resolutions condemning parliamentary taxation, they proceeded at once to meet in an informal

¹ "Journals of the Continental Congress," ed. Ford, i, 75-81, Oct. 20, 1774. See also Force, "American Archives," fourth series, i, 913.

assemblage at the Raleigh Tavern, and, passing resolutions against the use of any merchandise that should be imported from Great Britain, drew them up in the form of articles of association, which were signed by those present and sent in various copies to the other colonies and to Great Britain, while other copies were circulated throughout the counties of Virginia for the signature of every free man who would subscribe.²

Many of the non-importation agreements of those two or three years were called associations by those official or unofficial bodies that prepared them, and frequently they were printed under headings in which that name occurs. But the term, in colonial practice, was far from originating at that time. In that House of Burgesses which Lord Botetourt so summarily dissolved in May, 1769, many of the older members could easily remember the opening of the session of 1745, when the governor in his formal address proposed that after the example of their fellow-subjects the burgesses and inhabitants of Virginia enter into an association to defend their Sovereign Lord King George the Second from all the perils involved in the Jacobite rising of that year.³

But indeed, as Gov. Gooch's phrase indicates, the device was not one originating in the colonies, but was imitated from English practice, recurring from time to time. Let us, therefore, turn to the story of the association in English history.

So far as I have been able to discover, the first use in English history of the word "association" in the sense which we have been discussing occurs in 1584, in the celebrated instance of the association for the protection of Queen Elizabeth. It is true that the conspirator Edward Fitzharris, in the libel which led to his trial in 1681, says: "Let the counties be ready to enter into an association as the county of York did in Henry the Eighth's time."⁴ He refers to the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536, but I find no evidence of the general signing of any document on that occasion, and as no one seems to believe anything that Fitzharris said about matters happening in his own day, we shall hardly regard him as an authority respecting the days of Henry VIII. We begin then with the incidents of 1584. The plots of Throckmorton and others to assassinate the Queen in order to bring about the succession of the Queen of Scots had, it will be remembered, been discovered, their intentions frustrated and the authors punished. Yet the sense of danger remained very acute, the law being in such a state that the death of the sovereign dissolved many of the constitutional foundations of society and in the existing circumstances would most likely lead to civil war. With

² "Journals of the House of Burgesses," s. d.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1745.

⁴ "Parliamentary History," IV, app. XIII, xxvii.

that death Parliament would automatically come to an end, commissions would expire, public authority be nowhere securely vested. The device which was adopted in order to bridge the crisis apprehended was that of a Protestant association. The terms of the document are well known. It declares that those "whose names are or shall be subscribed to this writing . . . calling first to witness the name of Almighty God, do voluntarily and most willingly bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally in the band of one firm and loyal society; and do hereby vow and promise by the Majesty of Almighty God that with our whole powers, bodies, lives, and goods, we will serve and obey our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, against all states, dignities, and earthly powers whatsoever, and will with our joint and particular force during our lives withstand, pursue, and offend, as well by force of arms as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons of whatsoever estate they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt any act, or counsel or consent to anything that shall tend to the harm of Her Majesty's person," and will never accept or favor as successor anyone on whose behalf such detestable acts have been committed or attempted, but will prosecute such person to the death.⁵

Such was the document prepared by Burghley and Walsingham. The privy councillors, the judges, and all others in and about London who held office under the Crown, signed forthwith. Letters from Walsingham went out to each lord lieutenant, urging him to induce the gentry of his county to execute a similar instrument of association, and for that purpose the secretary sent copies to each, one of which, when signed and sealed, should be sent to the council, while the other was to be kept by the Custos Rotulorum of the county. In the Public Record Office are preserved the copies which came back from many of the counties, with multitudes of signatures appended. "The loyal," says Froude, "signed in a passion of delight; the disloyal, because they dared not refuse." The Earl of Derby, writing for Lancashire, himself not exempt from suspicion, shows us the picturesque scene in which, on his knees in church, bareheaded, he took the oath, administered by the Bishop of Chester to him, first among the throng, and so to the rest, six at a time.⁶

Now what was the nature of the device thus so extensively and so enthusiastically adopted? Obviously it was extra-legal, an emergency measure adopted to meet exigencies not provided for by the existing constitution or laws. Questions of conscience, questions respecting illegality, did not fail to arise immediately in some scrupulous minds. In the Public Record Office is a paper entitled, "The Dangers that may ensue by the Oath of Allegiance hereafter, if it be

⁵ "State Trials" (Howell), I, 1161-1163.

⁶ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, pp. 207-208, 210-212.

not qualified by a convenient Act of Parliament,"⁷ and an act was passed by the Parliament which was immediately convened, the statute of 27 Elizabeth ch. 1, "an act for the security of the Queen's Majesty's Most Royal Person."

But a device which, even by extra-legal means, could save the nation from civil war and the Protestant religion from extirpation, was too valuable to be ill thought of, and its popularity and éclat were not likely ever to be forgotten. In the period of the Interregnum, so fertile in constitutional experiments, signs are not wanting that the Protestant Association of 1584 was not lost from memory. The Eastern Association and the Midland Association of 1642 do not seem to have had the nature of signed agreements, but rather to have been associations or groupings of counties effected by a superior authority, associations in a more modern sense. But the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, like the Scottish National Covenant of five years earlier, was precisely a signed agreement binding the signatories to persevere in a described course of public action.

But leaving Scottish instances to a later moment, we may pass on to the association of 1681, alleged to have been found in Shaftesbury's closet, though declared by him to be wholly unauthentic. Like its great prototype of 1584, it purported to defend the security of the Protestant religion, by preventing or making unprofitable a Catholic succession. The signers were to bind themselves, in case of King Charles's assassination, to obey Parliament and those commissioned by it, and in case of its dissolution, to obey those of its members who had enrolled themselves in this association.⁸ Not merely extra-legal but plainly illegal, such a bond nevertheless represents clearly the type we are pursuing, and continues its tradition.

Of far wider fame and effect was the association of 1688 which Sir Edward Seymour devised when he went to meet William of Orange at Exeter, and which did so much to pave the way for the latter's success, the signers pledging themselves to hold together until religion and the laws and liberties of the country had been established in a free parliament.⁹ The problem was that of meeting by voluntary and concerted action an interval in the operation of the regular machinery of monarchy.

Eight years later it again became, or seemed, necessary to provide a device by which, as by the flywheel of an engine, the machinery of monarchical government might be carried past a dead-point, caused, not by the monarch's flight or abdication, but, as in Queen Elizabeth's day, by his prospective assassination. In February, 1696,

⁷ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, pp. 207-208, 210-212.

⁸ "State Trials," VIII, 781-787. See also "Discourse touching the Addresses or Presentments to the King against the Association, with Account of the Association made and confirmed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" (1682).

⁹ Burnet, "Own Time," I, 792.

the plot of Sir John Fenwick and others to kill King William at Turnham Green had on its discovery caused widespread alarm throughout the nation, then still at war with France, still apprehensive of a reinstatement of King James, and still nervous respecting Popery. It was still the law that the death of the King *eo ipso* dissolved Parliament and determined all offices held under the Crown. The movement which ensued has been brilliantly described by Macaulay:

“Sir Rowland Gwyn, an honest country gentleman, made a motion of which he did not at all foresee the important consequences. He proposed that the members should enter into an association for the defence of their sovereign and their country. Montague, who of all men was the quickest at taking and improving a hint, saw how much such an association would strengthen the government and the Whig party. An instrument was immediately drawn up by which the representatives of the people, each for himself, solemnly recognized William as rightful and lawful King, and bound themselves to stand by him and by each other against James and James’s adherents. They vowed that, if His Majesty’s life should be shortened by violence, they would avenge him signally on his murderers, and would, with one heart, strenuously support the order of succession settled by the Bill of Rights.” To copies of this association, circulated throughout England, several hundred thousand subscriptions were at once obtained. “It seems certain,” says Macaulay, “that the Association included the great majority of the adult male inhabitants of England who were able to sign their names. * * * The association was signed by the rude fishermen of the Scilly Rocks, by the English merchants of Malaga, by the English merchants of Genoa, by the citizens of New York, by the tobacco planters of Virginia, and by the sugar planters of Barbadoes.”¹⁰

Again in 1715 and in 1745 and in some later crises, when danger threatened monarchs of the house of Hanover, loyal associations were drawn up and signed almost as a matter of course.

What Macaulay says of imitation in the colonies is shown by many American examples. Thus the Marylanders in April, 1689, following close upon the movement begun at Exeter by Sir Edward Seymour, drew up and signed “An Association in Arms for the Defense of the Protestant Religion, and for asserting the Right of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland and all the English Dominions.”¹¹ Eight years later, after Fenwick’s plot, and at

¹⁰ “History of England,” IV, 533, 544-548.

¹¹ Chalmers, “Political Annals,” 373. Their declaration was printed at St. Mary’s in 1689, the earliest known publication with a Maryland imprint, and reprinted in 1689 in London and recently in this society’s “Original Narratives” series, “Narratives of the Insurrections,” 305-314.

various other times of crisis, we find in various colonies associations to stand by the Protestant succession.¹²

Thus the line of descent from the Protestant Association of 1584 to that framed in Philadelphia by the First Continental Congress 143 years ago is entirely clear, with the word used recurringly in the same sense, of a signed agreement to persevere in common in the same course of public effort. But what was the descent of the association framed in Queen Elizabeth's time, what its origins or models? The answer to such a question must always be in some degree conjectural. It might easily be argued that the institution or device was of Scottish origin, as I have elsewhere shown to be the case with the device called the convention, borrowed from Scottish practice a little later.¹³ In Scottish history there had been numerous signed agreements of a political character, usually agreements between the turbulent nobles of that distracted country to oppose their unfortunate monarch or some rival group of nobles. In Scottish practice they were not called associations, but bonds or bands.¹⁴ Thus, when the Scottish Queen Mary, with prudent eagerness, hastened to concur in the association for the protection of Elizabeth, the document in which she did so is entitled "The Queen of Scotts Bond in Association to be an Enemie to all that shall attempt anie Thing against her Majestie's Lyffe."¹⁵ There seems to have been a "band" for the murder of Darnley; there certainly was one for the murder of Riccio.¹⁶ The followers of Knox drew up in 1557 the Common or Godly Band, in 1559 the Bond of the Congregation and the Generall Band, all of them precursors of the covenants of 1581 and 1638. But, indeed, there is a long line of precedents in Scottish history, down from at least the time of the Bruces, when, for instance, we find in Balfour's *Annales*, under date of 1306, that "This yeire ther was a mutuall endenture made betuix Sir Gilbert Hay of Erole, Sir Neill Campbell of Lochaw, and Sir Alexander Setton, knights, at the abbey of Londors, to defend King Robert and hes croune to the last of ther bloodes and fortunes: upone the sealling of the said indenture, they solelymly toke the sacrament at St. Maries altar, in the said abbey-churche."¹⁷

¹² "New Hampshire Provincial Papers," II, 258-259. "Md. Archives," XX, 538-546, with eight pages of signatures.

¹³ "On the Early Political Uses of the Word Convention," in "American Historical Review," III, 477-487.

¹⁴ Rev. James Hewson, "Bands or Covenants in Scotland, with a List of Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenants," in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, fourth series, XLII, 166-182.

¹⁵ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," ubi supra.

¹⁶ See appendix to Andrew Lang, "The Mystery of Mary Stuart," 381-385, for the instance relating to Darnley, and, for that relating to Riccio, Goodall, "Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots," I, 266-268.

¹⁷ Balfour, "Annales of Scotland," I, 89.

Thus conjecture might attribute the association devised in October, 1584, by Burghley and Walsingham to imitation of a familiar Scottish model. But we are not without definite evidence of a curious sort pointing in another direction. The association was presented to the Privy Council on the 19th of October. Under date of October .12 there is, in the State Papers, Domestic, a letter of Burghley to Walsingham in which he writes that he has been much pleased with a book in which he found "The Confederation of the Nobility of the Low Countries against the Inquisition" in anno 1568 (he means 1566), and advises Walsingham to read it.¹⁸ Thus a week before the two statesmen completed their association and presented it to the council for signature we find their minds actively occupied with the so-called Compromise of 1566, familiar to readers of Motley,¹⁹ by which Louis of Nassau and some 2,000 other noblemen and gentlemen and even burghers of the Low Countries bound themselves to resist the Inquisition and the rule of the foreigner.

And what was the model of this Belgic document of 1566? Plainly the earlier among those Catholic leagues which had already begun to be powerful in France. To many minds the league in French history means simply the Holy League, the alliance of the Guises with Philip II. But on its first emergence in French history a few years earlier than that alliance the term league denotes an association of precisely the type we have been considering, a signed agreement to persevere in a given course of public action; in this case the maintenance of the Catholic religion against heretical sectaries and time-serving kings and politicians. The earliest which Prof. Thompson's industry has discovered is a local association formed at Bordeaux in 1560. Another, for Provence, was drawn up at Aix in November, 1562. Montluc instigated the redaction of another at Agen in February, 1563, and took part in the framing of still another at Toulouse in March, which Agrippa d'Aubigné calls "the prototype and first example of all the leagues that have since appeared in France."²⁰

Thus by 1566 Louis of Nassau and his light-headed companions had in their minds many examples of the signed political agreement, and by 1584 the whole genus was doubtless familiar to statesmen so experienced as Burghley and Walsingham. Most of the members of the Continental Congress would have been ill pleased to think that the device they employed descended, even indirectly, from the Catholic leagues of sixteenth-century France, but such is most likely the historic fact.

¹⁸ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, p. 202.

¹⁹ "Rise of the Dutch Republic," I, 493-499.

²⁰ J. W. Thompson, "The Wars of Religion in France," 213-216.

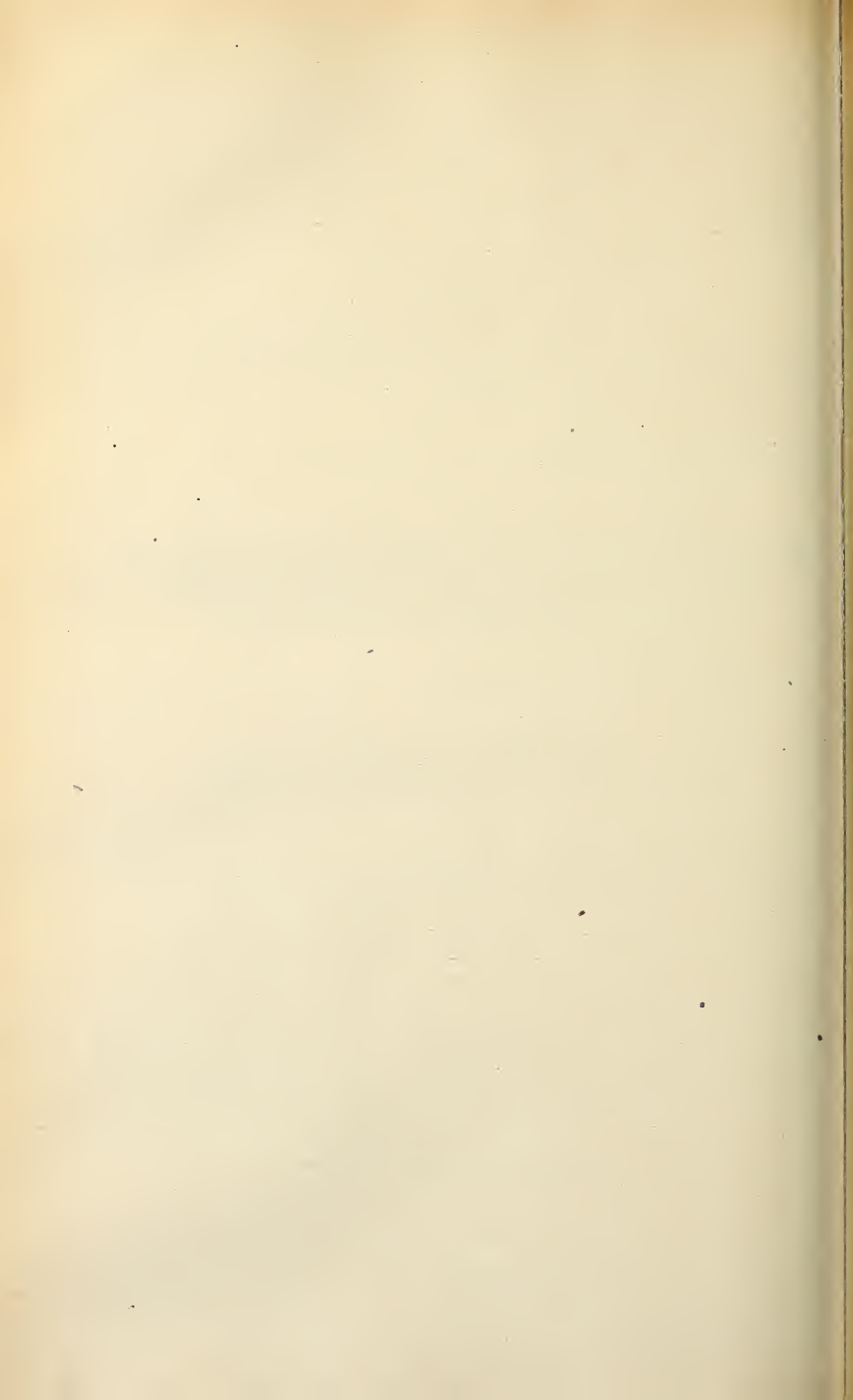
As to earlier origins, it is perhaps sufficient to say that instances of the signed agreement to hold together for the attainment of given political aims occur here and there throughout the later Middle Ages, in the history of England (e. g., the barons at St. Edmund's in 1214),²¹ of France, of Castile (hermandades) and Aragon, of Germany and Bohemia. As a primitive form of "His Majesty's Opposition," as a simple step toward the organization of like-minded persons for political action other than that of the State, such agreements were almost certain to arise.

More significant, however, than any question of origins is that of the essential nature of the association and its place in the political development of Europe. To properly place it in the history of the sixteenth century, we need to bear in mind how firmly the men of that time held that the nation and the country were the king's; that the right to direct policy resided in him; how abhorrent to their thoughts would have been the rule of parties. The word "party" they used as synonymous with faction, as denoting a thing to be warmly reprobated, a thing fraught with danger to the State. The party and the association were alike to be deprecated, as substituting illegal or extra-legal machinery for that orderly government by the king through the king's ministers which alone was the constitutional means for achieving the lawful ends of the State. "Leagues within the State," says Lord Bacon in his essay on faction, "are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis*: as was to be seen in the League of France." But of the two devices, the party or faction was the more reprehensible, as giving permanent force to the selfish interests of private men as against the public interest represented by the monarch. The association, formed for a temporary occasion and limited by a definite program, seemed less dangerous and more allowable. Its interest lies in the fact that for a time it stood side by side with the party, as a means for reaching political ends through means other than those of the monarchical administration. The rivalry was soon ended in favor of the more flexible of the two devices, the one more capable of organization. The party became in time the leading means of achieving public ends; the association was relegated to the museum of constitutional antiquities.

²¹ Stubbs, "Const. Hist.," I, 567.

XI. TO WHAT EXTENT WAS GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN
MILITARY CONTROL OF THE NORTHWEST AT THE
CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION?

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One view of this question is fairly presented in the letter of Gov. Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, to Clark, on July 2, 1783. In this letter, Gov. Harrison states that since an offensive war against the Northwestern Indians has been given up that Clark's services in that region will no longer be necessary. "But before I take leave of you," he says, "I feel myself called on in the most forcible manner to return you my thanks and those of my council for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country." John Pierce, representing the United States, as one of the three commissioners appointed to adjust the claims of Virginia for debts contracted in carrying on the Revolution in the Northwest, maintained "that by leaving the territory with his forces, Clark relinquished the defense of it, and he can not, I think, be said to have maintained or defended a country beyond him in which he retained no garrison and from which he was at such a distance as to afford no immediate assistance."¹

Among the statements of historians who have discussed the problem, the two following may also be fairly taken as illustrative. "Clark would have pushed on to capture Detroit also but want of sufficient reinforcements compelled him to be content with holding Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. These posts, however, were sufficient to insure the American hold upon the Northwest until, in the peace negotiations of 1782, the military prowess of Clark was followed up by the diplomatic triumph of Jay."²

"The summer of 1779 marked the zenith of Virginia's power north of the Ohio; from that date there was steady decline. * * * For a year more there were a score of soldiers in those posts, acting as scouts; but even these were recalled in the following winter, and the villages were left to shift for themselves. * * * Virginia had

¹ At the meeting of the commission, May 15, 1788, William Heth, one of the commissioners, was appointed by Virginia. The third commissioner was David Henley. State Department Manuscript, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

² Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, p. 284.

really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory."³

To determine the influence of Clark's conquests it will be necessary to ascertain to what extent he retained military control in the Northwest. The summer following the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, 1779, Clark was forced to forego the march against Detroit; as he expressed it, "Detroit lost for want of a few men." But his preparations for this expedition produced unexpected results on the enemy. Efforts were made to render Detroit and Michilimackinac more defensible, and reinforcements were hurried to these posts.⁴ Their French and Indian allies were in a panic over the report that the English, unable to withstand the effect of the alliance of the Americans, French, Spanish, and Germans, would be driven out of America. So great was the disaffection among the Indians that according to British testimony the Sioux was the only tribe still true to them.⁵ Two expeditions sent from Michilimackinac to intercept the Americans, one a force of some 300 regulars, traders, and Indians, the other with 600 made up mainly of Indians, and a third of 200 Indians, led by officers from Detroit, retreated in haste upon hearing a report that Clark was advancing toward Detroit with a force of 4,000. A campaign against Vincennes and another against Fort Pitt were also abandoned.

While establishing his headquarters in the newly erected fort at the falls of the Ohio Clark's plans seem to have comprehended two main objects—to raise a force in Kentucky, "with the hopes of giving the Shawnees a Drubing,"⁶ and to make a "bold push" and reduce Detroit and Mackinac.⁷ Full powers were granted him by Gov. Jefferson to engage in either of these enterprises or establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio.

While preparing for the capture of Detroit, without which there could be no permanent peace, Clark, in the spring of 1780, began a fort 5 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, although a location north of that river was at first contemplated.⁸ Some months before, he had advocated building this fort, for on account of a failure of crops in the Illinois country some location nearer the frontier settlements would make the sustenance of his troops more feasible.⁹ Moreover,

³ Alvord, *Virginia and the West: an Interpretation*, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. III, 34.

⁴ The name Michilimackinac was changed to Mackinac in 1781, when that post was transferred to the island of Mackinac.

⁵ De Peyster to Haldimand, July 1, 1779. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, IX, 390.

⁶ Clark to George Mason, Nov. 19, 1779. *James, George Rogers Clark Papers*, 153.

⁷ Clark to Jonathan Clark, Jan. 16, 1780. *Clark Papers*, 383. "My proposition would be to Make a bold push, Reduce those Garisons and no peace with the Indians, only on our own terms, and never after suffer arms or amunition to go among them, which would effectually bring them to our Feet."

⁸ Thomas Jefferson to Clark, June 14, 1780. *Clark Papers*, 427.

⁹ Clark to Jefferson, Sept. 23, 1779. *Clark Papers*, 365.

he argued that this post should be made the center for the other western garrisons; that it would at once become the key to the trade of the western country and furnish a good location for the Indian department as well as give the means of controlling the Chickasaw and the Illinois posts. By March, of 1780, he was aware that the British were again winning control over the northwestern tribes and that they contemplated some such plan of action as that attempted by Gov. Hamilton. Not alone must this expedition which threatened the total loss of western control be checked, but the advance of the Spaniards east of the Mississippi, who as John Todd said, "have a fondness for engrossing territory," must also be met. The continuance of American control in the Illinois country seemed, as Clark believed, to depend on the concentration of his available force at the new fort. By this striking move, the Indians would be so mystified that they would refuse to join the British on the aforesaid expedition. At no time was there the suggestion of abandoning any territory beyond the Ohio, Gov. Jefferson having adopted the views of Clark and Todd on the practicability of concentration in the fort at the mouth of the Ohio which would, as he said, facilitate trade with the Illinois and be near enough to furnish aid to that territory; protect the trade with New Orleans; and together with other posts to be established would constitute a chain of defense for the western frontier.¹⁰ In pursuance of this project, the troops were withdrawn from Vincennes leaving only a company of French militia to guard that post. But before the retirement of the troops from the Illinois villages had taken place a formidable advance by the British was inaugurated.

This plan for gaining control over the Mississippi—Spain was then a common enemy of the British—for the recapture of the Illinois country, the falls of the Ohio, and finally Forts Pitt and Cumberland. was one of the most striking military conceptions of the entire Revolution. If successful, the whole region west of the Alleghanies must have become and doubtless would have remained British territory, for all communication between Clark and the East would thus have been destroyed. Besides, conditions east of the mountains must have been modified, for British rangers and their hordes of Indian allies would have been free to join the ranks of the British generals in Virginia and the South.

The British were to advance in five sections, and three major assaults were ordered to be made at widely separate points. With a force of 1,500 men, Gen. Campbell was to proceed from Pensacola and capture New Orleans. His strength was to be increased by the addition of white troops and Indians from Mackinac, this force having proceeded down the Mississippi after capturing St. Louis.

¹⁰ Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Martin. Clark Papers, 385.

The third detachment, assembled by Detroit officials, was to amuse Clark at the falls of the Ohio. One of the subsidiary forces was to advance by way of the Illinois River, while a second was ordered to "watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi."

The attack on St. Louis and the Illinois villages was entrusted by Gov. Sinclair, of Mackinac, to Capt. Emanuel Hesse. His command, made up of 950 British regulars, traders, and Indians, was assembled at the junction of the Mississippi and the Wisconsin. Conspicuous among the Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, and Ottawa warriors was a body of 200 Sioux braves under the leadership of Wabasha, their illustrious chief. While the capture of Gov. Hamilton had weakened the hold of the British on the northwestern tribes, the Sioux, as stated by Sinclair, were "undebauched, addicted to war, and jealously attached to His Majesty's interest." Warned of the approach of the enemy, the Spaniards had so strengthened their defenses at St. Louis that the first assault was repulsed. Meantime Clark had reached Cahokia in response to the appeals for his immediate presence from De Leyba, the Spanish governor, and from Col. Montgomery. After a short skirmish at Cahokia the British retreated in two divisions, one up the Mississippi and the other to Mackinac. Two retaliatory expeditions were sent in pursuit, but the enemy made good his escape. The villages of the Sauk and Foxes on the Rock River were destroyed by the Americans. It is impossible to determine the reasons for the British retreat. Clark claimed that it was due to the presence of himself and his men. The British pointed to the treachery of some of their Indian leaders and to the lack of spirit on the part of the Canadians.¹¹ Gen. Campbell evidently made no effort to leave Pensacola.

The third expedition was quite as striking a failure. For weeks Maj. De Peyster lavished what his superiors characterized as "amazing sums" on the "over-indulgence" of the tribes tributary to Detroit in order to enlist them for the expedition against the falls of the Ohio.¹² This, if successful, would cut the American communication with the East, force the surrender of the Illinois posts, and reduce the Kentucky settlements.¹³ With a well-equipped force of 1,100, 1,000 of them being Indians, Capt. Henry Bird, one of the best types of British leaders, descended the Miami to the Ohio. Notwithstanding his possession of two pieces of light artillery, he determined not to hazard an attack on the fort at the falls. Learning

¹¹ Wisconsin Historical Collections, XI, 154.

¹² Gen. Haldimand stated the amount to be £64,030. The appearance of such drafts, he wrote, "in so regular and such quick succession lead me to reflect on their fatal consequences to the Nation." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 409, 634, 636.

¹³ Testimony of Cols. Thomas Marshall and James Knox before the commissioners to adjust the claims of Virginia against the United States, Nov. 16, 1787. Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

of the arrival of reinforcements from Virginia and that the other expeditions had failed, he turned toward Detroit after destroying Ruddels and Martins stations, two small Kentucky stockaded posts. So rapidly did they retreat that they abandoned their cannon at one of the Miami villages.

At no time in his career did Clark show his capacity for leadership to a better advantage. No obstacle could deter him from the determination to deliver such a stroke as would prevent any like attempt on the part of the enemy. The rapidity with which he advanced to his goal was not unlike the drive toward Vincennes in the February days of the preceding year. Learning of the designs of Capt. Bird, he set out from Cahokia with a few men for Fort Jefferson, and after barely escaping capture by the Indians, struck off through the wilderness with only two companions for Harrodsburg. In spite of protests from the crowd of investors in land, he closed the doors of the land office until the end of the campaign, and by August 1, seven weeks from the time of his leaving Cahokia, 1,000 volunteers had responded to his order to assemble at the mouth of the Licking River. After a forced march, they reached Old Chillicothe, but the Indians had fled. At Piqua, a few miles beyond, a well-built town with a block-house, the Americans overtook and attacked several hundred Indians, and after a fierce engagement forced them to retreat. No effort was made at pursuit. After burning the towns, Clark led his troops to the mouth of the Licking, where they disbanded. In this campaign of a month they had marched 480 miles, and so successful was the effort that during the remainder of the year the Kentucky settlements were freed from serious molestation.

By Christmas time Clark was in Richmond consulting with the authorities over plans for taking Detroit. Such an expedition would serve to prevent the promised advance of the British, of which there were again unmistakable signs. Inspired by the more aggressive policy of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason, leaders in the House of Delegates, Clark's instructions provided for an advance of 2,000 men with the ultimate object of reducing Detroit and acquiring Lake Erie. If successfully carried out, so argued Gov. Jefferson, this expedition would insure peace on the whole frontier and create an extensive area for commercial expansion; and in the event of peace would "form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of Liberty an extensive and fertile country." At the opening of the year 1781, therefore, there was no evidence of final territorial demands extending over an area less than the whole Northwest. Besides, Washington promised contributions from the continental stores for this object, which he

declared he had constantly borne in mind, believing that the reduction of Detroit "would be the only means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier."

For the first time, a complete military organization for the West was completed, by making Clark brigadier general of the forces which were "to be embodied on an expedition westward of the Ohio."¹⁴ At no time during the Revolution was there a more striking example of military inefficiency on the part of both the general Government and of Virginia. Almost six weeks were wasted by Congress and the Board of War in collecting the promised supplies for the western expedition, and there was a delay of two weeks at one point between Philadelphia and Fort Pitt in order to make new kegs for the transportation of the powder. The time of necessary waiting at Pittsburgh might well have disheartened any leader. Drafting troops, under Virginia military laws, was a failure and Gov. Jefferson was forced to resort to the call for volunteers. Col. Brodhead, commanding officer at Fort Pitt, refused to grant permission for 200 regulars to go on the expedition and finally, early in August, Clark set out down the Ohio with 400 regulars and volunteers, a force scarcely adequate to guard the boats which contained supplies for fully 2,000 men. But plans had been agreed upon at Pittsburgh, which provided for an expedition against the Wyandot early in September under Col. Gibson, while Clark was to advance against the Shawnee. Once more Clark's activities had served as a defense to the frontier. Detroit was put into condition for withstanding this attack and Indian demands at that post increased "amazingly."¹⁵

Clark's arrival at Louisville was opportune, for never was there a prospect so gloomy for the fate of the West. While Fort Nelson was completed, as he had directed, Fort Jefferson had been evacuated and there was a prospect that the Americans would be compelled to abandon Vincennes, where there was still a garrison of 60 men.¹⁶ Preparations for the promised expedition against Detroit had been made by Kentucky officials under the most adverse conditions, for the credit of Virginia throughout the West was worthless. During the winter and spring the Kentucky settlements had been devastated by a succession of Indian raids and there were well-founded rumors that an army was to be sent against them from Detroit. By order of the Virginia Assembly, the expedition against that post was postponed.

¹⁴ Draper Manuscript Collections, 51 J 18. This commission was granted under the authority of Gov. Jefferson.

¹⁵ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 465.

¹⁶ Fort Jefferson was finally evacuated in June, 1781. Some of the garrison went to Vincennes. Clark Papers, 585.

In council with his officers and the three Kentucky County lieutenants early in September, Clark still clung to his determination to march against the Indians by the way of the Wabash or the Miami and then to Detroit. But his advisers deemed the force available, some 700 men, inadequate for such an expedition. While insisting on the maintenance of the garrison at the falls, they likewise recommended that a fort should be built at the mouth of the Kentucky, and urged the assembling of a strong force for the reduction of Detroit the next spring. Clark still advocated an expedition up the Wabash against the Indian tribes among whom the British emissaries seemed to be most strongly entrenched. He saw in such a move the capture of Detroit and the possession of Lake Erie; control of the savages and preservation of the Kentucky settlements; retention of power over the Illinois, both Spanish and American, and ultimate influence on the terms of peace.¹⁷ It is probable he had in his possession at the time the message from Col. Arthur Campbell, written a month earlier, in which he stated that peace would probably be declared within a few months. This letter outlined the general situation, with Washington carrying on operations against New York; with Greene nearly in control of the two Southern States that were the preceding winter occupied by the enemy; and with Galvez in possession of Pensacola. It concludes with language strikingly resembling that of Benjamin Franklin to Lord Shelburne in the peace preliminaries seven months and a half later: "I wish we could carry our arms to the banks of Lake Erie, before a cessation would take place; to attempt it farther might be risking too much. For Canada confined to its ancient limits may serve our present turn: altho' every true American must acknowledge the advantages that would accrue could Canada be added to the Union."¹⁸ By order of Gov. Harrison, Clark was directed to garrison the falls of the Ohio, the mouth of the Kentucky, the mouth of the Licking, and the mouth of Limestone Creek. Two gunboats were to be built for each post, which should be used to patrol the Ohio and prevent any Indian bands from crossing.¹⁹ Such defense, it was argued, would enable the inhabitants to protect themselves against the incursions of the enemy and occasionally to attack them.²⁰ These garrisons were to be manned by regulars and militia consisting of 100 men at the falls and 68 at each of the other posts. The carrying out of these measures was dependent upon the generosity of the people themselves supported by the promise that any debts

¹⁷ Clark to Gov. Nelson, Oct. 1, 1781. Clark Papers, 605-608.

¹⁸ Col. Arthur Campbell to Clark, Sept. 3, 1781. Clark Papers, 595. Col. Campbell was stationed at Washington, Pa.

¹⁹ Benjamin Harrison. Letter Book, 1781, 13-15. Virginia State Archives.

²⁰ Journal of the Virginia House of Delegates, Dec. 15, 1781, 35.

contracted for the purpose should be met by the first means available and that there was every expectation of punctuality.²¹ The troops under Clark were poorly prepared for the service they were expected to render. For two years, many of them had served without receiving any pay, and during that time had been given neither shoes, nor stockings, nor a hat, and at times they were forced to exist on half rations.²² But their condition was no worse than that of soldiers in the regular Virginia line.

During the fall and winter, British authorities renewed their efforts to gain control of all the Northwestern tribes, for Clark's preparations, his evasive answers to their inquiries, and messages to the enemy had caused more than one-half of the tribes to make overtures for peace.²³ Typical of these reports, was one to the court at Kaskaskia, early in December, a call for the thorough enforcement of the laws, in which Clark asserted that peace was shortly to be expected since Cornwallis with his entire army had surrendered and that Clinton had lost 3,000 men. "Charleston," he declared, "is besieged and I think by this time it has surrendered with all the English troops; so that there will scarcely remain an Englishman on the continent except those who are prisoners." Immense treasure was granted the savages and discipline was relaxed, for, as stated by one of the officials, Indians must be used to prevent the inroads of the Virginians and must be "delicately managed to prevent their favoring those rebels."²⁴ Late in February, chiefs of the Shawnee, Wyandot, Delawares and 10 other tribes, assembled at Detroit.²⁵ They were instructed to make no attack, particularly on Kentucky, until toward spring. As a feint, small parties were sent forward to steal horses and commit minor depredations, thus keeping settlers off their guard until the coming of the main expedition which was to capture Fort Nelson and the other posts and at a single blow lay waste the whole frontier. Promise for the success of the plan was greater because of the arrival at Detroit of Rocheblave, Lamothe and other captured leaders all anxious to retrieve their former disasters by recapturing the Illinois country and Vincennes.²⁶ Early in February, the most exposed settlements of Kentucky and Virginia were surprised and a number of prisoners were captured.

Fully aware that the task was the most difficult he had ever undertaken, Clark pushed his preparations vigorously for foiling the

²¹ Benjamin Harrison, Letter Book, 1781, pp. 82, 83.

²² Capt. Robert Todd to the Virginia Council, Dec. 11, 1781. Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives.

²³ Col. John Floyd to Col. William Preston, January, 1782. Draper Manuscript Collections, Shane Manuscript, XVI, 37.

²⁴ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 548.

²⁵ Butterfield, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 90, 91.

²⁶ Plan submitted by Lamothe. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 569-572.

main attack of the enemy, which it was understood would be directed against Fort Nelson. "If we should be so fortunate as to repel this invasion without too great a loss to ourselves," he wrote while strengthening the various means for defense, "the Indians will all scatter to their different countries and give a fair opportunity for a valuable stroke to be made among them."²⁷

Assuming a part of the expense himself, Clark gave special attention to the construction of four armed galleys with the design of using them to control the navigation of the Ohio at the mouth of the Miami. Spies and scouting parties were constantly engaged on the various trails leading to the settlements in order to prevent possible surprise.²⁸ By the end of May one of the boats with a 73-foot keel was completed, having bullet-proof gunwales 4 feet high and false gunwales which could be raised in case of attack.²⁹ When completely equipped it was to be manned with 110 men and was to carry a six-pounder, two fours, and a two-pounder. The obstacles in carrying out defensive measures were continuous. Militia ordered on duty at Fort Nelson refused to march.³⁰ A company of 38 men serving on the row-galley deserted even after unusual concessions had been accorded them.³¹ The regiment of defense could not be sent, for it was found their services would be necessary in guarding the coast.³² Added to the general confusion and lack of discipline incident to the fear of attack, there was a spirit of insurgency on the part of certain leaders born of the desire to form an independent state and calculated to produce disaffection and an evasion of duty.

But conditions at Detroit were little more assuring. Clark's preparations had in the usual fashion been magnified by the authorities. It was reported that he was about to march with a large army for the capture of that post. To add to their alarm and confusion, the first news reached them, in early April, of the surrender of Cornwallis, and it was rumored that the Iroquois were intending to make peace with the Americans.³³ There was no hope for assistance from Montreal, for the British authorities were in expectation that such troops as could be spared would be needed to go to the defense of Gen. Clinton at New York. While directing that effort should be made to render Detroit safe, Gen. Haldimand, in anticipation of the importance of holding that post should peace ensue, ordered the collection of sufficient provisions to enable the garrison to withstand a formidable assault.

²⁷ Clark Manuscript. Virginia State Library.

²⁸ Draper Manuscript, 52 J 2.

²⁹ Executive Papers, Oct., 1782. Virginia State Library.

³⁰ Draper Manuscript, 52 J 10.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 52 J 25.

³² Benjamin Harrison, Letter Book, 178, pp. 82, 83. Virginia State Library.

³³ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 565, 566.

The advance of Col. William Crawford from Fort Pitt, at the head of 480 mounted men, against the Wyandot and Shawnee villages, on the Sandusky, was regarded as the advance guard of this American army. Scouts reported his plans at Detroit before the march was actually begun, and Indian spies followed their every movement.³⁴ Three days longer than necessary were consumed by Crawford in the march. Meantime Col. De Peyster, at Detroit, while keeping careful watch for Clark's expected advance up the Wabash, dispatched Capt. Caldwell with a company of rangers, volunteers, and Lake Indians to the defense of the Indian towns.³⁵ Strengthened by accessions of Wyandot and Delaware warriors they encountered the Americans on the afternoon of June 4. In the battle which ensued there was little gain on either side. The following day a party of 140 Shawnee joined Caldwell, and Crawford began a hurried retreat which soon turned into a hopeless rout.

In the midst of the general consternation caused by Crawford's defeat, the savages appeared in numbers on the upper Ohio and advanced some distance along the main traveled road beyond Fort Pitt.³⁶ The settlers who did not escape to the forts were murdered or captured, crops were destroyed and stock driven away. Frontiersmen who had sustained the greatest losses through Crawford's defeat urged retaliation and besought Gen. Irvine to lead them on such an expedition. They offered to raise 1,000 militia and equip them with horses and provisions.³⁷ In planning another campaign against the Sandusky villages, Irvine, who lacked confidence in volunteers, proposed to send 100 regulars as a nucleus for the force of nearly one thousand men. He was the more confident of success, for Clark had promised cooperation by advancing against the Shawnee.

Gen. De Peyster early received intelligence of this movement which he rightly interpreted as a concerted plan for the capture of Detroit. The defenses were strengthened and a gunboat was stationed at the mouth of the Miami.³⁸ Messages were forwarded to Capts. Caldwell and McKee, who were at Sandusky, and to Capt. Brandt, who intended to attack Wheeling, directing them to act solely on the defensive. Eleven hundred Indians, the greatest single body of savages mustered during the Revolution, had been brought together for the attack on Wheeling. While marching in that direction, they were overtaken by Shawnee messengers implor-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 574, 575, 577.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 575. Col. De Peyster wrote, May 14, 1782: "It will, however, not be prudent to weaken this garrison much more till I am satisfied that Mr. Clark is not meditating a stroke at this settlement."

³⁶ Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 171, 250, 383, 391, note.

³⁷ Draper Manuscript Collections, I AA 231-259.

³⁸ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 625-627.

ing them to return for the protection of their towns against an attack by Clark. The alarm had grown out of the appearance of the armed row-galley at the mouth of the Licking. Most of the Indians refused to go farther, but Caldwell and McKee, not satisfied with an expedition so barren of results, determined to invade Kentucky. With 300 Wyandot and Lake Indians and a small number of Detroit rangers, they crossed the Ohio and on the night of August 15, appeared before Bryans Station, the northernmost settlement of Fayette County. This post was successfully defended. Three days later, the retreating Indians, upon reaching the ford of the Licking at the Blue Licks, were attacked by a force of mounted Kentuckians led by John Todd, Daniel Boone, and other well-known leaders. The outcome of this hastily conceived affair proved disastrous to the whites who lost 90 men, fully one-half of their numbers engaged.

There was general despair in all of the frontier communities. A similar stroke, it was believed, would not only lead to the destruction of the Kentucky settlements, but would bring the savage forces in large numbers against the more interior counties of Virginia and the Carolinas. Families threatened to leave the country unless protection should be sent them. Numerous petitions to the governor and legislature called for interposition on their behalf. Other inhabitants petitioned Congress to be taken under its protection. Criticism of Clark was widespread for failing to establish other fortified posts in addition to Fort Nelson, which was held to be so far to the west that it offered no protection against the inroads of the enemy. Stirred by these messages, Gov. Harrison rebuked Clark for neglect in carrying out orders for the establishment of the posts, which would have prevented, he said, such a disaster.

But Clark held himself blameless for the situation in the West. The falls of the Ohio, he insisted, was of first consideration, and the completion of Fort Nelson had, he believed, saved the western country. Despairing of capturing so formidable a post, the enemy had divided their forces and sent one expedition to fall on the Kentucky settlements. That these posts had been surprised, he maintained, was due to a lack of foresight in not keeping scouting parties constantly employed, as had been ordered. He characterized the conduct of the leaders at the Blue Licks as "extremely reprehensible," due to an attempt to offset their former neglect of duty. Meantime, advances had been made by Clark to put into operation the complete plans for fortifications. After strengthening Fort Nelson he proposed to construct a fort at the mouth of the Licking. County officials refused to assist in furnishing men and supplies, and his own force, growing daily smaller because of desertions due to the

failure to receive necessary food and clothing, was too small to garrison the additional posts. Another advance by the enemy, which was expected, would, he asserted, make their labor useless.³⁹

Early in September Capt. Caldwell was again at the upper Sandusky, where he awaited the coming of the expedition from Fort Pitt. Runners were dispatched to Detroit and to the other posts, urging that reinforcements should be sent at once to his relief. At the time, owing to sickness among the rangers, his defense was dependent almost wholly upon the Indians. Detroit officials, anticipating that Capt. Caldwell would be forced to retreat before so formidable an enemy and that the Shawnee would be unable to withstand an attack by Clark, prepared a second defense which would cover the retreat to Detroit.⁴⁰ As usual, Maj. De Peyster, overcome with fear at the approach of the enemy, was ready to sacrifice his allies, and wrote Capt. McKee as follows: "By the accounts of their force, in the present sickly state of the Rangers, and the Indians being so much distressed, I fear you will be obliged to retreat at least until you are joined by the Miamies. I have sent all the Indians I could muster, particularly the Ottawas of the Miamie River. . . . You must be sensible that my soldiers are little acquainted with wood fighting and ill equipped for it withall. I have therefore only ordered them to take post where they can secure the ammunition and provisions and support you in case you are obliged to retreat, which I hope will still not be the case."⁴¹

During September and October preparations were made for a cooperative campaign, in which Gen. Irvine was to advance with 1,200 men against Sandusky, and Clark was to attack the Shawnee strongholds. Nine hundred men were to be sent, also, against the Genesee towns.⁴² Kentuckians quickly responded to Clark's call for a retaliatory expedition. Parched meal, buffalo meat, and venison were soon collected, but other supplies were gotten together with great difficulty. The credit of the State was worthless, and creditors, who had already advanced all of their property, were at the time beseeching Clark to aid them in the adjustment of their claims. "If I was worth the money," he wrote, "I would most cheerfully pay it myself and trust the State, But can assure you with truth that I am entirely Reduced myself by advancing Everything I could Raise, and except what the State owes me am not worth a Spanish dollar. I wish it was in my power to follow your proposition to step forth and save my country from the disgrace that is like to fall on

³⁹ Clark Manuscript, Virginia State Archives, Nov. 30, 1782.

⁴⁰ Maj. De Peyster to Gen. Haldimand, Sept. 29, 1782. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 651.

⁴¹ Oct. 1, 1782. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 651.

⁴² Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 181, 182.

her."⁴³ He finally exchanged 3,500 acres of his own land for the flour necessary for the expedition.

By November 1 the two divisions of troops reached the mouth of the Licking, the appointed place of rendezvous. Col. Floyd, in charge of one division, consisting of regulars from Fort Nelson and militia from the western Kentucky stations, ascended the Ohio with the artillery, while the other section, commanded by Col. Logan, marched from the eastern settlements. On the 4th of November 1,050 mounted men, with Clark in command, set out for Chillicothe, the Shawnee stronghold. Rigid discipline was maintained during the march of six days. A plan of attack had been worked out by Clark in minute detail. Three miles from the town Col. Floyd was dispatched with 300 men to make the attack, but his approach was discovered, and warned by the alarm cry the inhabitants made good their escape. Chillicothe and five other Shawnee villages were burned and large quantities of corn and other provisions were destroyed.⁴⁴ Col. Logan with a detachment of 150 men captured the British trading post at the head of the Miami and burned such stores as they were unable to carry away with them. After vainly attempting for four days to bring on a general engagement, Clark returned with his troops to the mouth of the Licking, where the divisions again separated.

This stroke constituted the final aggressive movement in Clark's offensive-defensive policy. It demonstrated the wisdom displayed in selecting Fort Nelson as a base for such operations. From this post it was possible for Clark to reach Vincennes or Kaskaskia in a much shorter time than it could have been accomplished by the British and their allies, for the knowledge of such advances was uniformly imparted to him. Moreover, the warriors of the tribes on the Scioto and the Miami, chief dependence of the British, could not have been induced to engage in such an expedition and leave their villages exposed to attack by an enemy so readily brought against them.

By this blow Clark had not only saved the frontier settlements from danger of attack, but he had offset the designs of British authorities to bring about a union of the northwestern and southwestern tribes. This plan, closely akin to that of 1781, was well calculated to win the support of the Indians, for it promised the advance of a large force from Detroit against Fort Pitt, the capture in succession of that post, Fort Nelson, and the other Kentucky posts and the retaking of the Illinois territory. In this manner Ken-

⁴³ Clark to Oliver Pollock, Oct. 25, 1782. (Clark MSS., Va. State Lib.)

⁴⁴ According to one report, 10,000 bushels of corn was destroyed. Virginia State Papers, III, 383. Ten Indians were killed and seven were made prisoners. Clark's loss was one man killed and one wounded.

tuckians, it was said, would be driven across the mountains, and "the other inhabitants into the sea."⁴⁵ The Indians were panic-stricken. Their winter supplies were destroyed and the policy of retrenchment on the part of British officials, due in part to the high prices fixed by monopolies, cut down the quantities of presents.⁴⁶ As interpreted by the Indians, this was a step toward their complete abandonment to the conquerors.⁴⁷ In fact, further demands by the Indians for protection from Detroit were refused.

From this review of events up to the close of 1782, it is seen that Clark had extended the radius of menace toward Detroit and had thrown the enemy into utmost confusion. Sickness still pervaded the ranks of the rangers. Regulars, it was claimed, were not suitable nor were they equipped for a winter campaign. Said Maj. De Peyster: "The few Rangers at the Post prevents my doing anything essential for the relief of the Indian villages, it is therefore to be hoped that when the enemy have done all the mischief possible they will retire."⁴⁸ He was aware that the road to Detroit was open and he fully expected an attack would be made by the Americans in the spring. Indian leaders were again ordered to act solely on the defensive. In demanding reinforcements, De Peyster declared: "Light troops are therefore what we want, and believe me there will be amusement for a good number of them the ensuing campaign without acting on the offensive." So effectively had Clark carried out his policy of intimidating the Indians that, as stated by Boone: "The spirits of the Indians were damped, their connexions dissolved, their armies scattered and a future invasion [was] entirely out of their power."⁴⁹

Messengers sent by Irvine informed Clark that the expedition against Sandusky was certain, but as they were about to set out from Fort McIntosh, the place of rendezvous, letters were received from the Continental Secretary of War countermanding the order.⁵⁰ Washington had been assured, on British authority, that all hostilities were suspended and that the savages were directed to commit no further depredations. Reports were still sent out by Irvine, however, that he was about to march with a large force toward Sandusky. These were well calculated to deceive the Wyandot and prevent their cooperation with the Shawnee against Clark.

⁴⁵ Clark Manuscript, Virginia State Library, Feb. 2 and 25, 1783.

⁴⁶ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 320, 321.

⁴⁷ Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, Feb. 25, 1783.

⁴⁸ Maj. De Peyster to Gen. Haldimand, Nov. 21, 1782. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 321, 322.

⁴⁹ Testimony of Daniel Boone before a Committee of Investigation, Dec. 20, 1787. State Department Manuscripts, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

⁵⁰ Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 398. Draper Manuscript Collections, 52 J 55.

Combatant and noncombatant alike at Detroit and all of the other posts awaited the passing of winter with anxious foreboding. British officials fully expected the coming of the Americans at the earliest possible date with the design of extending their frontier in the Northwest as far as possible, and thus, in the event of peace, of securing control of the fur-trade.⁵¹ Clark's threats to march against other unfriendly tribes as he had against the Shawnee increased the turmoil among the Indians.

Clark likewise beheld the coming of spring with apprehension. He appealed to the commissioners to assist him in strengthening the defenses. Once more he urged the importance of Fort Nelson as the "key to the country." As a protection to the eastern Kentucky settlements, he again advocated the construction of one or more forts farther up the river. To complete his plan for foiling the enemy would necessitate, he said, the embodiment of 1,500 troops which were to march against the Indian stronghold at the head of the Wabash. In this way, he proposed to convince the Indians that their very existence depended upon preserving peace with the Americans.⁵² A garrison of regular troops was to be stationed at Vincennes with supplies sufficient to equip a force which might be brought together at any time for the purpose of penetrating "into any Quarter of the Enemy's Country at pleasure."

No further effort was made to carry out these plans, for by the middle of April official announcement of the peace preliminaries and the cessation of hostilities had been sent to the frontier settlements. The proclamation of a general peace soon followed.

⁵¹ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 351.

⁵² Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 336.

XII. SEPARATISM IN UTAH, 1847-1870.

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SEPARATISM IN UTAH, 1847-1870.

By FRANKLIN D. DAINES.

The independent and sometimes even defiant attitude assumed by colonies of the United States toward the mother country and its Government is attributed to various causes—the American instinct for local self-government, remoteness, difficulty of communication, frontier life, slowness of the Central Government in extending control and protection, and so on. All of the causes mentioned were in operation in the Utah colony, and will be taken for granted in this discussion.

But among the Utah pioneers there were other and very powerful forces tending in the same direction. The importance of these forces in shaping events in the colony, in making Utah history different from that of any other modern community, has never been sufficiently set forth, and I think I am justified in saying that with the lively interest being taken in the story of the winning of the far West the time has come for historians to begin to understand one of the most interesting of its chapters. My contention is that the chaotic state of Utah history is due to a great extent to writers paying too much attention to polygamy and other matters and too little attention to the forces referred to. It was as a protest, then, against the prevailing tendency that I chose the subject of this paper.

It is my purpose to indicate something of the nature of the light that might be thrown on the subject by an examination of this point of view of the people of Utah Territory in its early period, as found in Mormon publications.¹ In these publications we find numerous sermons, editorials, and communications of Brigham Young and other leaders of the Mormon people, preached and written at a time when these leaders were exceptionally free in expressing through the press their thoughts. This freedom of expression, it might be observed, itself is an indication of the independent attitude assumed toward the world by these same leaders.

To begin with, it is important to remember that the Mormon people settled in Utah because their institutions and beliefs and experiences had already made them an exclusive people. We should then understand something of these.

¹ Principally, *Deseret News*, weekly, 1850-1867; after that a daily; *Millennial Star*, monthly, 1840- ; *Journal of Discourses*, published every year, 1853 to 1886.

In the first place, the highly efficient governmental organization of the Mormon church had already been constructed.² The claim is often made that this organization is the most perfect in the world except that of the German army.

In the second place, the claim of the head of the church that he possessed the divine right to direct in all things spiritual and temporal had been made under the régime of Joseph Smith and exercised without reserve.

Again, the Mormons had already had considerable experience in managing the affairs of a state within a state. The charter of the city of Nauvoo was, perhaps, the most liberal city charter given by a State government, that is, liberal in the powers conferred.³ The Mormons in Nauvoo had almost full control over all governmental affairs, including the use of a military arm. In elections they had always voted practically as a unit.

Another thing that contributed to exclusiveness was the belief in continuous revelation. This belief met with severe criticism on the part of other sects and hence caused antagonism to arise. But perhaps of greater consequence was the effect on the Mormons themselves. They believed not only in continuous Divine revelation, but also in continuous satanic revelation. To them, the devil, realizing that the time was not far off when he was to be bound, was making a last desperate stand. The intense realism of this belief produced a very strong tendency to regard all opposition as being Satan's work, all opponents, accordingly, as Satan's coworkers directly inspired by him. Other people, of course, have had such beliefs, but it is seldom, if ever, in modern times, that we find the belief so realistic and intense.⁴ The difficulty of attributing sincerity to an opponent was thus augmented and the resulting concrete reactions to this, sanctified by religion.

Another contributing cause, perhaps more important than any before considered, was the manner of the exodus to Utah. No people, it is safe to say, had ever a stronger feeling of outraged innocence than the followers of Brigham Young when he led them from civilization to the wilds of western America. It matters not whether they were to blame, or how much they were to blame, for the fate that overtook them in the States of the Middle West. The saints in general had not the slightest doubt that as a class no guilt attached to them. For those who take the view that these were the sinners and not the sinned against, or for those who hold that both the Mormons and their opponents were in the wrong, it need

² That is, in its main outlines. Brigham Young made some changes.

³ For the Nauvoo charter see "Times and Seasons," for Jan. 14, 1841.

⁴ For one out of hundreds of statements to this effect see "Journal of Discourses," V, 72.

not be difficult to attribute to the Mormons perfect sincerity in believing in their own innocence. The phenomenon is familiar enough. In group conflicts while they last, it is impossible to place the responsibility for initiative aggression, and the instinct of self-preservation causes a distortion of motives and actions; witnesses the present conflict. And in the last stages of the conflict between the Mormons and their enemies at Nauvoo, they were, without question, treated in an inhuman and barbarous manner. A reading of Mormon literature in the period under consideration will reveal the fact that the dread of similar doings was the chief moving force in all their actions toward opponents.⁵

In the attitude of mind indicated by the foregoing considerations, the Mormons, unable to live with their neighbors and keep the distinguishing features of their religion, sought an asylum where there were none to trouble but the savage Indian and wild beasts. As Brigham Young explained shortly after his arrival in Salt Lake City, wherever they had gone they had not been the first settlers, and hence had been looked upon as intruders. Now the time had come for them to be the first settlers and they could say to troublesome neighbors, if any they should have, "we were here first, if you do not like us you have the privilege of leaving." "If they will let us alone 10 years," he said, "I'll ask no odds of them."

Utah was chosen, then, as a refuge, in preference to Oregon or California, because the saints wanted to be left to themselves until they would be so strong they need fear no mobs. It was chosen because it was unoccupied and because it was too uninviting to be soon desired by others. It can not then be wondered at, that after this desolate-looking country had been redeemed to some extent from its wild state, it would be looked upon by its redeemers as in a peculiar manner belonging to them, as having been set aside by their God as a resting place for his afflicted people to gather where the wicked would cease from troubling and where the weary would be at rest.

In referring to a few of the incidents of Utah history from 1847 to 1870, it will be well to repeat the significant words of Brigham Young, quoted before: "If they will let us alone for 10 years I shall ask no odds of them." The Mormon leader thus in July, 1847, had set himself the task of making his people so strong, numerically and otherwise, that physical force could never more be used against them; and he believed that a certain period of isolation was necessary while their strength was being recruited. That this was no passing thought

⁵ See "Memorial from the members and officers of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah to the President and Congress of the United States," in *Deseret News*, VII, 356, for a good statement of this point of view.

⁶ See "Whitney, History of Utah," I, 334.

of his to be forgotten as soon as expressed, is shown by the fact that exactly 10 years from the day Salt Lake City was founded he recalled his words to mind and declared the desired result had been attained.⁷

For two years after the advent of the pioneers in the Great Basin, they had no need to consider any problems connected with the establishment of civil government, nor any problem concerning their immediate intercourse with other people except with a few travelers going through the settlements. The organization and institutions of the church met all requirements. For a lawmaking power there was the edict of Brigham Young. For courts they had a complete system—bishops' courts corresponding to justice courts, a high council corresponding to a county court, and the first presidency corresponding to a county court.⁸ For a law-executing arm there was the same military organization they had in Nauvoo, and still called the Nauvoo Legion.⁹ For revenue they had church tithes and offerings.

In these two years the foundations were laid for the future economic prosperity of the saints, and the policy of territorial expansion peculiar to the Mormons was inaugurated. With respect to this policy we need to make some explanation. The Mormons might have expanded gradually as pressure of population would demand. But that would not serve their purpose as well as a rapid settlement of strategic points within the limits marked out by Brigham Young for his empire. This empire took in what is now Utah, Nevada, most of New Mexico and Arizona, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, and California; included a seacoast, the harbor of San Diego, and the freedom of the seas for a Mormon fleet.¹⁰ Too many immigrants were coming west to leave the most desirable places within this area unoccupied if the saints wanted to be the first settlers.

By 1849 it was apparent that some government recognized at Washington would soon be necessary. A Territorial government was first asked for, but soon the request was withdrawn and a petition for the admission into the Union of a State of Deseret was sent in its place. Between the request for a Territorial government and the withdrawal of the request the Mormon leaders received a letter from Col. Thomas L. Kane, a friend of the Mormon people at the time acting in their behalf in the East. Kane advised strongly against a Territorial government because of the likelihood of officers being appointed from outside the Territory. He had sounded President

⁷ Roberts, "History of Mormon Church," *Americana*, VIII, 765.

⁸ For Church Judiciary System see Roberts, *Outline of Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 378-381.

⁹ The Nauvoo Legion, as well as the system of courts, did not cease to be useful to Brigham Young in maintaining his authority after these first two years had gone by.

¹⁰ In the proposed constitution for the State of Deseret, Article III, sec. 3, is as follows: "The governor shall be commander in chief of the militia, navy, and all the armies of the State."

Polk as to the possibility of this and found him disposed to make such appointments.¹¹

Congress rejected the plea for Statehood and created a Territorial government in 1850. It, of course, took some time for this government to be inaugurated, and in the meantime the State of Deseret was flourishing. Its constitution was in the orthodox American style, and in actual operation did not differ materially from the theocracy of the first two years of the colony.¹²

In the appointments made by President Fillmore for the Territorial government, Brigham Young was governor, but three of the officials were non-Mormons from outside the Territory. From this time began friction between the people of the Territory and the United States Government. To understand the Mormon point of view in the conflicts that ensued we need to go back a little. Charges of disloyalty made then and since have been frequent and vociferous and as frequently and vigorously denied. The assertion that the Mormon leaders were disappointed in finding themselves still within the jurisdiction of the United States has been made and denied. Neither the assertion nor the denial is of any particular importance. When Brigham Young finally decided on settling in Utah he knew it was to be United States territory. It is also true that he had sent emissaries to England to negotiate for Vancouver Island.¹³ But in any case, whether into American, Mexican, or English territory the Mormons desired to go, they expected their stay there to be but a short sojourn in the wilderness. They were looking beyond this to a return to the promised land in Jackson County, Mo. The truth is that they expected local self-government in this brief exile wherever they were.

Moreover, the saints during their exodus and settlement in their new home were being constantly reminded that they would some day save the Constitution of the United States from destruction. Joseph Smith had taught that the Constitution was a document inspired by God and prophesied that one day it would hang by a thread and would be saved by the saints.

But they had drawn a sharp distinction between the Union and the Constitution, and those who had been at certain periods mismanaging, as it seemed to them, its affairs. In November, 1839, Joseph Smith made a journey to Washington to seek redress from the general Government for the treatment of the saints in Missouri. He had an interview with President Van Buren and six days later he wrote a letter to Hyrum Smith in which he quoted Van Buren as having

¹¹ B. H. Roberts, for the letter, in *Americana*, Dec., 1912, VII, 1148.

¹² For this Constitution, see *Millennial Star*, XII, 19 ff.

¹³ *Journal of Discourses*, V, 230-231.

answered his appeal for help by saying, "What can I do? I can do nothing for you. If I do anything I shall come in contact with the whole State of Missouri."¹⁴ In some way this statement of the limitation of the power of the general Government became changed into something far different. Many thousands of times Van Buren has been quoted as saying, "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up for you I shall lose the vote of the State of Missouri."¹⁵

The Mormons, then, held the general Government responsible, as a partner, to all their wrongs and imagined wrongs in Missouri,¹⁶ and later, because the Government did not interfere or bring to justice the slayers of their leaders in Illinois, they blamed it for all that happened to them in that State.¹⁷ For several years after the settlement of Utah this adverse opinion toward the Government was sedulously encouraged by the Mormon leaders. Brigham Young said in a discourse of September, 1857:

There can not be a more damnable dastardly order issued than was issued by the administration to this people while they were in Indian country in 1846. Before we left Nauvoo, not less than two United States Senators came to receive a pledge from us that we would leave the United States, and then, while we were doing our best to leave their borders, the poor, low, degraded cusses sent a requisition for 500 of our men to go and fight their battles! That was President Polk; and he is now weltering in hell with Zachary Taylor, where the present administration will soon be if they do not repent.¹⁸

Brigham Young knew better than that, as has been shown by a prominent Mormon writer, Brigham H. Roberts, in his History of the Mormon Church.¹⁹ This remarkable statement was made at a time when Brigham Young had special reason for creating a sentiment hostile to the administration. He had learned a short time before of the approach of a United States army to Utah. But many statements of the same import, though usually less strong, were made before this, as well as after, by Brigham Young and other leaders who also knew better.

This brings up the question of the sincerity of the Mormon leaders. There have been attempts to drive a wedge between the Mormon people and their leaders in which the latter were accused of manipulating a credulous following to their own advantage. Those who have made these attempts did not understand either the people or their leaders. Although such deliberately misleading statements as the above have been made, I think it safe to say that Brigham

¹⁴ *Millennial Star*, XVII, 452.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 584-585. This shows that this was due to Joseph Smith himself, who a few months after wrote down from memory what he thought Van Buren had said.

¹⁶ See discourse by B. Young in *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 4 ff.

¹⁷ *Millennial Star*, XVII, 452.

¹⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, V, 231.

¹⁹ *In Americana* for March, 1912.

Young was as sincere as any of his followers in the belief and attitude of mind indicated in the forepart of this paper, and even in a belief in the proposition that the United States Government was satanically opposed to them.

If this stand is correct, then, this deliberate attempt to deceive the people becomes very important in understanding Brigham Young's purpose. He knew the value of opposition, and was trying to make the people strong and united by making them feel that "earth and hell" were trying to accomplish their ruin.

So much, then, for the United States Government as seen through the eyes of an inhabitant of Utah. The attitude toward the question of the right of that Government to send officials to rule there must next be considered. The Utah colonists were fully convinced that there was no warrant in right or in the Constitution for this. To them the right of a people to govern themselves did not cease when they crossed the boundary line of a State into a Territory.²⁰ The arguments used to support this contention were those used by other people in similar cases, of course, reinforced by the circumstances of the settlement of Utah.

Let us see some of the means used to substantiate this claim for the right of local self-government in the Territories.

In the organic act for the Territory, Congress left the Territorial legislature free to define the jurisdiction of the courts. The probate courts, the judges of which were appointed by the legislature, gave it a great opportunity. These courts were given, in the words of the act of 1852, "power to exercise original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and as well in chancery as at common law, when not prohibited by legislative enactment."²¹ Besides this, the offices of Territorial marshal, attorney general, and district attorneys were created to attend to all business before the courts when the Territory was concerned. By this maneuver, local self-government was complete except for annoyances caused by ambitious officials who tried to take part in what they considered their business and what the Mormons denied was their business.²²

These annoyances were met by counter-annoyances, and friction went on until, in 1857, the administration sent an army. Among these counter-annoyances were utterances of Mormon leaders disrespectful to high Government officials and other utterances regarded as treasonable in their nature. The quotation already given illustrates the disrespectful utterances, although spoken after the army was ordered to the Territory. A quotation from another discourse

²⁰ Desert News, Sept. 9, 1857, Discourse by H. C. Kimball; id., Sept. 2, Discourse by J. Taylor; id., Dec. 23, 1857, B. Young's Message.

²¹ See Bancroft, p. 487.

²² For boasts that Federal officials had no real power in Utah, see Deseret News, editorial, VII, pp. 244-245, and below.

of Brigham Young is an example of the so-called treasonable talk. In a sermon of August, 1856, he says: "After 26 years of faithful operation and exertion by our enemies, what have they accomplished? They have succeeded in making us an organized Territory, and they are determined to make us an independent State or government, as the Lord lives." (The congregation shouted, "Amen.") "I say as the Lord lives, we are bound to become a sovereign State in the Union, or an independent nation by ourselves."²³

The intense desire to be free even from annoyances is expressed by another Mormon leader in a discourse of March, 1854, as follows:

I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influence of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions, that the people of God might lay the ax to the root of the tree.²⁴

What this leader wanted to be able to do is still more significant. He wanted to have the chance to put traitors to death. Traitors were, of course, apostates. The tendency of theocracies to regard heretics as traitors to the State was thus taking root.

In the beginning of the year 1857 the Utah legislature sent a "Memorial and resolutions to the President of the United States," in which Buchanan is told that if he did not make better appointments his officers would be sent back, and that, "we will resist any attempt of governmental officials to set at naught our Territorial laws, or to impose upon us those which are inapplicable and of right not in force in our Territory."²⁵

The Mormons thus were determined to be the judge of the qualifications for officers, and of their powers after appointment. Among the inapplicable laws they would not have, the common law of Great Britain was one.²⁶

Of course when President Buchanan listened too readily to prejudicial testimony of what was going on in the Territory, and sent an army to straighten things out instead of trying a compromise, he was too precipitate. I am inclined to favor the theory that Brigham Young would have agreed to the same compromise that was in the end agreed to, if Buchanan had not been too hasty. The essential thing about the compromise referred to was that another man was installed as nominal governor, and things went on in all essential respect the same as before. One result, however, of the fiasco was a more bitter feeling in the Territory, with no corresponding increase in respect felt for the Government. The people of the Territory

²³ Deseret News, VI, 219.

²⁴ Discourse by J. M. Grant, Mar. 12, 1854, quoted by Cradlebaugh in *Utah and the Mormons*. The discourse is doubtless in the *Deseret News* of about the date given.

²⁵ *Deseret News*, VII, 244-245.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 370, "Mass Meetings"; also *Journal of Discourses*, V, 72.

firmly believed that the sending of the army was a plot to murder their leaders and to destroy or scatter the rest of them. That the plot did not succeed was not attributed to the fact that it had not been in existence, but that in some miraculous manner they had been saved.²⁷

Such was the situation at the beginning of the Civil War. While the Southern States were trying to get out of the Union, the Mormon leaders were laying plans to make another of their numerous attempts to gain a place for Utah in the Union. This has often been cited as proof of the loyalty of the saints. It does not seem to have convinced Abraham Lincoln, for he kept Connor and his California volunteers in Utah to make sure of having there a loyal force.

The Mormons were certainly loyal to the Union in their way, but their way needs interpreting. As to the great sectional conflict itself, they aimed to maintain a neutrality in thought and deed, with a slight leaning in thought, perhaps, toward the South,²⁸ and in deed toward the North. They looked upon the struggle as an attempt to interfere, on the part of the people of the North, in something in which they had no right to interfere.²⁹ There was then, it was thought, a bond of sympathy between the Confederates and the people of Utah. The Unionists were trying to destroy the Constitution as much as were the Secessionists. The despised Mormons were hence the only loyalists.³⁰ Such were the statements made.

Another belief was that the war was a punishment on the Nation for the crime of rejecting the Gospel, slaying the prophets of God, and driving His people into the wilderness.³¹

One thing that greatly influenced the Mormons in their attitude was the prophecy of Joseph Smith, in which was a prediction of a civil war between the North and the South, to break out in South Carolina, resulting in war being "poured out upon all nations;"³² the conflict to continue until God "hath made a full end of all nations."

In 1862, a constitution for the State of Deseret was adopted, and upon the application for admission being rejected, the machinery for a State government was created and continued in operation for at least 6 years. Once a year "Governor" Young of the "State" of Deseret would read his message to the "State" legislature, which would solemnly re-enact the laws that had been passed by the Territorial legislature, and adjourn.³³ It is difficult to understand why.

²⁷ A statement to this effect is found in *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 12.

²⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 143; *ibid.*, 233 ff.

²⁹ *Id.*, IV, 39.

³⁰ *Millennial Star*, XXVII, 635; *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 7 ff.; *ibid.*, 155 ff.

³¹ *Millennial Star*, XXII, 50; XXX, 68; *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 55 ff.

³² *Millennial Star*, XXX, 41-43.

³³ See, for example, *Millennial Star*, XXVIII, 161.

In April, 1861, Heber C. Kimball, the second in authority in Utah, in a discourse, said:

We shall never secede from the Constitution of the United States. We shall not stop on the way of progress, but we shall make preparations for future events. The South will secede from the North, and the North will secede from us, and God will make this people free as fast as we are able to bear it. They send their poor miserable creatures to rule us. Why, it would be upon the same principle that this church and authority should send some poor cuss to rule me and my family in my own house. * * * But let me tell you the yoke is now off our neck, and it is on theirs, and the bow key is in. The day is not far distant when you will see us as free as the air we breathe. * * * President Young is our leader and has been ever since the death of Joseph the Prophet. He can govern this people with his hands in his pockets, and they are not governed one whit by the men that are sent here. * * * We are going to be ruled by our Father in heaven, and the agents He sends out and appoints for us, from this day henceforth and forever.³⁴

In November, 1867, the editor of the *Millennial Star* could write:

Politically the saints are a unit. * * * At mass meetings * * * delegates are chosen by unanimous vote to meet in a convention and select the names of individuals to fill the various offices. In case of any dispute or dubiety on the part of the convention the Prophet of God, who stands at the head of the church, decides. He nominates, the convention indorses, and the people accept the nominations. * * *

So in the Legislature itself. The utmost freedom of speech, free from abuse, is indulged in; but any measure that can not be unanimously decided on is submitted to the president of the church, who, by the wisdom of God, decides the matter. * * * Thus political union is secured, and the shameful displays of party spirit, recrimination, and pet schemes for individual or sectional aggrandizement * * * are, in Utah, things only to be despised.³⁵

It can be seen from these quotations, and many others that might be given, that the loyalty of the Utah colonists in the Civil War period was loyalty to an ideal Government, not then in existence, to be based on the Constitution of 1787.

In the later sixties the Federal officials in Utah were beginning to take a little more aggressive attitude, due to some extent to the presence in Salt Lake City of a group of non-Mormon merchants. Social ostracism of these officials seemed to be doomed shortly to disappear. The railroad was approaching the borders of Utah, and, although Brigham Young and the Mormons had been anxious for its coming, they undoubtedly began to be a little anxious about possible undesirable results that would follow in its path, such as the development of the mining resources of the Territory. A partial answer to the menace was a boycott of the merchants and the establishment of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. The

³⁴ Journal of Discourses, IX, 9 ff.

³⁵ For other statements of Mormon theocratic ideas, see Journal of Discourses, V, 228 ff.; *ibid.*, IX, 17; *ibid.*, 8 ff.; *Millennial Star*, XXIX, 744; *ibid.*, 730 ff.

objects of this movement were to get rid of the "outsiders," to develop a more perfect unity, which, of course, was to lead to the same result—more isolation, and to bring about a better distribution of wealth. I think the weight of the evidence in the matter supports the theory that isolation was the primary motive.

The excuse offered for this extraordinary procedure was that the merchants in question had not participated in the development of the Territory; were mere parasites in the community; were overcharging for their goods; and were in sympathy with, or were abettors of, those seeking to bring mobs against the saints. In a letter written March, 1867, Brigham Young, in referring to those merchants and the other "outsiders" in the community, said: "If they were as honest as they profess to be they would recognize the truth, and would give heed to the influence of the spirit of God. They who are not for us are against us."³⁶

Enough has been said, I trust, to give some indication of the interesting sociological study that awaits some free, unprejudiced, and otherwise qualified investigator. The surface has scarcely been scratched. When the full history of separatism in Utah is written, besides those indicated here, chapters will appear in it on the successful land monopoly obtained, the invention of a new way of writing the English language (called the Deseret alphabet), the question of the supposed "Danites" and blood atonement, the Mountain Meadow massacre, and many others.³⁷

³⁶ Millennial Star, XXIX, 267-268.

³⁷ For instance, Brigham Young's relation with the Indians; treatment of schismatic sects, such as the Morrisites; Brigham Young and the mining industry; telegraph and railroad building within the Territory; manufacturing industries developed for the purpose of securing local self-support; polygamy and the need for a greater population; polygamy as a means of securing exclusiveness; educational ideas and systems, etc.

XIII. A GENERATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

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A GENERATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

By WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

The American Historical Association was born in 1884. This was a generation ago, as men roughly reckon the stages in the life of the race. It has been suggested that this meeting might feel some interest in the consideration of what has been achieved in this generation in American historiography. The suggestion is attractive and plausible. When, however, one starts to act in accordance with it, there arise the usual troubles about the definition and limits of the field.

Historiography is a dignified and mouth-filling word. But what precisely does it mean? And in particular what does it mean for him who has to deal with thirty odd years of it in one-third of an hour? From its etymology the term is almost ridiculously simple. "History" means history, and "graphe" means writing; ergo, historiography means either the writing of history or the writing about history or the writing about the writing of history—which does not solve our problem at all. If the first sense be taken—though it is by no means the most logical or the universally accepted sense—we are confronted with the question, what is the difference, if any, between a historian and a historiographer? And is there any distinction, in form or in substance, between historiography and plain history? Must we dismiss as unworthy our instinctive conviction that the longer word connotes the greater dignity—that a man may become a historian by a single duodecimo volume, but may never get a footing in the sacred precincts of historiography on less than five volumes octavo, with a special library edition in calf with gilt top and uncut edges?

Then we have with us the perennial questions: Is a textbook historiography? Even a textbook so successful as to develop into a shelf-full of volumes through successive reincarnations adapted respectively to universities, colleges, high schools, eighth grades, seventh grades and so on down to the subkindergartens? And is a great collection of sources historiography? Even if the collector be a man of the utmost industry and detective genius, and the results of his labor of the utmost significance to our understanding of a people or an age? And is a doctoral dissertation historiography? Even if it is 800 large pages in bulk and covers as many as ten years in time?

The answers to these questions, and others that spring at once to the lips of every reflecting person, I shall not undertake to suggest. If a presumption as to the answers is derivable from what follows, the paper will not have been written in vain.

In a way the present appears a peculiarly favorable moment for reviewing the progress of historiography; for all our preoccupation just now is with what may be called in contrast "historiofficy." From every recruiting center in the land has issued the injunction, endlessly reiterated on the billboards, "Don't read history; make it." We who have written books may feel certain momentary reserves about the first branch of this injunction; but we yield to none in earnestness of god-speeds to the myriads of our young men who have responded to the second. When they shall have "made" the history that the desperate condition of the civilized world requires, they will be the first to urge, approve and promote the activity of those whose function it is to record and interpret their deeds.

Looking back to the year in which this association was organized, what do we see going on in the writing of history?

In 1884 the small group of American writers who had given distinction to historiography, by works not concerned immediately with the United States, had passed out of life or of influence. Irving and Prescott were long dead. Motley's *Barneveld*, his last work, had appeared in 1873, and the author died four years later. Parkman, a younger man, came back from general literature to history in this very year 1884, with the volume on *Montcalm and Wolfe* that confirmed his position in the first rank of the historiographical phalanx. But the man that towered up in general recognition as peculiarly the American historiographer was George Bancroft. He was 84 years old, but it was only two years since the appearance of the two stout volumes that brought his *History of the United States* down through the formation of the Constitution; and the final revision of his complete work was in progress when the association saw the light of day. There was in the historical guild of that time a very perceptible lack of enthusiasm for Bancroft's history in regard to both its substance and its form; but respect for his age and for the number of volumes that he had written made him an acceptable symbol of the association's ideals. He was made president for a year, and he retained the general function of patron saint till his death in 1891.

When Bancroft took up the writing of history, in the 1830's, the culmination of God's wonder-working in the life of mankind was believed by all good Americans to have been the achievement of independence and the creation of a constitution by the United States. When, fifty years later, Bancroft's work was ended, a still greater miracle had supplanted independence in American interest, and those to whom time and faculty were given for the study of history were

irresistibly forced to deal with the conflict of the sections, and the Providential preservation of the Union. The Civil War became the terminus ad quem of all historiographic aspiration.

In 1884 two comprehensive enterprises were well under way for the cultivation of the field between the Revolution and the Civil War. Von Holst, seeking to force the barrier that so often excludes the German docent from the professorial chair, resorted to the study of American democracy and constitutional life. He secured his professorship by a series of brilliant and forceful essays on our early political history, and then continued his study in consecutive historical form till he brought it to the elections of 1860. His conclusions, especially his vivid portrayal of the raw head and bloody bones of a slavocracy that served as his diabolus ex machina, made a strong appeal to influential northern sentiment, and his work, in translation, had a vogue that entitles it to a place in American historiography. In 1884 three volumes of the English version had appeared, and the author was at the height of his influence in this country. The remaining volumes of the translation were published at intervals down to their completion in 1892. By this date, however, his peculiar interpretation of our history was declining rapidly in importance.

Following closely on the German's history comes that of Schouler, covering the same period. The first volumes appeared in 1880 and the last not until 1899. Schouler was forty-one years of age when his first volumes were put forth to the public. He very naturally represented the general views of a New Englander whose early manhood had been spent in the midst of the conflict over slavery and secession. Yet his work showed on the whole rather less violent prejudices than appeared in Von Holst.

Quite different from the political and constitutional interest that monopolized Schouler and Von Holst was the historiographic spirit most characteristic of the 1880's. This spirit was manifest in some degree in the work of H. H. Bancroft, whose massive contributions to the facts of far-western life had begun to appear as far back as 1874. His chosen sphere far transcended the customary bounds of formal political institutions; but whether his method of working the field entitles him to a place in historiography is still a mooted question.

The clear and undisputed announcement of the new spirit was embodied in the works of McMaster and John Fiske. McMaster's first volume appeared in 1883, and his second in 1885, the two thus happily bracketing the birth of our association. It violates no confidence to state that when McMaster burst into the historiographical firmament as a star of the first magnitude he had successfully attained the age of 31—about the point at which in these degenerate days a man is supposed to be completing his work for the doctorate.

John Fiske came into the writing of history from another field, where he had already become famous. His first formal appearance as a writer of systematic history was through his *Critical Period*, published in 1888. Fiske at this time was 46 years old.

The historiographic affinity if not paternity of McMaster and Fiske was clearly enough traceable to the Englishmen Freeman and J. R. Green. Freeman was in the 1880's the truculent despot of the guild of historians. The fidelity of his subjects was measured by their acceptance of the stern dogmas: All history is politics; all history is a unity. On his coat of arms were emblazoned the Anglo-Saxon militant, the Teuton rampant, and the Aryan eternally triumphant. John Richard Green, with his *History of the English People*, had shown a rebellious spirit; he had incorporated in his narrative facts that could not, by the acutest genius, be brought within the category of politics. Freeman had to rebuke the erring young man. "Johnnie," he said, "if you had left out all that social and economic stuff, you would have made a good history." But Johnnie's sense of the synthesis of history was broader and surer than his master's. He respected and retained Freeman's view that modern England could not be understood save through the development of Anglo-Saxon political institutions; but he persisted in giving weight to institutions that were not political at all.

McMaster's spirit was that of Green. He went far afield from the well-worn paths of constitution-making and party contention and pictured the operation of many more subtle influences that had contributed mightily to make the people of the United States what it was. To the technique of historiography also he added a significant element. Von Holst was imposing upon the writer of American history for all future time the necessity of searching that useful but unalluring repository of information, the *Congressional Record*; McMaster added the even more burdensome duty of going through all the newspapers of the day.

John Fiske's attachment to the Freemanesque school was chiefly by way of the unity of history. He believed with Freeman that all history was one and that, when we got right back to the truth, that one was the Aryan, historically incarnate in the Anglo-Saxon. Fiske's passion for unity was acquired in his intellectual activity prior to his formal entrance into historiography. His early predilection was cosmic philosophy, and he became the American high priest of evolution at a time when aggressive adhesion to that theory in the United States smacked somewhat of scandal. When in his maturity he took up the writing of history, the mind that was wont to trace the diversity of created life back to a single protoplasmic cell naturally found unity in the life of historic peoples. It is quite typical of his mental attitude that his *Beginnings of New England* starts with the year 476 A. D. His beginning of American history is

thus fixed at a date which to us of the present day is merely the assumed year of the mythical fall of a hypothetical empire.

Whether as cause or effect or merely accompaniment of the organization and growth of this association, a notable activity in the writing of history was characteristic of the remainder of the nineteenth century. Various aspects of European history were presented in what we somewhat superciliously call the old-fashioned manner. The implied disparagement is not easy to justify in Herbert Tuttle's *History of Prussia*, that began to appear in 1884; or Henry C. Lea's epoch-making study of ecclesiastical institutions, culminating in the history of the Inquisition that appeared in 1887. Nor should we damn with a sneer the productions of Henry Martyn Baird and James Breck Perkins, whose works on the Huguenots and on the Bourbon monarchy in France were completed in 1895 and 1897, respectively.

In American history, the older type of historiography was signaled by the advent of Henry Adams and James Ford Rhodes. Each of these assumed high historiographic importance. To each an impulse was given by ancestral problems. Adams had to explain why his grandfather got out of the Federalist Party at the time of the War of 1812; Rhodes had to explain why his father remained in the Democratic Party during the Civil War. The result was the *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, which began its appearance in 1889, and the *History of the United States since 1850*, the first volume of which dated from 1893. In both works, however marked the differences between them, there is exhibited the classic conception that was controlling in Thucydides and Tacitus, in Grote and Macaulay, that the course of political and military events with full attention to the great personalities involved in them, and an occasional digression on the religious, literary, artistic, and social conditions, constituted the normal field of the historian.

Support to the different idea that McMaster was laboriously illustrating was vehemently given in 1889 by the irruption into historiography of Theodore Roosevelt, aged 31, with his *Winning of the West*. The formal opening of this field was a capital fact of American historiography. It signified the beginning of a serious evaluation of a great drama in human progress—a drama that had unfolded almost without intelligent notice through a century. The history of pioneering from the Appalachians to the Pacific, and its part in the building up of the nation, could never have been thought of or wrought out by any one who saw history as primarily the achievements of great men, engaged in the grand manner, in sublime episodes, of political and military strife. The westward expansion of the American people consisted in the achievements of average men, dominated for the most part by commonplace motives,

doing ordinary every-day duties, with merely primitive instruments. The lives of such men did not furnish the subject matter of the old-fashioned historiography. Their great significance in American history had been suggested by Parkman; H. H. Bancroft was doing something to emphasize it; it was conspicuous in the work of McMaster; in Roosevelt it was made almost the exclusive theme. For the perpetuation of the spirit and method of these writers in the twentieth century, it is unnecessary to mention to this audience how potent has been the influence, and how disproportionately scanty, alas! the historiographic output, of our own Turner.

Through the last decade of the last century the process went placidly on of lengthening on the shelves the stately rows of volumes that embodied the historiographical conceptions of Fiske, McMaster, Rhodes, Roosevelt, and the rest. In the meantime a new factor entered the situation, with far-reaching results. The monograph, as a type of historical productivity, attained monstrous proportions in its ravages. The most prolific breeding places of the germ were publishers' offices and the Germanified universities that took form out of the academic void about 1880. In the publishers' offices the common culture in which the germ appeared was the "series"—statesmen, commanders, commonwealths, epochs, crises, cities, highways, and the rest. In the universities the deadliest species of the germ thrived in the doctoral dissertation.

The milieu was highly favorable for the spread of monographic historiography in the eighties and nineties. The American people was increasing in numbers and in intelligence, but not in widely distributed wealth to an extent to insure a great demand for a seven to ten volume history. Nor was it merely a matter of finance. The big, old-fashioned history was of course required for every gentleman's library; but it was required as interior decoration, not as food for the mind. The gentlemen who set or followed the fashion in libraries, as well the masses who actually read books, preferred to take their culture on the tabloid principle. Thus from the side of demand the historical monograph was appropriate. From the side of supply a force was operative that derived some of its cogency from the examples of the recent historians. Von Holst had made it imperative to search with care the records of Congress and the administration; McMaster had added the whole newspaper and periodical literature of America. The professors who were directing the preparation of doctoral dissertations insisted, *more Germanico*, on notes and bibliography that should prove familiarity with all the works in every language and throughout all time that touched on the subject in hand. A tiny fragment of an unexplored field was thus naturally sought out by the doctoral candidate who contemplated any work in life after attaining his degree. Thus original research assumed the form that is familiar to us, and the monograph thrived mightily.

An additional influence working to drive the historical student to monographic expression was the ever-widening scope of legitimate history. The idea of Green and McMaster that all aspects of a people's life must be treated by the historian was full of discouragement to the ambitious novice. Three score and ten was a pitiful number of years in which to master the records of a single nation, if to the political and military must be added its literary, religious, aesthetic, economic, and social aspirations and achievements. But Freeman's and Fiske's unity of history required further that a nation be treated only in its relations to all other nations. It is not strange that serious writers took refuge in monographs.

The influences that have been mentioned were all operative in producing that peculiar example of monographic method, Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*. Its portentous tomes followed one another from the press in mastodonic and microtypographic majesty from 1889 till the editor's death in 1897. Winsor's vast and minute information and his unquestioned gifts as an editor did not save his masterpiece from a general verdict of failure except as a mass of material.

The fate of Winsor's work has a certain interesting connection with an episode in the life of this association. That there had never been produced a comprehensive history of the United States, from Christopher Columbus to Grover Cleveland, was a matter of widespread comment in historical circles in the eighteen eighties. Winsor had designed his enterprise to fill this gap. When the fatal defects of the *Narrative and Critical History* were revealed, discussion became earnest as to whether it was possible to succeed where he had failed. In the middle and later nineties every meeting of this association was the occasion of warm debate on the subject. There was pretty general agreement that the field was too wide in scope and too varied in content to be satisfactorily handled by any individual, doomed to live only three score years and ten. Whether the task could be achieved by any application of the cooperative or monographic method, was a question on which opinion was rather evenly divided.

In these years the association was growing and prospering, and was becoming strongly self-conscious. An aggressive group of the younger members took the position that it was the urgent duty of the association to take in hand the production of an authoritative history of the United States. The membership of the organization, it was asserted, could furnish the talent, literary, scientific and editorial, to insure a scientifically satisfactory work. A practical project of such an enterprise was worked out in detail, and publishers were found who were not only ready, but eager, to take it up. But the executive council of the association proved even more ready and

eager to take it down. The older men on the council stood stiffly on a practical dilemma that the young monographic enthusiasts found it distinctly awkward to meet. If, said the elder statesmen, this project is to be commercially profitable, it should be left to the regular publishers; if it is not to pay, the association cannot afford to carry it on.

Though this enterprise was abortive, its immediate consequences were highly significant in American historiography. Taken up with some modifications as a private affair, it ended in the appearance of the twenty-seven volumes of *The American Nation*—that will stand for generations as a faithful index of the notions of history and of historiography that characterized the first decade of the twentieth century.

To go forward to a commentary and judgment on the second decade of that century would require certainly more time and probably more courage than has been allotted to me. It would require an estimate of the value and permanence of contemporary theories and practices in historiography that are highly charged with controversy. We should have to judge the influence and importance of the "real" and "true" school of biography that has ravaged historic reputations from Benjamin Franklin to Woodrow Wilson; of the economic interpretation that has put the hiss in history; of the clash between equally eminent authorities claiming respectively that there is a new history and that there is no new thing under the sun. The mere mention of such problems shows the hopelessness of discussing them here.

To the philosophical observer things historiographic seem, in spite of the interesting formulas that suggest novelty, to be going ahead in pretty much the old familiar way. Adams, McMaster, Rhodes have completed their typical works, Osgood, Channing, and, since only yesterday, Oberholtzer are cheerfully grinding out the sturdy octavos that continue the tradition. Of the monographic and co-operative enterprises that have followed *The American Nation*, space is wanting to tell. There is undoubtedly manifest in these later histories a general tendency to give political, military, and biographical facts a less prominent part than those of an economic and impersonal character. I may not in this presence predict—for prophecy is taboo in proper historiography—but as an American citizen I am entitled to guess that the tendency just mentioned will be reversed in the immediate future. If civilization is destined to survive the convulsion that has brought it near extinction today; if the American people shall not be brought by the end of the war to the level of savagery and brutality on which their enemies began it, then historiography in the next generation will find its chief theme in recording the policies of State, the deeds of arms, and the genius of men through which that dreadful doom was averted.

XIV. THIRTEENTH REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL
MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

JUNE 29, 1918.

JUSTIN H. SMITH, *Chairman*.

DICE R. ANDERSON.

Mrs. AMOS G. DRAPER.

LOGAN ESAREY.

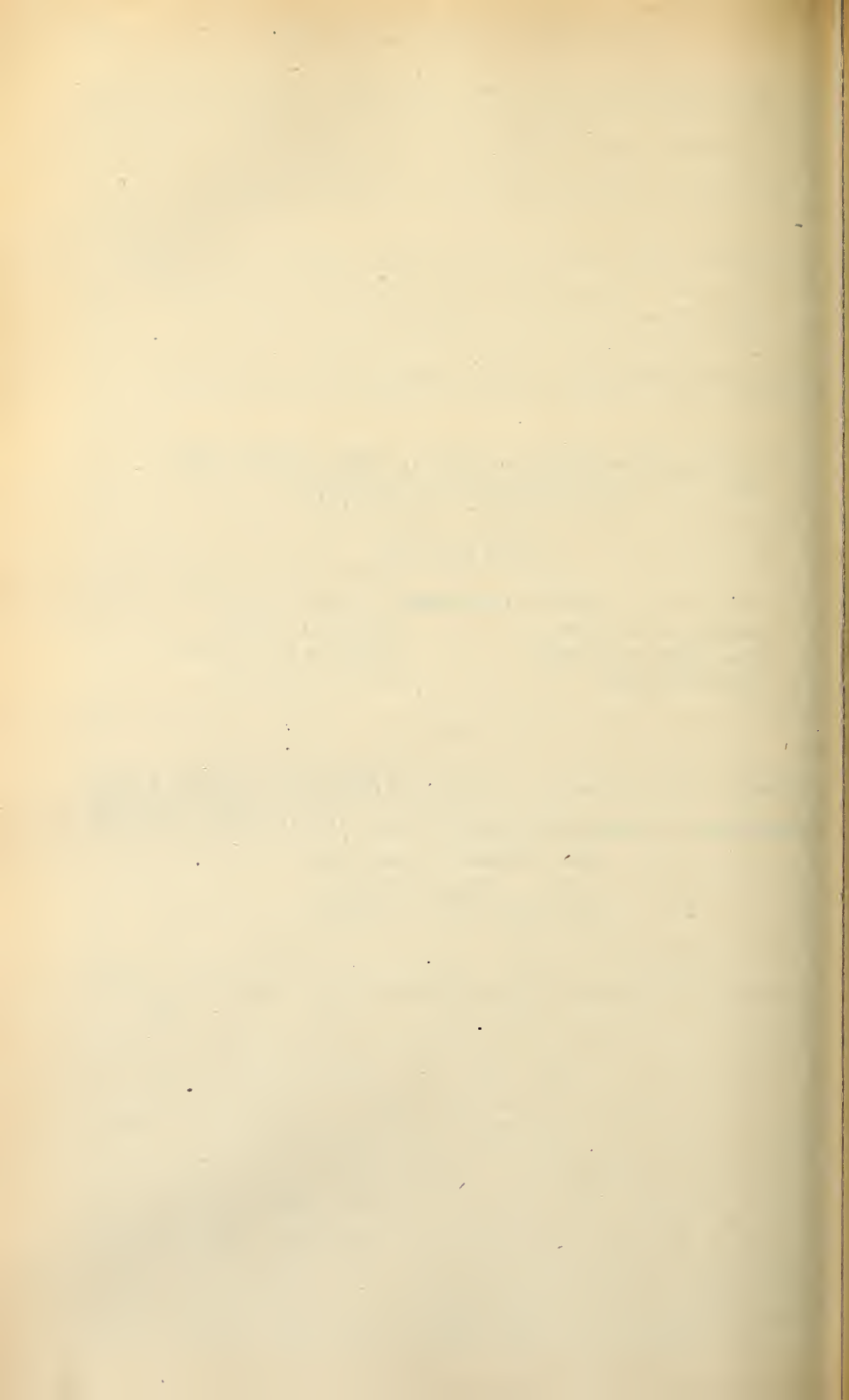
GAILLARD HUNT.

CHARLES H. LINCOLN.

MILO M. QUAIFE.

LETTERS OF GENERAL ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA
RELATING TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND MEXICO, 1846-1848.

Edited by JUSTIN H. SMITH.



INTRODUCTION.

Antonio López de Santa Anna, who was born at Jalapa in the State of Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1795, ranks with Itúrbide, Juárez and Díaz as one of the four remarkable men produced by his country, and in brilliancy he outshone all his compeers. Of what is usually signified by the word education he possessed only the barest rudiments. Intellectually he did not stand high. Though rated as both a statesman and a general, he was neither. But a wonderful combination of imperious will, mental quickness and penetration, unmatched ambition, audacity and unscrupulousness, a thorough knowledge of his fellow-citizens and histrionic ability of no mean order made him an irrepressible leader, while condemning him to the sudden reverses that follow upon a passionate temper and a character that inspires no confidence. Another factor in both making and marring his fortunes was the readiness of men really shrewder and perhaps worse than himself, but wanting in the qualities that make for leadership, to counsel and support him in order to use his talents and power. His enemies almost always committed some blunder that he could turn to account; and finally fortune herself, though fickle and sometimes cruel, frequently threw the most golden of chances in his way.

To give an account of Santa Anna's career prior to the war between Mexico and the United States would be to write the history of his country for more than half a generation, but a few outlines may be sketched. After serving Spain during the Mexican revolution he joined the "Liberator," Itúrbide; and when this bold leader, now an unpopular and imprudent emperor, undertook to discipline him, he obtained a quick revenge by pronouncing for a republic and so bringing ruin upon his former chief. After many intrigues and much revolutionary fighting he seemed in 1834 to have the country in his grasp; but his defeat and capture in Texas two years later and his secret bargain with the Texans apparently ended his public life. In 1838, however, by stepping bravely into the war with France and turning to capital account the loss of a leg, he recovered his prestige; and in a few years he worked his bloody and conscienceless way again to the leading position. Mexico was now his; but greed and arbitrary rule turned all against him, and the general uprising of December, 1844, sent him to Cuba as an exile.

He was succeeded by the well-meaning General José Joaquín de Herrera. But the inefficiency and tactical blunders of the new ad-

ministration and its willingness to adjust amicably the pending difficulties with the United States—which grew principally out of the outrages inflicted upon American citizens and our annexation of Texas—completely undermined it; and in December, 1845, General Mariano Paredes, who commanded the largest Mexican army, precipitated another revolution. Herrera fell without a struggle; and for a time the new master appeared to do well, for he was laborious and comparatively honest. It soon was commonly understood, however, that he designed to set up a European prince at Mexico, and the nation in general became indignant. Santa Anna, who always posed as the father of republicanism in Mexico, saw his opportunity. Most of the military officers were naturally in favor of this prince of robbers; and, in view of the monarchical danger, the democratic masses, led by Valentín Gómez Farías, came into line.

On the 25th of April, 1846, a Mexican attack upon Captain Thornton's reconnoitering party on the north bank of the Rio Grande brought on the long threatened war against the United States. President Polk, knowing that nobody could be more hostile to us than Paredes, believing that Santa Anna was too intelligent to favor the war, and probably satisfied that his return to Mexico would divide the enemy, even if helpful in no other way, sent Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie of the American navy to talk with the ex-Dictator at Havana, and a sort of understanding was reached that, should he regain power, Santa Anna would make peace. Paredes, meanwhile, grew weaker and weaker; and at length General Arista's unsuccessful battles near the Rio Grande, May 8 and 9, 1846, damaged the administration fatally. At the end of July the reins of government were handed over to Vice President Nicolás Bravo and a change of policy was announced. But on the 4th of August General José Mariano Salas, who commanded the garrison at Mexico, ushered in the waiting revolution in favor of Santa Anna and popular government. Twelve days later the exile arrived at Vera Cruz. To his surprise he found the country so determined upon war that his plan to make peace could not be carried into execution, and after hesitating for a time he decided to lead the nation in the direction it wished to take.

The present series of his letters begins almost at the hour he returned to Mexico from Cuba, and it continues until just before he arrived at the capital in May, 1847, to make his final stand against the American troops. As he was now in personal touch with the Minister of War,¹ to whom his letters had been written, there was no further occasion for correspondence. The intention has been in general to present only unpublished documents; but on account of their

¹ General J. N. Almonte until just before Christmas, 1846; then General Valentín Canalizo until March 23, 1847; and then General J. I. Gutiérrez.

interest two exceptions have been made, and possibly a few others were printed so obscurely as to escape the editor's notice. All may be found in the archives of the War Department, National Palace, City of Mexico, or, to be more exact, in the Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, since, on account of the small size of the Mexican navy, the two branches were and are under a single head. To specify definitely the place where each paper is kept does not happen to be feasible. A part of them were found by the editor, in large, unclassified bundles called *legajos*, and the rest in a great miscellaneous pile; and since the time of his visit probably all have been re-arranged.

As copyists he had the assistance of two clerks belonging to the staff of the Archivo, who were permitted by the superintendent to perform their own light duties after the offices were closed to the public for the day. These gentlemen proved to be surprisingly accurate. By marking lightly in the margin with a pencil (as he was authorized to do) the editor indicated what part or parts of a letter he desired to have, and all copies were "read back" to him while he followed with the original. The omitted portions, indicated by dots, were not of value for the history of the war between Mexico and the United States. Having time to do so, the editor also made notes of certain papers which it seemed unnecessary to transcribe in full, and these notes (in English) are here presented in their chronological places, printed in smaller type. Had the intention been to issue an edition of the letters, a copy would have been taken in every instance, but the editor was merely gathering material to be used by himself in writing a history of the war, and the total quantity—of which Santa Anna's letters constituted but a small part—was so enormous, that no time or effort could be wasted. The accentuation, except in cases where it affected the meaning of a word, was entrusted to the copyists. Santa Anna's amanuenses had neither been correct according to the now accepted system nor even been consistent, and it seemed useless to take a great amount of trouble in order to be sure of reproducing exactly their capricious marks.

Santa Anna's printed letters relating to the war are to be found in a great many different publications. Books and pamphlets of his own (for which one may consult the list of printed sources in the editor's History of the War with Mexico) contain many; and the newspapers and controversial literature of the period include more. The largest single collection is that made by Emilio del Castillo Negrete in his *Invasión de los Norte Americanos en México* (6 vols., México, 1890-1); but the documents presented in that work were not printed very accurately.

The question of adding a translation of the letters was duly considered; but it was believed that only persons seriously interested

in Mexican history would care to read them, and that such persons not only would understand Spanish, but would prefer to use the original version.

In conclusion the author begs leave to offer a word of personal explanation. On being elected chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission he was unable to lay hands upon anything for early publication. To find documents worth printing and obtain a scholarly edition of them is naturally a very slow process. In this emergency he bethought himself of Santa Anna's letters; and on consulting gentlemen eminently qualified to represent the American Historical Association he was advised, not only that they seemed likely to be suitable, but that his editing them—a task which, as it happened, no one else was then prepared to undertake—would be entirely proper. Indeed, it appeared that he was rather expected to do some such piece of work while chairman of the Commission

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

LETTERS OF GENERAL SANTA ANNA, 1846-1848.

August 16, 1846.

TO GENERAL JOSÉ MARIANO SALAS, THE ACTING EXECUTIVE OF THE NATION.

E. S.² Ahora que es la una del dia acabo de llegar á este Puerto,³ á bordo del vapor Arabe, en compañía de los Srés.⁴ Rejon,⁵ Haro y Tamaris,⁶ y Almonte.⁷ Lo que me apresuro á comunicar á V. E.⁸ para su conocimiento, reservandome escribirle mas detenidamente asi que haya descansado de la penosa navegacion que he traído.

² Excelentísimo Señor.

³ Santa Anna was returning from Cuba, where he had lived near Havana since being banished from Mexico in consequence of the revolution of Dec., 1844. At this time (Aug., 1846) naval forces of the United States, commanded by Commodore David Conner, were blockading Vera Cruz; but, under an order from the American government, Santa Anna was permitted to pass. He knew that the order had been issued.

⁴ Señores. The line signifying abbreviation should extend across more than one letter. In all similar cases a similar remark may be understood.

⁵ Manuel Crescencio Rejón had been prominent in Mexican politics, especially as Minister of Relations (Secretario de Relaciones), that is to say, Secretary of State.

⁶ Antonio Haro y Tamáris, or better Tamáriz, was a financier, and rose to be Minister of the Treasury (Hacienda).

⁷ General Juan N. Almonte, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Morelos, the ablest patriot leader in the revolution against Spain, had been the Mexican minister to the United States at the time when our deciding to annex Texas caused Mexico to break off diplomatic relations with us.

⁸ Vuestra Excelencia or Vuecencia.

Con esta ocasion renuevo á V. E. las seguridades de mi aprecio y consideracion.

Dios y Libertad.

VERACRUZ, Agosto 16 de 1846.

Antonio López de Santa Anna. [Rúbrica⁹]

[THE FOLLOWING LETTERS, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, ARE TO THE MINISTER OF WAR.]

September 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.¹⁰ Grāl¹¹ en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha 2 del Corriente me dice el Sr. Commandante de la fortaleza de Perote¹² lo que sigue:

“E. S. El Sr. Grāl D. Juan Landero¹³ en oficio de 29 del pasado, me dice que de la conducta de caudales¹⁴ que en estos dias debe llegar de la Capital de la República con direccion á la plaza de Vera Cruz, tome la cantidad de dos mil pesos y los distribuya en los militares, limpia de Armas y presidio, mas como quiera que en todo el mes ppdo¹⁵ no se recibieron mas de mil pesos, importando el presupuesto¹⁶ económico tres mil quinientos cincuenta y tres, con esta cantidad, no se cubre el importe de la segunda quincena de dicho mes, por consiguiente, se tiene que pagar á los que han recompuesto las armas todo lo que se les está debiendo; añadiendo á V. E. que para el presente, no cuento con recursos para las atenciones de Plana Mayor,¹⁷ Artilleria, hospital, obreros de maestranza y presidio. Tambien hago presente á V. E. que el importe del presupuesto que vencen las dos compañías de defensores¹⁸ que se hallan dando la guarnición en esta fortaleza, asciende á dos mil ciento ochenta y siete pesos; en el pueblo no hay quien facilite dinero porque no lo tienen y solo ministra mas como

⁹ This word signifies the flourish, sometimes extremely elaborate, which the Mexican considered an essential part of his signature. Santa Anna's rúbrica was a simple one. As it may be taken for granted, the word will not be printed again. For a similar reason the explanation of “E. S.”, “V. E.”, etc., are given only once, unless there be a particular reason for repetition.

¹⁰ The Mexicans were greatly influenced by labels. Hence this name was given by Santa Anna to his army. The word “Libertador,” intimated that the American invaders aimed to enslave the Mexicans and were to be expelled from Mexican territory; and the word “Republicano” suggested that Santa Anna was the champion of republican institutions as against the advocates of monarchy, who were represented by Paredes.

¹¹ General. See note 3 on the first letter.

¹² A city between Jalapa and Puebla. The fortress stood near it.

¹³ Comandante General of Vera Cruz.

¹⁴ Conducta de caudales, a train of mules transporting coin or bullion.

¹⁵ Próximo pasado.

¹⁶ In military as well as in civil administration it was customary to make up an estimate of expenses on the principle of a budget.

¹⁷ At this time practically equivalent to a board of military engineers.

¹⁸ This word was used technically in Mexico at this time to signify volunteers.

á estos individuos, se socorren con metálico, por haber les dado dos dias y medio de socorros, se han tenido muchos apuros; asi es que si V. E. lo tiene á bien de la mencionada conducta, puede quedar alguna cantidad con este fin."

Y lo traslado á V. E. para que sirva ponerlo en conocimiento del E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo,¹⁹ manifestándole, que son ciertas las penurias que sufren los oficiales, y guarnición de la Fortaleza de Perote, y en circunstancias de estar allí preso el E. S. Grál Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga,²⁰ y tener por custodia á los milicianos de Jalapa y Coatepec, que deben ser socorridos diariamente con su sueldo, pues de lo contrario se irian á sus casas, y la fortaleza quedaría abandonada con grave riesgo de ser alterada la tranquilidad pública, he de merecer á V. E. recabe del citado E. S. Grál en Jefe²¹ un libramiento de seis mil pesos para que á vuelta del extraordinario se envíe á Perote para las atenciones que quedan indicadas.

ENCERO,²² *Septiembre 4, de 1846.*

September 8, 1846.

August 13 the Governor and Comandante General²³ of Tabasco²⁴ wrote to me as follows: "Led by V. E. the army which has to complete the great work of our revolution will be invincible, and the enemies of our liberty and independence will bite the dust."²⁵

ENCERO.

September 21, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Exigiendo el mejor servicio de la Nación que la Brigada de Caballeria al mando del Sr. Grál Dn. José Vicente Miñón²⁶ y la

¹⁹ General José Mariano Salas, head of the successful revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

²⁰ According to a common practice Paredes added to his own name (i. e., that of his father) his mother's name. Haro y Tamáriz is another case of the same kind. The second name was more often dropped than used in referring to its proprietor. Paredes was the usurper of Dec., 1845, ousted by the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

²¹ At this date the peso was regarded as equivalent to the American dollar. In our own time it sank to one-half of that value.

²² One of Santa Anna's estates. It was near the National Highway running from Mexico to Vera Cruz and about eight miles below Jalapa.

²³ The governor of a State was a civil official elected at this time by the people. The Comandante General was appointed by the central government to represent its military power. Sometimes the same man held both offices. Usually the two offices were held by two men, who clashed more or less.

²⁴ A State of Mexico bordering on Guatemala.

²⁵ The reason why some of the letters are given in English may be found in the Introduction.

²⁶ José Vicente Miñón was born at Cádiz, Spain, and began his military career in 1816 as a cadet (i. e., a volunteer looking for a commission) in the Dragones del Principe. In 1840 he was thirty-eight years old. He figured in connection with the battle of Buena Vista.

de Infanteria al del Sr. Grál Dn. Francisco Perez²⁷ se pongan en marcha premisamente para el dia 24 del presente mes.²⁸

TACUBAYA,²⁹ *Septbre 21, 1846.*

September 22, 1846.

I have ordered Ciriaco Vásquez³⁰ to go to San Luis Potosí and take command of the Fourth Brigade.

September 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. He de merecer á V. E. acuerde con el E. S. Grál en Jefe encargado del Poder Ejecutivo, se prevenga al Sr. contratista del Tren de artillería, se situen los tiros de mulos respectivos para mi coche, en Huehuetoca, Tula, Arroyosarco y San Juan del Rio.³¹

TACUBAYA, *Septbre 24 de 1846.*

September 25, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe.

E. S. Como por el contenido de la carta del cura de Cerralvo³² que en copia remitió á ese Ministerio el mismo Sr. Ampudia,³³ se viene en conocimiento que el pensamiento del Grál Taylor³⁴ es amenazar á Monterrey únicamente y dirigirse sobre el Saltillo, apoderandose antes de las principales gargantas de la Sierra, con el fin de cortar enteramente la comunicación de las fuerzas situadas en aquella Ciudad.³⁵

²⁷ Francisco Pérez, although comparatively a new man, commanded the finest brigade of the army in 1847. He was prominent at the battles of Buena Vista, Churubusco and Molino del Rey.

²⁸ They were to go to San Luis Potosí, a city 215 miles by rail northwest of Mexico, in accordance with Santa Anna's plan to concentrate a powerful army there.

²⁹ A suburb southwest of Mexico, where Santa Anna was now living.

³⁰ Vásquez, or better Vázquez, though born at Vera Cruz, 1794, served under the flag of Spain during the Mexican revolution. He commanded a division in the Buena Vista campaign, and was killed at the battle of Cerro Gordo while bravely defending the vital Mexican position on the summit of El Telégrafo hill.

³¹ Points, lying on the road from Mexico to San Luis Potosí, at which Santa Anna wished to find relays of mules ready for him.

³² A small town between Camargo and Monterrey. Camargo lay on the San Juan River about three miles from the Rio Grande, and was Taylor's base for the advance upon Monterrey.

³³ Pedro de Ampudia, born at Havana, Cuba, in 1803, began his military life in the Spanish army in 1818. He ranked second on the Mexican side in the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca, May 8 and 9, 1846, commanded in the defence of Monterrey, Sept., 1846, played a rôle of some importance at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Apr., 1847, and then, falling into disfavor with Santa Anna, ceased to figure in the war.

³⁴ Zachary Taylor, commander of the American forces invading northern Mexico.

³⁵ I. e., Saltillo, which lies sixty-five or seventy miles southeast of Monterrey. Instead of pursuing this plan, which would have made the fighting at Monterrey unnecessary, Taylor, who did not believe the Mexicans would make a stand either there or in the mountains (Sierra Madre) lying between that point and Saltillo, marched directly upon Monterrey.

Precisamente esta fué mi prediccion, y por eso en repetidísimas comunicaciones que he dirigido al Gobierno desde que desembarqué en Veracruz, le he instado para que librase ordenes enérgicas al Grál Ampudia, con el objeto de que abandonada la Ciudad de Monterrey por la imposibilidad de defenderse, segun demostré, se retirase con tiempo al Saltillo, y allí, y en la Sierra, se levantasen las fortificaciones correspondientes para resistir con buen éxito los impulsos del enemigo, y hacer inútiles sus tentativas entre tanto eramos fuertes, y podiamos tomar la ofensiva.³⁶

Bien pudo el Sr. Grál Ampudia retirarse ordenadamente como se le previno con oportunidad, sin verse precisado á abandonar le Artillería, trenes, equipajes, etc., pues para todo ha tenido el tiempo suficiente en un mes que hace recibió las primeras prevenciones para aquel movimiento.

Es bien sabido que un Ejército³⁷ sin conocimientos del Pais y tan embromado con su gruesa Artillería, carros, etc. etc., en tiempo de Aguas y en un camino fragoso como es el que tenia que atravesar, no podia acercarse á Monterrey con esa velocidad que el Sr. Ampudia supone.

Asi vemos, que ahora es cuando previene al Comandante Grál de Coahuila,³⁸ que se abran cortaduras y se levanten reductos como si fuera posible improvisar una fortificación en veinticuatro horas para resistir los ataques de 7 ú 8,000 hombres, provistos de Artillería competente. Esto es imperdonable, y si aconteciese una desgracia como he previsto, la Nación hará fuertes cargas al culpable.

No solamente hay que lamentar tanta imprevisión, sino que es preciso tambien condenar la criminal apatia del Grál Dn. Francisco Ponce de Leon,³⁹ en el cumplimiento de las órdenes que se le han librado para que con la 4^a Brigada que está á su cargo se dirigiese á marchas forzadas en auxilio del Saltillo y Monterrey, amagadas hace tantos dias.

Al Sr. Ponce de Leon, se le prevendrá que sin excusa ni pretesto alguno, se mueva de San Luis⁴⁰ si no lo ha hecho á la fecha, y forzando marchas se dirija al Saltillo, llevando consigo los Regimientos de Caballería 9^o de Linea⁴¹ y Coraceros siendo su principal

³⁶ Santa Anna's plan was to assemble a grand army at San Luis Potosí, and, when entirely ready, assume the offensive.

³⁷ I. e., Taylor's army, numbering about 6,220.

³⁸ The capital and chief city of the State of Coahuila was Saltillo, called by the Mexicans El Saltillo.

³⁹ Ponce de León was a new and inefficient officer, who failed to reach Monterey in time to take part in the defence of that city against Taylor. It should be said, however, that his so-called brigade consisted of extremely poor material, poorly equipped and poorly supplied.

⁴⁰ Here, as often, for San Luis Potosí.

⁴¹ De Linea: regulars in contrast to the active corps, which were supposed to be called out on special occasions only (though at this time the distinction no longer existed), to the National Guards, which corresponded to American "militia", and to certain other branches of the military service.

deber la defenza de aquella Ciudad, segun las prevenciones del Sr. Grál Ampudia á quien auxiliará en caso preciso.

Estando el Grál D. Angel Guzman⁴² en Cuernavaca⁴³ con cerca de 500 hombres de muy buena tropa, se le prevendrá tambien por extraordinario que desde aquel punto emprenda su marcha para Querétaro⁴⁴ por la via mas recta, enviándosele recursos por medio de una letra para que no alegue ningun pretesto y deje de efectuarse este movimiento. Igual prevencion se hará al Comandante del Batallon fijo de México⁴⁵ que viene del Sur; y por último, se prevendrá que generalmente todos tropas que se hallan operando en aquel rumbo, se muevan con dirección á San Luis Potosí.

V. E. sabe muy bien que esa 4^a Brigada tan decantada se compone de una fuerza ridícula. Por esto es urgentísimo que el Gobierno libre ordenes á los Comandantes Gráles de los Estados de Querétaro, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Morelia y San Luis Potosí, para que todas las fuerzas permanentes y activas sin excepción alguna, existentes en ellos, se dirijan á San Luis Potosí, asi como los depósitos de desertores y reemplazos; á fin de que, ya que no podamos presentar en Ejército bien organizado, al menos opongamos al invasor mazas de hombres armados que lo pongan sin movimiento mientras los Estados se toman el tiempo preciso para armarse, se disciplinan nuestras fuerzas y se hace una defenza como es conveniente y decoroso á la nación. Yo conozco muy bien cuan escasos son los elementos con que cuenta el Gobierno Supremo, y cuan nula es por su número la fuerza que ahora se va á poner en camino pero no obstante este conocimiento, yo quiero marchar á su cabeza, porque tengo deseos de pelear, y porque un sagrado deber, me impulsa á defender con ardor y entusiasmo, la independenciam de la República. Voy á sacrificarme evidentemente, pero una muerte honrosa en el campo de la batalla completará mis sacrificios y mis deseos si no es posible una victoria.⁴⁶

No puedo excusarme de manifestar á V. E. en este lugar, que hace tres dias, debió ministrarse á las Brigadas que van á salir, el importe de su presupuesto de un mes, y que esta es la hora que no lo han recibido, porque no ha habido una persona que se encargue de distribuir el dinero competente, que se ha procurado bajo mi garantía personal. Esto es muy sensible, porque demuestra que no todos los funcionarios, se esfuerzan como es debido en el cumplimiento de sus mas sagrados deberes. Yo suplico á V. E. que en la parte que le toca procure allanar los inconvenientes que se han presentado

⁴² Guzmán was a new officer of whom little is known except that he played a rather prominent part in the Buena Vista campaign.

⁴³ A town about 43 miles south of Mexico.

⁴⁴ By the road about 150 miles northwest from Mexico on the way to San Luis Potosí.
⁴⁵ Batallón Fijo de México, the name of a particular corps. The Mexican army included at this time a number of corps bearing special names that had no practical significance.

⁴⁶ One here sees Santa Anna on his "high horse," so to speak. Of course he did not seriously mean what he said. Other such passages will be found.

á la marcha de las dos referidas Brigadas, pasando personalmente á la Tesorería y adonde sea necesario, paraque hoy mismo quede todo espedito y no se retarde un movimiento que hacen urgente los riesgos que próximamente amenazan á nuestros soldados del norte.¹

TACUBAYA, *Septiembre 25 de 1846.*

September 26, 1846.

"As it is indispensable to concentrate in San Luis Potosí all the permanent² and *activo* forces possible", order all such cavalry from Oaxaca to the capital.

TACUBAYA.

September 26, 1846.

Let the force under Guzmán which arrived at the capital yesterday from the South go on to San Luis Potosí as it is [*tal como se halla*].

TACUBAYA.

September 29, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria.³ de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr.⁴ Por el contenido de los oficios del Gral Vazquez, vera V. E., que se ha confirmado al pie de la letra, lo que anuncie desde Veracruz, y despues desde el Encero, al E. S. Gral encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo y á V. E. mismo, sintiendo ahora vivamente funestos resultados de la tenacidad con que se sostuvo la permanencia en Monterrey del Cuerpo de tropas allí reunido al mando del Gral Dn. Pedro de Ampudia, no obstante mis fundadas observaciones, y la protesta que hize por conducto del S. D.⁵ Manuel Baranda.⁶ Mi plan de campaña se ha frustrado por este fatal incidente; pues perdido el único Cuerpo de tropas permanentes con que contabamos, y todo el material de guerra que con el estaba,⁷ hoy me encuentro envuelto en dificilísimas circunstancias que no se si atinaré á vencer. La Nación por el mismo incidente desgraciado, se encuentra casi á merced de los invasores; y si no se hace por ella un esfuerzo tan grande como se necesita, quizá aquellos infames profanarán con su inmunda planta nuestra hermosa Capital, á donde debian llegar. Esto quize evitar, y no lo conseguí, porque no se apreciaron los consejos de un viejo y experimentado Grál.

Pero á mi aun no me abandona la esperanza, y protesto á V. E. que desplegaré toda la enerjia de mi caracter para arrostrar las difi-

¹ There as a further delay, however.

² "Permanent" forces were the same as forces "de linea", i. e., regulars. For "activo" forces see note 6 on the preceding letter.

³ Secretaría.

⁴ Excelentísimo Señor.

⁵ S. D., i. e., Señor Don.

⁶ A prominent politician, chief member of the cabinet for a time in 1847.

⁷ This was what Santa Anna supposed would be the result of the fighting at Monterey, but in fact Ampudia was permitted to retire with his army and a field battery.

cultades de todo genero que se me presentan; porque sin ejército organizado, sin el material de guerra necesario y sin dinero; cuanto no hay que hacer para preparar una fructuosa defenza, é impedir al ejército invasor su paso para la Capital, viniendo él provisto de todos los elementos para hacernos la guerra con ventaja! Mas para que mis sacrificios no sean esteriles, preciso es que el Gobierno de la República dicte luego cuantas medidas extraordinarias sean convenientes, para proveerme siquiera de una bateria de veinte piezas, de los calibres¹ de 12, 16, 18 y 24, con sus correspondientes dotaciones; y á la vez del dinero necesario para proporcionarme con él cuanto es indispensable; en inteligencia que si estas dos cosas no se me facilitan, me vere obligado á adoptar un sistema de operaciones contrario á mi genio,² pero inevitable en el caso, para que no sufran nuestras armas otra derrota que acabe de humillar á la patria. . . .

Ya he dispuesto haga alto en Matehuala³ la 4^a Brigada que marchaba de San Luis Potosi al Saltillo, para que no vaya esa corta fuerza á caer en manos del enemigo; y previendo al Grál Dn. Rafael Vázquez,⁴ que permanezca en el Saltillo con la pequeña Sección de su mando, para recoger cuantos dispersos lleguen allí, y que este listo para replegarse á Matehuala, luego que advierta que alguna fuerza respetable del enemigo se dirige á aquella Ciudad, llevando con sigo las piezas de artillería y municiones que se hayan podido salvar. . . .

He dictado otra medida, y es la de prevenir á los Comandantes Grâles de Querétaro, Guanajuato, Michoacan y Jalisco, que reunan cuantas fuerzas permanentes activas y auxiliares del Ejército hubiera en los respectivos Estados, y las dirijan á marchas forzadas á San Luis, donde pienso establecer mi Cuartel Grál. . . .

Indispensable es que el Gobierno Supremo haga salir de esa Capital á la mayor brevedad, el resto de tropas permanentes y activos que ha quedado en ella, y las municiones de fusil que aun no han salido por falta de bagajes, lo que hace que estas Brigadas marchen sin ellas, segun me han participado los respectivos Grâles.

En conclusion, aseguro á V. E. para conocimiento del Supremo Gobierno que demandando la situación del pais los sacrificios mas costosos, los emprenderé gustoso y peleare con el último soldado que me quede; en la inteligencia que estoy resuelto á no sobrevivir á la deshonra de nuestra desventurada patria.

Dios y Libertad.

HACIENDA DE SAN SEBASTIAN,⁵ *Septiembre 29 de 1846.*

¹ The cannon specified corresponded substantially to American 12-, 16-, 18- and 24-pounders.

² Presumably this is a threat that he would take by force whatever he deemed requisite.

³ A point about 143 miles north of San Luis Potosi.

⁴ Rafael Vázquez was born in 1802, and began his military life as captain of a band of volunteers in 1827.

⁵ A large estate on the road to San Luis Potosi.

October 3, 1846.

I expected 2,000 (auxiliary militia) from Guanajuato.¹ My hopes have been disappointed through the resistance of the Governor, and he spreads reports unfavorable to the army. He is not evil-inclined, however; is too young—only twenty-three years old. Remove him.

QUERETARO.

October 3, 1846.

This morning at daybreak, Moreno, aide de camp of Ampudia came to me, and said that Ampudia was going to fortify points in the Sierra Madre between Saltillo and Monterey and await the enemy there. So I ordered him not to come to San Luis Potosí but to halt at Saltillo. When the bearer of my orders had been on the way nearly two hours, two officers came, who had left Saltillo one and one-half days later than Moreno. They brought despatches from Ampudia, stating that he could not hold the Sierra, because to do that it would be necessary to fortify five points, and to cover a line of about sixty-five miles, and he had not enough artillery, nor men, nor tools. Moreover, he had intercepted a letter of the enemy containing instructions to Taylor to operate against San Luis Potosí,² and therefore thought it very dangerous for his army to remain in the Sierra. ³ Therefore I determined to carry out my order of Sept. 30, that every one should retire to San Luis Potosí, "in order to organize the army anew in the manner I had contemplated [*concebido*]." To-day I have sent the proper orders to Ampudia. "Long before hand [*may de antemano*] I divined that the enemy would undertake precisely that movement upon San Luis Potosí, because he thinks it would be easy to compel us to ask for peace by shutting us up with his forces in the interior of the Republic." Therefore my first thought on hearing of the capitulation of Monterey was to order retirement to San Luis Potosí, which would form a barrier against the enemy, especially because our troops would be demoralized by recent events, and almost all the material of war lost, so that a good defence of the passes [of the Sierra Madre] was impossible. Notify the Comandante General of Tampico regarding the designs of the enemy against Tampico, "in order that if his numbers do not enable him to withstand the attacking forces, he may evacuate the place and retire to Tuxpam."⁴

QUERETARO.

October 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe.

Exmo. Sr. He de merecer á V. E. se sirva acordar con el E. S. Grāl encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, que el contingente de dinero con que deben contribuir mensualmente para los gastos gene-

¹ Santa Anna refers here to the State, not the city, of this name.

² This probably refers to Marcy's despatch of Sept. 2, 1846, to Taylor, which suggested advancing as far as San Luis Potosí (30 Cong., 1 sess., Ex. Doc. 60, p. 339).

³ This has reference to the apprehension that Taylor would go round Monterey and this part of the Sierra Madre, and attack Saltillo, in Ampudia's rear.

⁴ Tuxpam (or Tuxpan) stands on the river of that name six miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Later Santa Anna decided to have the Comandante General retire in another direction.

rales los Estados de Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi y Zacatecas se situe puntualmente en la comisaria del Ejército de operaciones¹ para los gastos de la campaña. . . .

QUERETARO, *Obre 4 de 1846.*

October 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe.

Exmo. Sr. Existen en San Luis Potosi cerca de dos millones de pesos destinados á salir en conducta para el Puerto de Tampico,² cuyos derechos³ se aproximaran á 200,000 pesos, y siendo este recurso muy necesario al Ejército de operaciones del Norte, he de merecer á V. E. acuerde con el E. S. Grāl encargado del Poder Ejecutivo se situé en la Comisaria del mismo Ejército, sin que se disponga ni de un solo peso para otras atenciones que no sean las de la campaña. . . .

QUERETARO, *Octubre 4 de 1846.*

October 10, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Ayer llego á este Cuartel Grāl la 4^a Brigada del Ejército mandada por el Sr. Grāl Dn. Francisco Ponce de Leon, y en la misma fecha repeti mis ordenes para que á la mayor brevedad se concentre aqui toda la fuerza que ha estado en el Norte al mando del Sr. Grāl Dn. Pedro de Ampudia. . . .

En este cuartel Grāl debera organizarse el Ejército, aumentarse y disciplinarse como corresponde para que pueda atender al grande objeto que tiené á su cargo y dar resultados desicivos y gloriosos á las armas de la Republica. . . .

CUARTEL GRĀL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 10 de 1846.*

October 10, 1846.

I arrived at San Luis Potosí on October 8 "amidst the jubilations of a magnanimous and generous people who have not ceased to lavish upon me the most distinguished attentions."⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ Santa Anna sometimes applied this name to his army with particular reference to the portion of it that should be employed in offensive operations.

² The principal export of Mexico, even in peace, was silver, and it was now of much importance because, though Vera Cruz and Tampico were blockaded, the United States permitted the British to transport the precious metals from those ports.

³ Export duties.

⁴ Santa Anna had long been extremely unpopular in northern Mexico, because he had done much harm and no good to that section. He had therefore felt doubtful how he would be received at San Luis Potosí, and shrewdly sent ahead a proclamation asking to be welcomed, not as Santa Anna, but as a soldier fighting for the common country. This was taken by the people at its face value.

October 10, 1846.

Very private. I protest against the appointment of Francisco de Garay¹ to succeed Anastasio Parrodi as Comandante General at Tampico.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 10, 1846.

Order the squadron of the Sixth Regiment now at Puebla to come here.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

Domingo Echagaray² was not favorably regarded in the State of Vera Cruz after the recent change of the government, and since then has spoken against the existing order of things.³ I directed that he should be sent to this army. The government has disposed otherwise. "The repetition of these acts which place me in a ridiculous position and are so prejudicial to the public service and good military discipline impels me to protest against them in a solemn manner and to ask the satisfaction which I consider due me. . . . I do not consider myself nor should I be considered by the gentlemen who compose the provisional government of the Nation, as a mere General, commanding a corps of the army, but as the sole leader [*único caudillo*] of the Nation, to whom the direction of its destinies has been entrusted."⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

I have ordered Isidro Reyes⁵ not to march to Chihuahua.⁶

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

TO Á. PARRODI, COMANDANTE GENERAL AT TAMPICO.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Cam-
paña.

E. S. Que inmediatamente que V. S.⁷ reciba esta orden que va por extraordinario disponga que todas las piezas de artillería reunidas

¹ A rather active officer who commanded small forces, mainly or entirely irregular, operating in the vicinity of Tampico.

² Nothing of importance is known regarding this officer.

³ The régime growing out of the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

⁴ In public, however, Santa Anna did not scruple to shield himself from responsibility and blame by saying that he was merely the commander of an army. In consequence of this letter Echagaray was promptly sent by the government to San Luis Potosí.

⁵ Reyes, born at Querétaro, Mexico, began his military service in 1813 under the Spanish flag at the age of thirteen. At the time this letter was written he was Comandante General of Zacatecas.

⁶ Gen. S. W. Kearny occupied Santa Fe, New Mexico, on Aug. 18, 1846. As an unnecessary number of American troops had been ordered to that point, it was decided to send a part of them under Col. Alexander W. Doniphan to the city of Chihuahua, where Gen. John E. Wool was expected to go. Wool did not reach that point, but Doniphan did. Angel Trias, Governor of Chihuahua, was very anxious to make a good defence against invasion, and desired the assistance of Reyes; but Santa Anna wished to disregard territory that was not of vital importance, and concentrate the military strength of the nation in his grand army at San Luis Potosí.

⁷ Vueseñoría [Vuestra Señoría], a title of less dignity than V. E.

en esa plaza,¹ el material pesado que no sea posible hacer caminar por tierra, y los archivos de las oficinas públicas, se pongan á salvo en Panuco ú otro punto mas arriba del rio,² si es posible, y lo mismo las tres lanchas cañoneras, nombrando un Jefe y algunos oficiales con alguna tropa costeña para que escolten en Panuco todo ese material que allí debe situarse; con advertencia al Jefe encargado, que en caso de que el enemigo intentare Llegar hasta aquel punto para hacerse de la artillería y lanchas, cuando ya no quede otro recurso, se inutilise todo, para que el enemigo no logre tomarlo. Luego que su S.³ haya puesto en salvo las citadas piezas y lanchas, rio arriba, V. S. con toda la tropa que tiene á su mando y con las piezas de batalla que sea posible conducir y las municiones que tambien pueda llevar consigo, emprendera su retirada hasta la Villa de San Antonio de Tula⁴ por Ciudad Victoria,⁵ Tansuabe⁶ y Palmillas, que es camino por donde puede pasar V. S. la artillería que conduzca hasta Tula, en cuya poblacion hara alto y esperara mis ordenes. . . .

En el caso que llegue el Gral Dn. Francisco Garay á la Plaza para encargarse del mando de las tropas, suspendera V. S. la entrega y le prevendra de mi orden marche á Tuxpam á esperar ordenes del Gobierno.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Obre 12 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E.S. . . . He notado por las comunicaciones de aquel Comandante General⁷ y á V. E. que aun no se ha remitido la polvora que tanto se necesitaba en aquellas Fortalezas,⁸ que más de un mes hace pedí á ese Gobierno con repetición se remitiera, inculcando que de un momento á otro deberian ser atacadas por el enemigo, y me he admirado que hasta ahora no se dicten providencias sobre el particular, siendo probable que cuando la polvora llegue, las Fortalezas se hallan rendido por falta de ella, por ser el material principal para la defensa de las Plazas. Tambien he notado que no se ha mandado ni un solo peso para blindajes, guarda bombas etc. como yo tambien lo he pedido

¹ Tampico.

² The Pánuco River, which flows past Tampico and empties into the Gulf of Mexico. On it lay the village named Pánuco.

³ Señoría.

⁴ A town southwest of the Sierra Madre.

⁵ Capital of the State of Tamaulipas.

⁶ An unimportant point on the route indicated by Santa Anna.

⁷ The Comandante General of Vera Cruz.

⁸ Vera Cruz and the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa. The latter stood in the harbor of Vera Cruz. The city itself was, strictly speaking, not a fortaleza but a plaza; but they are here bracketed loosely together for convenience.

expresamente, de manera, que esto va á hacer suma falta, asi como porción de obras de maestranza y fortificación que se han paralizado por el mismo motivo. Esta conducta no se como podra cubrirla el Gobierno en un caso desgraciado, cuando se le ha estado diciendo por mi mismo, que todo era urgente é indispensable; y no solo ha faltado el dinero para tan importante objeto, sino para la mantención de los soldados que de hambre se atumultaron dias pasados en la Fortaleza de Ulua. ¿Y en que momento? Cuando el enemigo se halla al frente meditando el ataque de la Fortaleza. A la verdad—que se hace increíble un abandono semijante. Y en mi concepto la responsabilidad del Gobierno es inmenza,¹ si las Fortalezas se pierden por falta de los materiales indicados.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 14 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. No obstante las disposiciones del supremo Gobierno para que los Gobernadores de los Estados entreguen el contingente de hombres que se les ha señalado para reemplazo del Ejército, solo los Estados de San Luis Potosi y Queretaro han entregado una parte y no tengo noticia que los demas de la federación² hayan puesto en camino para este Cuartel General el Cuerpo que les corresponde. Y como cada dia es mas urgente la necesidad³ de completar los Cuerpos del Ejército para hacer frente al enemigo, he de merecer á V. E. se sirva acordar con el E. S. Gral encargado del S. P. Ejecutivo, que se ordene á los E. S. Gobernadores cumplan con aquel deber con la presteza que demanda la seguridad del territorio nacional.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 14 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

General Juan Morales is not a safe commander for Vera Cruz. He was displeased with the restoration of the federal system and has talked seditiously. The removal of Landero⁵ "is another attack against my person."

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ Immensa.

² I. e., the nation, which had returned to the federal system in consequence of the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

³ Necesidad.

⁴ Probably Santa Anna had other reasons also for objecting to Morales.

⁵ Gen. José Juan Landero was personally popular at Vera Cruz, but the people felt little confidence in his military and executive talents; and although the government, in deference to Santa Anna's wishes, removed Morales from the position of Comandante General, they insisted upon a reversal of this order shortly before Gen. Scott attacked the city in Mar., 1847. Landero was commonly regarded there as a mere "tool" of Santa Anna.

October 17, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 14 del corriente dije al Comisario de este Ejército lo que copio.

“He dispuesto que luego que ingresen á este Cuartel Gral las tropas del Cuerpo de Ejército del Norte que ha estado al mando del Sr. Gral D. Pedro de Ampudia, pase V. S. á hacer una vista escrupulosa á la Tesoreria de aquellas tropas, para averiguar el estado de su caja, y muy principalmente la inversion que se halla dado á los inmensos caudales que se le han remitido por el Supremo Gobierno, pues he notado que sin embargo de habersele mandado el dinero suficiente para cubrir el presupuesto del mes pasado, haber contraido un prestamo de setenta mil pesos que facilitó D. José Ignacio Flores¹ y otros que hicieron varios particulares, haber ingresado últimamente veinte mil pesos de la comizaria² de Zacatecas, y contar con las raciones que daba al Ejército D. Jacobo Sanchez Navarro,³ el Gral Ampudia se ha quejado repetidamente de escaseces⁴ de numerario para cubrir las atenciones de las tropas de su mando. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 17 de 1846.*

October 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria de Campaña.

E. S. Para que los Comandantes Generales puedan cumplir con sus deberes y con las restricciones á que los sujeta la nota circular que V. E. me translada en su comunicación fecha 13 del corriente, es indispensable que se les provea de recursos para todos los gastos militares que ocurran en sus respectivos Estados, pues no contando como antes con las alcabalas,⁵ ni con los productos sobrantes del Tabaco⁶ van á encontrars econ mil compromisos. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 19 de 1846.*

¹ An unknown person.

² Comisarfa.

³ An unknown person.

⁴ Escaseces.

⁵ The alcabalas were taxes collected at city gates on articles that were to enter for sale. On the recent return to the federal system, the revenue derived from them was assigned to the States, and therefore the Comandantes General, who were supported by the central government, no longer derived any benefit from them.

⁶ The tobacco business was a government monopoly, but certain surplus products had now been assigned to the States.

October 20, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria de Campaña.

E. S. La nota de V. E. fecha 12 del corriente me impone de las providencias que se han dictado para la pronta elaboración de pólvora con el fin de avastecer¹ de la que se necesita en la Plaza de Veracruz y en este Ejército.

El Supremō Gobierno ha debido hacer los mayores esfuerzos, como tengo manifestado á V. E. para proveer de polvora á las Plazas de Veracruz y Ulua, pues tal vez de ese combustible depende la defenza de aquellas Plazas.²

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, Obre 20 de 1846.

October 20, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaríe de Campaña.

E. S. Con esta fecha digo al Sr. Comandante Gral de Va. Cruz lo que sigue:

“Siendo ya fuera de duda que las fuerzas navales de los E. U. intentan atacar esa Plaza y la Fortaleza de Ulua, he creido conveniente dictar á V. S. las prevenciones oportunas, para que la defenza de ambas plazas, dé buenos resultados, y honre las armas Nacionales. En el Castillo de Ulua, se estableceran los blindajes y guarda bombas necesarios y se hará el revestimiento de los pisos para neutralizar el efecto de los fuegos de elevación. Prevendrá V. S. al Comandante de aquel punto, que cuando se rompan los fuegos, toda la tropa se cubra bajo las bóvedas del castillo, quedándo únicamente en las baterías, los artilleros destinados al servicio de las piezas que se pongan en juego; y solo saldrán los precisos para relevar á los muertos y heridos. La tropa de infantería saldrá de su acuartelamiento en caso de un asalto para hacer la defenza que en ese caso le compete. Al Comandante de artilleria se le prevendrá la mayor economia en las municiones, de manera que pueda sostener por dilatado tiempo el fuego de Cañon, el que se procurará sea acertado para hacer el mayor daño posible al enemigo. Esta conducta se observará aunque aquel se empeñe en menudear sus fuegos, pues la afectada indiferencia por nuestra parte, y el aprovechamiento de nuestros tiros, le impon-

¹ Abastecer. The letters *b* and *v* in Spanish are pronounced almost alike, and one is often used for the other. Cf. Córdoba and Córdova.

² Pronounced in Mexico and properly spelled “defensa”.

³ Here, it will be noted, Vera Cruz and Ulúa are both called plazas as above both were called fortalezas.

⁴ Vera Cruz. Usually the Mexicans wrote “Veracruz.”

drá mas que un fuego repetido, que no de otro resultado que el gasto inútil de nuestras municiones. En dicha Fortaleza se establecerá, un hospital de sangre,¹ y por último, se almacenarán inmediatamente provisiones² de boca para dos meses. Observadas estas prevenciones es casi evidente que el Castillo de Ulua no puede ser tomado por las fuerzas de los E.³ Unidos, que lo ataquen. V. S. prevendrá al Comandante de aquel punto, que la Fortaleza que se ha puesto á su cargo, se ha de defender á toda costa y no ha de rendirse bajo ninguno pretexto.⁴ En cuanto á la plaza de Va. Cruz. V. S. debe estar persuadido que con cuatro mil hombres se defiende ventajosamente; y esa fuerza bien puede reunirse en ella, ya de tropa del Ejército como de milicias nacionales que de Puebla y ese Estado se han movido, segun las comunicaciones que tengo á la vista. En consecuencia V. S. procurará que todos los baluartes se cubran con la artilleria y fuerza competente, asi como los edificios interiores principales, particularmente los cuarteles que deben servir al Comandante Gräl de la plaza de base de operaciones. Está por demas advertir á V. S. todas las medidas que puede tomar para la defenza de una ciudad como esa á mas de sus baluartes y murallas que la circundan, tiene en su centro, edificios fuertes para formar una segunda y tercera linea de fortificación impenetrables al enemigo, si se defienden con valor y destreza. Advirtiré á V. S. que debe hacerse desaparecer la idea de capitulación, y que prefiero saber que han desaparecidos las Fortalezas de Va. Cruz y Ulua y que sus defensores han quedado sepultados bajo sus escombros, que la noticia de haber sido humillado el pabellon nacional con un tratado ó capitulación indignos del nombre Mexicano.

Como General en Jefe del Ejército de la República prevengo á V. S. se arregle á estas prevenciones; y no dude que la divisa de esos valientes será siempre vencer ó morir en defenza de los sagrados derechos de la Patria."

Trasládolo á V. E. para conocimiento del E. S. Gräl encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, y para que por su parte se cuide del mas exacto cumplimiento de las prevenciones que hago al citado Comandante Gräl, por tender todas ellas al mejor servicio de la Nación.

Tengo el honor de renovar á V. E., las protestas de mis consideraciones y particular aprecio.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GENERAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 20 de 1846.*

¹ Military hospital.

² Provisiones.

³ Estados.

⁴ Pretexto.

October 22, 1846.

The corps of Sappers [*Zapadores*] has been almost destroyed.¹
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 23, 1846.

On the 14th Ampudia wrote to me as follows: On the 3d the Americans bombarded the Hacienda del Molino,² having heard you were marching in that direction. General Taylor has sent to Camargo the Volunteers whose time is out.³

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 25, 1846.

Reservada. Taylor has received orders to advance on San Luis Potosí.⁴ He will have 24,000 men and will advance November 21. Send me troops.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 25, 1846.

Reservada. Ampudia's troops⁵ have arrived here "in a state so afflicting that it has touched the most unfeeling heart."⁶ Nakedness, hunger, and misery are the colors of the picture." I have exhausted my funds in aiding them. Yesterday the Fourth brigade advanced about thirty miles toward Saltillo to observe the enemy.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 26, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila con fecha 19 del presente me dice lo que copio:

"E. S. El Sr. Jefe Politico del Departamento de Monclova con fecha 14 del actual por conducto de la Sria. de Gobierno me dice lo siguiente. El Fiel⁷ de Tabacos de Rio Grande, en carta de 8 del corriente me dice entre otras cosas lo que sigue. "Antes de ayer se retiró con su fuerza para el interior el Sr. Castañeda⁸ dejandonos en

¹ This corps had taken part in the battles of May 8 and 9 and in the defense of Monterey.

² We have no details regarding this trifling affair.

³ Ampudia probably referred to the discharge of a body of Texan horse.

⁴ All the information contained in this letter was incorrect.

⁵ The troops that had endeavored to defend Monterey against Gen. Taylor.

⁶ The troops left Monterey on Sept. 26-28 in a fairly good state, and fell back to the well-stocked city of Saltillo. Mexican soldiers were usually in want; but one suspects that Santa Anna here darkened the picture intentionally in order to obtain funds.

⁷ Inspector.

⁸ Nothing is known of this officer.

manos del enemigo,¹ que indefectiblemente debe llegar hoy al rio pues los espías los dejaron aller en el paraje de la Cueva distante como tres leguas del paso y diciendo á mas que su campo ocupaba cerca de una legua, con todo el tren de carros, persuadiendose en que deben ser de cuatro á cinco mil hombres. En tan criticas circunstancias no encontramos mas arbitrio que avanzar una comision con el objeto de saber que garantias nos guardan, para en caso contrario ver el camino que tomamos ó á que nos resolvemos: puede suceder que no concluya esta sin saber el resultado, que comunicaré en parrafo separado si lo hubiere. El Administrador de Correos me dice que en el supuesto que los militares corrian la valija no puede haber quien la lleve mañana; y nos resolvimos á mandar nuestras comunicaciones con propio hasta San Fernando.² A las doce de este dia que ya tenia cerrada la comunicación adjunta llego uno de los de la comision que se hallaban en el rio y dice que lla³ habia en su Margen cosa de tres mil Americanos, diciendole que se volviese á decir á las autoridades del pueblo que todas pasasen para arreglar aquel asunto, y que asegure⁴ á las familias que en manera alguna serian atropelladas, que no se moviesen. . . .”

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 26 de 1846.*

October 28, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. La Brigada de Infanteria de Jalisco ha llegado á este Cuartel Grāl el dia 25 del corriente con la fuerza de mil trescientos cuarenta y cinco hombres, pero la mayor parte estan desnudos y trescientos diez y siete desarmados. Han llegado tambien con la misma, seis piezas de los calibres de á 8, 6, 4 y 2 y las tres de á 24 vienen en camino.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRĀL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 28 de 1846.*

October 30, 1846.

Santa Anna speaks of the occupation of California by the United States⁵ as *ese acontecimiento fatal que siento sobremanera.*

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ A part of Gen. John E. Wood's command, which had concentrated at San Antonio, Tex., and began to march thence on Sept. 25 *en route*, according to the orders of our government, for the city of Chihuahua.

² One cannot be sure which place of that name is referred to.

³ This should be written, as it was pronounced, "ya."

⁴ Asegurase.

⁵ Monterey, Calif., was occupied on July 7 by forces under the orders of Commodore John D. Sloat, commanding the United States Pacific squadron, and all the chief points of the province were soon under American control.

October 30, 1846.

The Governor of Guanajuato is now cooperating with me vigorously.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 30, 1846.

I understand the main road [*Camino Principal*] from Vera Cruz is to be fortified as far as the heights [*cumbres*] of Acultzingo.¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 30, 1846.

The resignation of the Comandante General² of Jalisco should not be accepted.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 31, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Como que cada dia se aumenta la fuerza de este Ejército de mi mando, que hoy tiene ya reunidos catorce mil hombres en veintisiete Batallones diez y seis Cuerpos de Caballeria a los que deben incorporarse muy pronto los que conduce del Estado de Guanajuato el E. S. Grál Dn. Gabriel Valencia, lo cual produce un gasto enorme; ocasionando tambien un egreso de mucha consideración 30 tiros de mulas del Tren de Artilleria con sus cocheros, capataces y mayordomos.

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, Octubre 31 de 1846.

November 2, 1846.

I have ordered three cannon "de á 24"³ from Jalisco, and they will be here soon; but there are absolutely no balls for them. Send 2,000 "as soon as possible" from the capital, Perote or Vera Cruz.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El 27 del proximo pasado evacuó la Ciudad de Santa Anna de Tamaulipas⁴ la guarnicion que allí existia, compuesta de mil

¹ A point at the edge of the plateau where the road from Vera Cruz via Arizaba to the interior debouched from the mountains.

² J. M. Yáñez.

³ Practically equivalent to 24-pounders.

⁴ Tampico, sometimes referred to under this name in compliment to Santa Anna, who wrested the city from the Spanish forces under Barradas in 1829. The city was taken by American forces under Commodore David Conner on Nov. 14, 1846.

ciento setenta y nueve hombres de tropa, incluso como doscientos enfermos, con dos piezas de artillería, una de á ocho y otra de á seis; habiéndose mandado subir por el río¹ hasta el estero del Choy, las dos lanchas, y la artillería restante, que he dispuesto se conduzca por Villa de Valles de la manera posible hasta Tula. . . .

La Ciudad de Santa Anna de Tamaulipas á donde recidia² dicha guarnición ni ha sido ni es una plaza fuerte,³ carece de fortificaciones suficientes para poderse hacer una defensa con buen éxito, cuando el enemigo podía, como iba⁴ á hacerlo, atacar á su salvo por mar y tierra, sin que despues quedase otro arbitrio á la pequeña Guarnición que la cubria que rendirse⁵ á discreción. . . .

Ademas esta fuerza se necesita toda para resistir el grueso del Ejército enemigo, que se prepara para llegar hasta aquí de un modo imponente. Auxiliar á Tampico por mar era tambien imposible porque es sabido, que todos los puertos estan bloqueados y ni Veracruz que era de donde podía recibir algun auxilio, ésta en disposición de poder prestarlo.

Situada en la Ciudad de San Antonio de Tula la fuerza que se puede decir se ha salvado de caer, en manos del enemigo, podra allí reponerse en salud y en vestuario, del que procuraré enviarle cuanto me sea posible desde aquí, como tambien haberes mensuales para sacar esa tropa de la miseria que la agobiaba, en virtud de que cerrado⁶ el puerto de Tampico ya no habia en la aduana arbitrio alguno para socorrerla. Ultimamente, para mis combinaciones⁷ militares es conveniente la conservación de una fuerza respetable en Tula, como la voy á situar para que pueda obrar á su tiempo sobre Nuevo Leon ó Tamaulipas cuyos Estados deberan observar entre tanto, desde aquella posición ventajosa.⁸

Sirvase⁹ V. E. ponerlo todo en conocimiento del E. S. Gral encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo y admitir las protestas de mi consideración y aprecio.¹⁰

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Novembre 4, 1846.*

¹ The Pánuco.

² Residía.

³ This was not true, but Santa Anna so states because he was blamed for ordering the place evacuated.

⁴ Iba. We have no evidence that Conner intended to do this. He had not an adequate landing force.

⁵ Rendirse.

⁶ Cerrado.

⁷ Combinaciones.

⁸ Ventajosa.

⁹ Sirvase.

¹⁰ Santa Anna was bitterly blamed and even called a traitor for ordering the evacuation of Tampico; but from the military point of view he was right, even though he exaggerated the difficulty of holding the place.

November 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila con fecha 26 del pasado me dice lo que cōpio.

“E. S. El S.¹ Jefe Politico del Departamento de Monclova² en nota de 21 del actual, por conducto de la Sria. de Gobierno, me comunica lo que sigue. El Jefe Politico del partido de Rio Grande con fecha 10 del corriente me dice lo que sigue. Despues de haber participado á V. S. en nota fecha 2 del corriente que las fuerzas³ de los Estados Unidos estaban en la Leona,⁴ fueron otros espias á observar sus movimientos y regresaron estos el 5 con la noticia de hallarse á tres jornadas del Rio Bravo,⁵ de cuyas resultas se retiró el 6 por la Villa de Gigido⁶ el S. Comandante de la Linea con la pequeña fuerza que tenia á sus ordenes; el 7 que consideré estarian aquellas mas inmediatas al Rio, acordé con el Ayuntamiento y otros hombres notables recabar en carta particular, del Grāl que los comanda algunas garantias en favor de las poblaciones de mi cargo, de lo contrario nos concederia el tiempo necesario para abandonar nuestros hogares, cuya carta la condujo un propio y regresó éste la mañana del 8 con la noticia de haber llegado las fuerzas indicadas al vado del Pacuache⁷ y ademas me trajo el mensaje berval⁸ de parte de su Jefe que fuera mi individuo acompañado del Alcalde⁹ á tener con el una entrevista, en efecto fuimos á su campo y nos recibio con mucha cordialidad, diciendonos que sus tropas no venian á hacer la guerra á los pueblos de México, sino á obligar al Gobierno á rendirle Justicia á los Estados Unidos, aconsejandonos estar quietos sin tomar las armas contra sus tropas en cuyo caso seriamos protejidos nuestras personas y propiedades, y por último esperaba que estos habitantes franquearan á sus tropas los viveres que estuvieren en sus posibilidades cuyas valores serian pagados á precios liberales; aqui se termino nuestra entrevista y nos retiramos á esta Villa: el 9 recibí de aquel Jefe la contestación que en cōpia incluyo á V. S.: en ella estan expresadas las mismas condiciones y seguridades que acabo de referir. Hoy tambien entro á esta Villa una fuerza de Caballería y esta situada en los suburbios¹⁰ de la misma, el resto de las fuerzas quedan aun en el rio con todos sus

¹ Señor.

² An important city in the State of Nuevo León.

³ Under Gen. Wool.

⁴ Between San Antóine, Tex., and the Rio Grande.

⁵ Another name for the Rio Grande. In full it was Rio Bravo del Norte.

⁶ A small place not far from the Rio Grande.

⁷ Near the present town of Eagle Pass, Tex.

⁸ Verbal.

⁹ An official combining the powers of mayor, magistrate and paterfamilias.

¹⁰ Suburbios.

trenes de viveres, de boca y guerra, su número sera como de dos mil hombres de tropa de linea, y se dice que atras vienen iguales fuerzas.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Nbrë*¹ 4 de 1846.

November 5, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E. Sr. Por la comunicación de V. E. fecha 28 del mes anterior, me he impuesto de que ya se ha mandado venir á este Cuartel Grál la bateria de piezas de Artilleria de grueso calibre, con sus municiones correspondientes, que yo habia pedido hace algun tiempo; y que se me envian ademas doscientos cajones de cartuchos de fucil,² una dotación completa de municiones para seis piezas de á doce, y ocho de á ocho,³ veinticinco quintales de polvora de fucil y cañon, y todo el armamento que se halle en esa Capital en Estado de servicio.

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI á 5 de *Noviembre de 1846.*

November 7, 1846.

Unless the Department of Hacienda⁴ "with efforts that may be called inconceivable, considering the situation of the National treasury,"⁵ provides the necessary funds" (especially for Vera Cruz) all our struggles will be in vain. Let the acting President⁶ "increase his efforts and omit no step that can help to prevent the name of Mexico from soon being the object of ridicule and contempt for the whole world."⁷

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 9, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. que no hay [dinero] ni para cubrir la 2^a quincena del presente mes que ascenderá á 150,000 pesos, y tanto mas es urgente este dinero, cuanto que tengo escalonadas hasta Matehuala camino del Saltillo 55 leguas⁸ de aquí, varias Brigadas de Caballeria, á las que

¹ Noviembre.

² Fusil.

³ Substantially equivalent to 12-pounders and 9-pounders.

⁴ Treasury.

⁵ The government had neither funds nor credit. It could only borrow with the utmost difficulty and on ruinous terms.

⁶ Still Gen. Salas.

⁷ Since the writer understood the financial situation perfectly, these words must be taken to signify that he demanded recourse to the property of the Roman Catholic church, the only available wealth of the country.

⁸ About 143 miles.

debe socorrerse con anticipación, lo mismo que á la División de observación que he situado en San Antonio de Tula camino de Tampico 50 leguas ¹ de este Cuartel Grál.

Es por tanto necesario, absolutamente indispensable que por extraordinario ó por mulas á la ligera se me mande la suma citada de 150,000 pesos, para cubrir el presupuesto del presente mes. . . .

que lo menos se necesitan mensualmente para solo el haber de los cuerpos que componen este Ejército 300,000 pesos y poco mas de 50,000 pesos para proveer á los talleres que trabajan en vestuarios elaboración de municiones, maestranza, construcción de monturas, recomposición de armas, compra de Caballos, hospital y fortificaciones; y este cálculo es del minimun á que puede reducirse el presupuesto mensual. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Noviembre 9 de 1846.*

November 11, 1846.

"With enough regret" I have read yours of the 6th with news from General M. Martinez ² of the revolt of Presidial Companies ³ at Aldama, Chihuahua—the Companies of Chihuahua and San Buena Ventura.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 11, 1846.

I can send no troops to Chihuahua. I have no men and no money to spare.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 11, 1846.

General Isidro Reyes is on the frontier between Zacatecas and Durango.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Me he enterado con satisfacción de la nota de V. E. de 6 del actual en la que me transcribe la que le pasó el E. S. Ministro de Justicia con igual fecha, y circuló á los Exmos. Sres. Gobernadores

¹ About 125 miles.

² Presumably Santa Anna refers to Mariano Martinez de Lejarza, regarding whom nothing of importance is known.

³ In the colonial period of Mexico Spain guarded the northern frontier against the Indians by establishing a chain of forts ("presidios"), held by what were called Presidial Companies. Under Mexican rule the system was virtually given up, and the Companies had at this time become few, small, and almost worthless.

⁴ See note 2 on the second letter of Oct. 12, supra.

de los Estados exitandolos para que los reos que deban ser sentenciados á la pena de presidio sean destinados al trabajo de las fortificaciones de la frontera para la defenza de nuestra República. . . .

CUARTEL GRĀL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Noviembre 12 de 1846.*

November 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 10 del corriente dije al E. S. Gobernador de este Estado ¹ lo siguiente. "E. S. A los Sres Gral Jefes de las Brigadas de Caballeria, que se hallan fuera de este Cuartel Gral les he dirigido la comunicaci3n siguiente. Entretanto esten ocupados los Estados de la frontera por las fuerzas invasoras de los E. U. del Norte, no permitiré V. S. que por ningun motivo ni pretesto que individuo alguno pase al Saltillo 6 Monterrey sin pasaporte firmado por mi, cuidando V. S. de esta manera y de cuantas mas le dicte su celo, que el enemigo no sepa nada de nuestras operaciones."²

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Nbre 12 de 1846.*

November 16, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Urgente.

E. S. . . . Yo estoy sorprendido de que el Supremo Gobierno se desentienda del primer asunto que debia ocupar su atenci3n, y es el de proveer de recursos á estas tropas para su subsistencia, y para los preparativos que la Guerra exige, siendo constante que casi todo es necesario crearlo de nuevo. Es de notarse igualmente, que ni los materiales, ni los objetos mas precisos³ que he pedido á esa Capital se me hayan remitido. Asi mismo debe advertirse, que la contribuci3n establecida por decreto de 2 de Octubre sobre arrendamientos de fincas é inquilinatos, dedicada exclusivamente para los gastos de la guerra, y que debio producir en el momento gruesas sumas en esa Capital y en los Estados, no se haya enviado aqui como era consiguiente, y solo algunas sumas pequeñas que ya se han gastado no solo en el haber de las tropas, si no en los gastos extraordinarios y urgentes que se estan haciendo en mil objetos diferentes, según comuniqué á V. E. en mi nota citada de 10 del corriente.

¹ San Luis Potosí.

² In this way Santa Anna kept Taylor in the dark, and almost surprised him on Feb. 22, 1847, the first day of the battle of Buena Vista.

³ Precisos.

En tal virtud, mi deber me impone hacer una solemne protesta de no ser responsable de los males que el servicio público pueda resentir por quedar este Ejército abandonado á su triste suerte; y manifestar á V. E. la necesidad en que me veré para cubrir mi responsabilidad y mi reputación, de publicar por la prensa las comunicaciones relativas, las cantidades que únicamente se me han remitido en mes y medio, su distribución y el deficiente que resulta en el presupuesto del presente mes. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Noviembre 16 de 1846.*

November 17, 1846.

José Antonio Heredia¹ accepts the command in chief of the forces of Durango and Chihuahua.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 17, 1846.

The Comandante General of Chiapas writes that the American war has "revived" in combination with Central America.²

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 18, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. En atención á la suma escases³ de recursos que hay en la Comisaría grál. de este Ejército, segun lo he manifestado á V. E. repetidas veces, y á que no se me han remitido los caudales suficientes para los crecidos gastos que tienen que hacerse, segun habrá V. E. visto en mis comunicaciones relativas, y á fin de que no falten auxilios á este benemérito Ejército entretanto los remited el Supremo Gobierno, me he visto precisado á dirigir á los Sres. Administradores de Tabacos de Aguas Calientes, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Michoacan, Querétaro y Jalisco y el de esta ciudad la comunicación siguiente.

"Dispondrá V.⁴ que toda el dinero existente en esa Admón.⁵ de su cargo y de los productos de todas las oficinas foraneas Subalternas, quedan exclusivamente detenidos para las atenciones que debe cubrir la comisaría de este Ejército, remitiéndolo en el momento á este

¹ Heredia was a Mexican by birth and now about forty-seven years old. He was not highly esteemed, and the part that he played in the inglorious campaign against Doniphan amply justified his reputation.

² The writer probably has reference to American naval operations and to threats of Guatemalan hostilities, but the United States had no such relations with any part of Central America as he suspected.

³ Escasez. These two forms of the word were pronounced alike in Mexico,

⁴ Usted.

⁵ Administración.

cuartel grál. á la orden del comisario, bien sea en letras ó en metálico, sin excusa ni pretesto alguno observando el mismo sistema todos los meses. Por consecuencia de esta determinación suspendrá V. bajo su responsabilidad el pago de toda clase de ordenes que haga contra esta Admōn.¹ y solo tomará lo muy preciso para cubrir el sueldo de los empleados en ella y el de la fábrica . . .”

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Noviembre 18, 1846.*

November 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Increible parece que cuando el enemigo avanza sobre este Cuartel Grál y cuando del exito de la proxima lucha, depende quiza la suerte de esta Nación se vean con tanta indiferencia los pedidos de dinero y municiones.

No se me responda que el Gobierno no tiene de donde sacar recursos, porque eso equivaldria á decir que la Nación de hecho habra dejado de existir; ni yo con tal contestación podria en ningún caso quedar conforme, porque con ella no alimento á estos soldados ni proporciono los materiales de guerra que me faltan y aun el vestuario para estos buenos servidores de la Nación que la mayor parte se hallan desnudos porque se ha descuidado tambien mandarles las prendas que con repetición tengo pedidas. Una Nacion tan rica como lo es la República Mexicana, no puede carecer de los recursos precisos para sostener nada menos que su independenciam; ² ni tampoco el Gobierno actual no puede decir que le faltan facultades para buscarlos, ³ porque las tiene dictatoriales.⁴ Por esto es que se inculpe agriamente al Gobierno por los que saben que estos militares, estan condenados á una muerte cierta, privados de los recursos de defenza ⁵ indispensables y del dinero para satisfacer las necesidades de la vida y del vestuario para cubrir su desnudes,⁶ todo lo cual poderia estar ya en este Cuartel Grál, atendido el tiempo que ha transcurrido desde que me dirigí al Ministerio sobre el asunto.

¿Quien ha dicho que en casos tales, los Gobiernos no pueden dictar medidas extraordinarias?

Ni crea el E. S. Gral encargado del S. P. ⁷ Ejecutivo que puede haber nunca disculpa para su conducta, respecto á tener este Ejército, sin

¹ This letter illustrates the arbitrary methods by which Santa Anna was accustomed to obtain funds. In other cases as much disregard was shown for justice as was here shown for law.

² Here again Santa Anna pointed at the property of the Church.

³ Santa Anna's purpose was to force the government to lay hands upon Church property.

⁴ At this time Mexico was under a revolutionary, military despotism.

⁵ Pronounced in Mexico and properly spelled "defensa."

⁶ Desnudez.

⁷ Supremo Poder.

dinero, sin armas ni municiones; y yo desde ahora protesto acusarlo, asi como á sus Ministros, ante la Nación si por su culpa los invasores lograsen alguna ventaja. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Nbre 19 de 1846.*

November 21, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano, General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E. S. He recibido la comunicación de V. E. fecha 14 del corriente en que me acompaña copia de traducciones de algunos periodicos de los E. Unidos,¹ relativos á la guerra actual. He visto en ellas confirmados mis calculos respecto á la intención de aquel Gobierno y plan de operaciones trazado al Grál Taylor, y por eso precisamente me apresuré á ordenar se evacuase la Ciudad de Tampico por las tropas nacionales, y á situar una División de observacion en la vila de Tula² de Tamaulipas.

SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Novembre 21 de 1846.*

November 21, 1846.

The story that a conducta³ of silver was robbed at Tampico is false. General Urrea⁴ asked the conductor for a loan of 10,000 pesos. The latter refused to make the loan, having no orders to do so from the owners; but Urrea, "employing the means of persuasion", succeeded in getting it.⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 21, 1846.

The legislature of Coahuila made a protest against invasion and dissolved when the enemy approached.⁶ On the 16th Taylor with 1,404 men and four cannon occupied Saltillo.

SAN LUIS POTOSI.

November 30, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Urgente.

E. S. . . . No ha valido que yo haya recordado, ni el grande peligro de la Patria, ni el sagrado deber que tiene el Supremo Gobi-

¹ Estados Unidos.

² San Antonio de Tula.

³ By "conducta" was usually meant a convoy of pack-mules carrying bars of silver.

⁴ José Urrea was a man of polished manners, but with the character of a brigand.

⁵ The "means of persuasion" were doubtless threats that, unless the money was paid over, something worse would happen.

⁶ Generals Taylor and Worth set out from Monterey for Saltillo on Nov. 13 with about 1,000 men. The protest was delivered to Taylor on the 16th as he was approaching his destination. Of course it had no effect.

erno de auxiliar á esas tropas, que estan en visperas de verter su sangre por la independenciam nacional, ni mi grande compromiso, ni la desesperada condición en que me encuentro; el Gobierno parece que ha creido, que son infundadas mis quejas, y esta idea aumenta la amargura de mi corazon. . . .¹

SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Noviembre 30 de 1846.*

December 3, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con esta fecha digo al E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Jalisco lo que sigue.

“E. S. Con esta fecha digo al Sr. Administrador de Rentas de San Juan de los Lagos² lo que sigue. “El Sr. Coronel D. José López de Uruga³ va á esa población con el objeto de recoger el producto de los derechos que por todos ramos produzca la feria⁴ que actualmente tiene lugar en esa misma población, cuyo producido voy á destinarlo á los gastos de este Ejército. . . .”

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Diciembre 3 de 1846.*

December 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Por momentos crecen mis conflictos, pues al paso que veo moverse al enemigo por diferentes direcciones, yo no puedo mover una sola Brigada para ningun punto, porque no hay ni un solo peso en la comisaria hace tres dias. Acabo de recibir parte del Gobernador de Nuevo Leon del Grál Canales,⁵ que han llegado á ciudad Morelos⁶ los mil hombres⁷ procedentes de Camargo⁸ con su tren de artilleria.

¹ The government was in fact anxious to do all that was in its power to obtain funds for the army.

² A town in the State of Jalisco where an annual fair was held.

³ José López Uruga was colonel of the Fourth Infantry (Permanent), and figured prominently at the battles of May 8 and 9, 1846, the defence of Monterey, and the battle of Cerro Gordo.

⁴ The fair of Lagos was an important commercial event. Wagons engaged in the caravan trade starting from Independence, Missouri, went there via Santa Fe, New Mexico.

⁵ Antonio Canales was a frontier ruffian commanding irregular troops, who operated near the Rio Grande.

⁶ A small place, called also Montemorelos, in the State of Tamaulipas.

⁷ This probably has reference to the Second Tennessee Volunteers and a portion of the second Infantry (regulars) which moved from Camargo to Montemorelos at about this time.

⁸ The town already mentioned as lying on the San Juan River.

y que el Grál Taylor se movia de Monterrey¹ con tres mil hombres un gran tren para aquel punto, á fin de continuar á Ciudad Victoria pues parece que la idea es atravesar la Sierra² y colocarse en la Vill de Tula de Tamaulipas,³ para establecer desde este lugar su linea de comunicaci3n hasta Tampico.

Como en Tula tengo situada una Divisi3n de dos mil hombres á la ordenes del Grál Don José Urrea, y esta posicion es necesario conservar á toda costa, es indispensable reforzar aquella y aun fortificar el punto; pero no me es posible mover un soldado de este cuartel gral porque con trabajo solo se ha podido conseguir el rancho de estos dias.

Las cureñas para las piezas que estan sin ellas, las balas de cañon y los demas materiales que he solicitado, hacen notable falta. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 4 del 1846.*

December 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo Sr. A los Exmos Sres Gobernadores de los Estados de Jalisco, Puebla, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Guanajuato, México, Queretaro Michoacan, Aguascalientes y este de San Luis digo con fecha de hoy lo que sigue.

“Exmo Sr. El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos que en su delirio ha pensado llevar á efecto la conquista de la República ó la mayor parte de ella, pone todos los medios para realizar tan atrevido pensamiento y al efecto, hace avanzar sus fuerzas, en varias direcciones animado de la confianza que le inspiraron los pequeños triunfos que adquirio por sucesos casuales, y por el abandono con que la pasada Administraci3n⁴ vio los sagrados intereses de la Naci3n. . . .

No me queda mas arbitrio, que ocurrir al patriotismo de V. E. porque penetrado del conflicto Nacional y del mio particular por la falta de medios para llevar á cabo la empresa que se me ha confiado de salvar al pais á cualquiera costa, se sirva dictar cuantas medidas esten en el circulo de sus facultades, para que inmediatamente se remita á este Cuartel General en dinero ó en libranzas, cuantos recursos pecuniarios tenga el Estado de su digno mando, sin atender á contingente que tiene señalado por la Ley.”

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 5 4 de 1846.*

¹ This news was premature, but apparently Mexican spies found out that Gen. Taylor intended to make such a movement, as he did about the middle of Dec., 1846.

² The Sierra Madre.

³ Taylor had no such intention. The plan was not feasible. Santa Anna probably knew this; and perhaps his purpose in writing as he did was to stimulate the government.

⁴ That of Paredes.

⁵ Diciembre.

December 5, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El Sr. Comisario Grál de este Ejército con fecha de hoy me dice lo que sigue.

“E. S. Con esta fecha digo á los Sres Ministros de la Tesoreria Grál de la Nación lo que copio. A las des de la tarde del dia de hoy, no tenia la generalidad de los Cpos¹ que componen este Ejército el indispensable rancho para la mantención del soldado, apesar de los multiplicados esfuerzos que han sido puestos en práctica con el laudable objeto de evitar llegase este conflicto, verdaderamente lamentable, en circunstancias todas de vida ó de muerte para la Nación. Degradando aun la dignidad de mi empleo, he podido conseguir á estas horas, que son las cuatro de la tarde, se me franquee por un comerciante de esta Ciudad, la cantidad de tres mil pesos, que como V. S. S.² deben conocer, no es bastante para cubrir ni las atenciones de un dia.”

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 5 de 1846.*

December 7, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Cuando esperaba auxilios de alguna consideración para cubrir las inmensas erogaciones de este Ejército supuestos los ofrecimientos que oficialmente me ha hecho el Supremo Gobierno y el Exmo. S. Ministro de Hacienda en lo particular; he recibido el dia de ayer solamente la miserable suma de veinte mil pesos, que no basta á satisfacer ni el haber de dos dias, segun el presupuesto general que me dirigido a ese Ministerio. Desde el dia 30 del ppdo dirigí á V. E. una nota en que le hice presente que para el siguiente dia en que comenzaba el mes actual, no tenia la Comisaría un solo peso en sus cajas, antes bien se encontraba con un deficiente de consideración, que tenía su origen de los préstamos que algunos particulares habian hecho bajo mi garantia personal; de entonces acá con mil trabajos se ha conseguido el rancho del soldado y se encuentran paralizadas todas las oficinas y talleres de fundición, devestuario, de maestranza y recomposición de armas, y hasta las obras de fortificación, porque no hay con qué pagar los jornales que veneen los trabajadores.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 7 de 1846.*

¹ Cuerpos.

² Vueseñorías (Vuestras Señorías).

December 7, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila desde la Villa de Parras¹ con fecha 30 del pasado me dice lo que cópio.

“E. S. El 24 del corriente han salido las fuerzas que ocupaban la Ciudad de Monclova² al mando del Gral Dn. Juan Wool para situarse en este punto del que hoy distan menos de veinte leguas. En Monclova se han quedado dos Compañías de Infanteria y una de Caballeria formando todas ellas el número de trescientos hombres. Las fuerzas que en dos dias deben ocupar esta Villa, se componen de dos mil setecientos incluyendo las que dirigen los carros que llegan á docientos ochenta de los que la mayor parte caminan vacios y el resto con equipajes tiendas de campaña, municiones y pocos viveres. Solo cuatrocientos de esta fuerza son veteranos y el resto de voluntarios de Texas³ indisciplinados: ⁴ de Caballeria son seiscientos, y la artilleria la forman ocho piezas 4 de á 8 y cuatro de á menos calibre. Con este movimiento del enemigo que tengo el honor de comunicar á V. E. no queda un pueblo del Estado libre de sus armas.”

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 7 de 1846.*

December 7, 1846.

The Governor of Coahuila wrote at Parras, November 30, that Wool on leaving Monclova took provisions by force without paying.⁵ No such case occurred at Saltillo.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 8, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El Sr. Coronel Dn. José López Uraga en carta particular fecha de ayer en San Juan de los Lagos, entre otras cosas me dice lo que cópio.

¹ A sizable city in the State of Coahuila.

² Wool occupied Monclova on Oct. 29 and left it on Nov. 24, 1846.

³ Wool's force consisted of a battery of eight pieces, a squadron of the First Dragoons, a squadron of the Second Dragoons, a regiment of Arkansas horse, three companies of the Sixth Infantry (regulars), one company of Kentucky foot, and the First and Second Illinois regiments: in all about 3,400 at the beginning of his march.

⁴ Indisciplinados.

⁵ The correctness of this statement is very doubtful, for Wool was extremely anxious to give the people no cause of complaint. But he left troops at Monclova and some accounts may have remained open. It is also possible, though not probable, that he punished some Mexican, who refused to sell his wheat, by taking the grain.

“El Sr. Gral Armijo ¹ se presentó en San Juan, custodiando casi, á porción de Americanos con veintisiete carros cargados de efectos del Norte con guías de Chihuahua. Esto el comercio lo ha visto con disgusto. . . . Parece que entre estos Yankes y el Sr. Armijo hay asosiasiones ² ó intereses. . . .”³

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 8 de 1846.*

December 8, 1846.

The Comandante General of Chiapas ⁴ wrote on November 8 that the American troops which occupied Santa Fe in August are still there, about 650 miles from Chihuahua City: 2,000 men, 22 cannon.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 9, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. . . . El Sr. Cōrl retirado Dn. Francisco Lojero ⁵ con fecha 23 de Octubre último me dice lo que sigue. . . .

“En los 41 días que han trascurrido ha sido de absoluta necesidad proveer á los enfermos de frasadadas ⁶ y hacer otros gastos cuyos cargos remito con esta fecha á la citada comisaria, y con ellos asciende la deuda á ocho cientos pesos; mientras que los facultativos, contratores, practicantes y demas serviciales de estos hospitales no han recibido mas que cosa de paga y media desde el 18 de Mayo en que salió el Ejército de esta ciudad hasta la fecha; y por consiguiente han vendido unos y empeñado otros, sus caballos, sillas, armas y ropa para subsistir, y habiendo concluido con sus prendas me he visto en el caso en el presente mes de anticiparles las raciones de Noviembre y Diciembre venideros; y hoy que ya debiera el Cuerpo Médico marchar para ese cuartel Grál no lo puede verificar, porque concluyeron con sus propios recursos, con los míos, y no hay quien preste dinero ni con premio exorbitante. . . .”

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 9 de 1846.*

¹ Manuel Armijo, lately Governor and Comandante General of New Mexico, ousted by the American forces under Gen. S. W. Kearny. He was deeply interested in the caravan trade.

² Asociaciones.

³ The suspicion was doubtless well founded, though to what extent it was correct one cannot say.

⁴ A Mexican State bordering on Guatemala.

⁵ Nothing is known of this officer.

⁶ Enfermos de frasadadas [frazadas]. This unusual expression (blanket-sick) appears to mean invalids or convalescents.

December 11, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Los dos mil fusiles que he solicitado, cada dia son mas precisos¹ porque á los reclutas no se les puede dar la instrucción necesaria por falta de ellos, y porque existen en este Ejército mas de dos mil quinientos hombres desarmados completamente.

CUARTEL GRAL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 11 de 1846.*

December 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Quedo impuesto por la nota de V. E. fecha 25 del pasado de la que dirigió el E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Chihuahua al Ministro de Relaciones manifestando el riesgo de que se apoderase² el enemigo de la Capital de dicho Estado: en consecuencia he dispuesto que el Sr. Gral D. Mariano Martinez que vino á este Cuartel Gral en comisión segun tengo dicho á V. E., regrese conduciendo el 6° Regimiento de Caballería y trescientos Infantes de Zacatecas y el 7° de Infanteria que está en Durango con cien Dragones,³ supuesto tambien que hay noticias de que el Gral Wool que se halla en Parras se dirige á dicho Estado.⁴

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 12 de 1846.*

December 12, 1846.

I desire to report the "inhuman and irregular conduct" of General Taylor, who compelled the Mexican wounded to leave Monterey at a fixed time.⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. Hoy estamos á 14 ó á mediados del mes que es lo mismo, y solo se han mandado por el E. S. Ministro de Hacienda cien mil

¹ Precisos.

² Apoderase.

³ About 255 men actually reached Chihuahua City.

⁴ Wool was expected by Santa Anna to carry into effect the original order to occupy Chihuahua, but for good reasons he received later instructions to join Gen. Taylor.

⁵ After the capture of Monterey Gen. Taylor permitted the Mexican wounded to remain there, and also permitted Mexican officers, medical men and others to remain and look after them. Through the latter classes of persons, especially the priests, attempts were made to seduce Roman Catholics belonging to the American army. Hence about the middle of November all officers not indispensably needed by the sick and wounded were ordered away. Santa Anna's charge seems therefore to be unfounded.

pesos, cuando sabe muy bien que el presupuesto del mes importa cerca de cuatrocientos mil que es el minimum á que he podido reducirlo estableciendo mil economías. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 14 de 1846.*

December 17, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.¹

E. S. Ha sido en mi poder la comunicación de V. E. fecha 10 del actual en que se sirve contestar, á la vez, las mias de 4 y 6 del mismo, contraido la primera, a exitar á V. E. á que franqueara algunos recursos de ese Estado para cubrir en alguna parte los gastos crecidos de este Ejército de operaciones; y la segunda á comunicarle las ordenes libradas á ese Sr. Comandante Grál, para que pusiera en defensa al Estado, y publicara la ley marcial cuando las fuerzas de los Estados Unidos la invadiesen. Ninguna incompatibilidad existe entre una y otra comunicación como V. E. asienta equivocadamente, si se quiere advertir, que la del dia 4 fué circular á varios Gobernadores producida de las necesidades que me cercan sin poderlas cubrir por los motivos allí expuestos, y la del dia 6 dictada á consecuencia de las noticias, que en el mismo dia recibí, sobre los movimientos de la División enemiga, que actualmente se halla en la Villa de Parras. Reclamé los auxilios del Estado, porque tiene indudablemente la obligación mas estrecha de ayudar al Gobierno de la Unión cuando el peligro es comun, y nacional la defensa, sin que pueda decirse que por la índole de las instituciones que rigen hoy á la República,² está excusado de tomar participio en los esfuerzos que se hacen para evitar la dominación extranjera. Es verdad, que á consecuencia del restablecimiento del sistema federal se hizo la clasificación de rentas, que ha dado por resultado, que los Estados cuenten como propiedad suya, las que antes entraban en las cajas del Gobierno general, pero al disponerlo así el Legislador, contó sin duda, con que llegado el caso de unua necesidad urgente, los Estados acudirian con alguna ó la mayor parte de sus rentas para el sostenimiento de la Independencia, y de la misma confederación. Asi como los Ciudadanos por la constitución están obligados á servir á la Patria en todos los casos que esta lo exija, asi las Provincias ó Estados de una nación cuando se trata de los prin-

¹This is a copy of a letter addressed to the Governor of Zacatecas. When Santa Anna showed his intention in 1834 to destroy the federal constitution of Mexico and centralize the government with a view to making himself the supreme and autocratic ruler of the nation, that State, as well as Texas, exhibited a decided opposition to his wishes. It was therefore crushed by Santa Anna in a bloody and brutal manner, and never recovered its former status. Naturally he was intensely hated there, and in standing out against him now the governor merely represented the great majority of his constituents.

²Santa Anna refers to the federal system, revived since Aug. 4, 1846.

cipales intereses de ésta deben franquear cuantos elementos ó recursos tengan para la conservación de la comunidad. V. E. se manifiesta muy disgustado por haber prevenido al Sr. Comandante Grál de ese Estado, que cuando el enemigo llegue á la frontera, para la mejor defensa publique la ley marcial, y reasuma los mandos. No estoy conforme con las objeciones que V. E. hace á esta disposición, porque ella de ninguna manera ataca el sistema federal ni las libertades públicas. El caso es muy excepcional, y no establece un principio; debe pues considerarse solamente como una de tantas medidas de defensa á que la nación tiene derecho de ocurrir, cuando como hoy se ve agredida, por un enemigo que atropellando la justicia y el derecho de gentes intenta humillarla. En el tiempo que regió la constitución de 1824 varias veces se dieron facultades extraordinarias al Presidente de la República que naturalmente implicaba todas las que estan concedidas por la misma constitución al Cuerpo legislativo, y puntualmente en el año de 1829 con motivo de la invasión Española, el Congreso de aquella época acordó dichas facultades al benemérito Grál Guerrero,¹ que funcionaba de Presidente, y eran tan amplias, que fueron entonces calificadas de una dictadura, sin que se hubiera dicho por esto, que se atacaba la índole del sistema. Cuando la ley marcial no lleva por objeto un fin tan importante como el que se supone en el caso de una invasión extranjera; pues nada menos se trata de la salvación de la Independencia, claro es, que habría entonces razon no solamente para censurarla, sino para calificarla como atentoria contra las instituciones y la libertad civil; pero precisamente las naciones mas adelantadas en civilización, y de instituciones mas liberales, cuando se han encontrado en grandes conflictos, han apelado á aquel saludable é indispensable recurso, que facilita la acción del poder para ocurrir sin obstáculo á contener el mal, que de otro modo sería de difícil remedio. El Presidente de la República en el estado normal de la Nación, es verdad que no tiene facultades para declarar la ley marcial; mas sí las tiene el Grál en Jefe de un Ejército en campaña, cuando como en el caso presente, se le tiene encomendada la defensa del territorio, y la conservación de la Independencia nacional. Además, la practica de todas las naciones en casos idénticos al en que nosotros estamos, es bastante conocida, y solo un espíritu de oposicion, ó una falta de patriotismo, pudiera inculparme por haber dictado la disposición que ha causado el desagrado de V. E. cuando á la sazón reunía á las atribuciones de Grál en Jefe en campaña, las discrecionales de caudillo de la nación, y no obstante el noble sentimiento que la impulsó, y que no puede serle desconocido; así como, que no era posible que atacara el sistema federal, el mismo que tanta parte acaba de tener en su restablecimiento.² Sin embargo, para evitar arbitrarias interpre-

¹ Vicente Guerrero, who was soon overthrown by a revolution.

² In order to blot out as much as possible the remembrance of his autocratic rule, Santa Anna declared in Aug., 1846, for the reestablishment of the federal system.

taciones, hoy revoco aquella órden, según se impondrá V. E. en la transcripción que le hago por separado.

V. E. lejos de mandar á este Ejército el contingente de hombres como lo han hecho los demás, ha entorpecido su remisión, faltando así á lo dispuesto por el Gobierno Supremo de la Nación, y para disculpar tan grave falta ha dicho sin embarazo á ese Sr. Comandante grál con fecha 25 del pasado, que no podia entregar el cupo señalado al Estado, porque sus convicciones y natural caracter se oponian á ello, por los respetos que exigen los derechos del hombre y de la humanidad. ¿ Y que calificación puede hacerse de semejante conducta, cuando la Patria reclama el auxilio de todos sus hijos, y el mismo código político que V. E. me cita, determina, que todos los Mexicanos estan obligados á servirla cuando son llamados por la ley? ¿ la opinion particular de V. E. debe prevalecer á los mandatos de la ley, y las prevenciones de la autoridad suprema? ¿ No es sierto,¹ que si todos los funcionarios se expresaran en el sentido que lo hace V. E. deberiamos dar un adios á la libertad y á la independencia de la Patria? No es al Estado de Zacatecas al que yo he culpado cuando en mi comunicaci3n del dia 6 dije, que era escandaloso que en las actuales cr3ticas circunstancias no diera seÑales de vida. He querido contraerme á sus autoridades, 3 mejor dicho á V. E., que no ha sabido aprovecharse de la buena disposici3n de esos Ciudadanos, ni esplotar su patriotismo acreditado de mil maneras. Cuando los principales Jefes de los pueblos dirigen á estos la palabra, y con su ejemplo exaltan el entusiasmo, rara vez se muestran apáticos en la defensa de sus derechos, y hacen con gusto toda clase de sacrificios para conservarlos; pero cuando esos mismos Jefes, no estan inspirados por sentimientos de patriotismo, enervan con su conducta el entusiasmo de los ciudadanos, y he aqui porque no aparecen las seÑales de vida.² No haga V. E. á los Zacatecanos el agravio de suponerlos capaces de negarse á concurrir con sus personas y con sus recursos á la defensa del territorio nacional. Advierta V. E., que no es una cuesti3n personal, ni de partido la que ahora se sostiene, sino una causa justa, santa, y que á todos Mexicanos interesa; de la cual depende no solamente su material bienestar, sino su existencia política, y el rango que á la naci3n le corresponde entre las demas del mundo civilizado. Desgracia lamentable seria, que esos Ciudadanos en momentos de tanta consecuencia, no se prestaran al llamada de su primera autoridad, ni oyeran el clamor de la Patria que llama en su socorro á todos sus hijos. No haga V. E. esa injusticia á sus paisanos, ni calumnie su buen nombre con suposiciones que distan

¹ Cierto.

² Santa Anna's purpose here was to cause a division between the governor and the people and force the former to act.

mucho de la verdad. Hábleles V. E., exítelos con el lenguaje del patriotismo, y ellos ocurrirán á su llamada é imitarán el ejemplo de sus hermanos de Guanajuato, Jalisco, Veracruz, Puebla, Michoacan, San Luis Potosí y otros Estados de la federación, que han enviado gran porcion de sus hijos al frente del enemigo,¹ para que tengan la gloria de contribuir á la salvación de la República. Estos son los envidiables testimonios de civismo que yo presento á V. E. para estimularlo á que coopere al buen exito de unua empresa, si bien costosa, bastante gloriosa. Aunque V. E. me manifiesta, que se han levantado en ese Estado algunos cuerpos de milicia nacional, yo no se que haya mas, que ciento y pico de infantes en San Miguel del Mexquital, fuerza muy insignificante respecto de su población y recursos. Dios no permita, que el enemigo logre apoderarse de ese Estado, pero si tal cosa sucediere V. E. conoceria entonces toda la concecuencia² de esa conducta que ha observado, y vería igualmente, que era mil veces preferible, que los Zacatecanos tomaran las armas para defender sus derechos, sus familias, y sus hogares á ser víctimas del vandalismo de unos inmorales invasores que atropellan no solamente los respetos humanos sino hasta templos donde se rinde culto y adoración al Dios de nuestros padres. Repito á V. E. que yo no quiero imposibles, y por eso mal podria pretender que se me remitieran recursos que no tiene ese Estado; he deseado únicamente que se haga lo que está en el Círculo de la posibilidad, y cuanto otra cosa no puede ser, al menos, que se cumpla la ley que habla del contingente de hombres, y que se hagan por la autoridad superior los esfuerzos posibles para mantener en todo su vigor el entusiasmo y el amor á la Patria. Antes de concluir esta comunicación permítame V. E. le haga notar la impolítica con que el periódico oficial de esa Ciudad fecha 13 del corriente se han promovido cuestiones semejantes á la que contiene la nota de V. E. que contesto. Debí advertir V. E. antes de mandar insertar una parte de mi oficio en el referido periódico, que se revelaba al enemigo no solo la escaces de recursos para hacerle una oposición vigorosa, sino tambien, que se la daba á entender la falta de patriotismo que envuelven semejantes cuestiones, cuando no debía haber otro sentimiento, que el de la unión y confraternidad y buena armonia con que todos debemos procurar la salvación de la República.³

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Diciembre 17 de 1846.*

¹ This was effective but not quite true.

² Consecuencia.

³ It can hardly be supposed that Santa Anna was able to compose a letter like this. No doubt he expressed some of the principal ideas (which he was fully capable of doing), but in all probability these were worked up and extended by one of the clever politicians in his train.

December 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Rodeado de veinte y tantos mil hombres que me piden diariamente que comer, vestuario para cubrir su desnudez, fusiles para su instrucción, y los artesanos empleados en diferentes obras sus jornales, á la vez que el Comisario me representa á tarde y á mañana, que no tiene recursos con que proveer á tantos indispensables gastos, confieso á V. E. que mi paciencia se agota, y mi espíritu se conmueve; porque se agolpan á mi imaginación las consecuencias, que de tales circunstancias pueden sobrevenir; todo producido á la verdad, del abandono en que el Gobierno tiene á este Ejército; permítaseme que asi llame á la falta de no proveerlo con oportunidad de los caudales indispensables para subsistir, de la ropa para vestirlo, y de las armas y municiones para batirse.

El presupuesto de este mes, importa cuatrocientos mil pesos, y no se ha remitido á esta Comisaría mas que la cuarta parte cuando ya estamos á los diez y nueve dias del mismo: Dejo á la consideración de V. E. cuantos habran sido mis compromisos en estos dias, para cubrir la primera quincena; basta decirle que he tenido que hacer uso de mi crédito particular para adquirir algunas sumas en clase de pronto reintegro, y que limitar á la tropa á su solo rancho. Porsupuesto que los talleres han tenido que paralizarse, y lo mismo digo de las obras de fortificación. El propio resultado han tenido los movimientos de tropa que debian verificarse; en fin, todo es trastorno y atraso.

No es posible que pueda subsistir así un Ejército en campaña con el enemigo. . . .

El conflicto que me rodea por tanto, en este momento me precisa á dirigirme á V. E. á fin de que recabe del E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo la providencia conveniente para que sin pérdida de momento se situen en esta Comisaría los tres cientos mil pesos que faltan para cubrir el presupuesto del presente mes; y me valgo de un extraordinario violento para que por el mismo conducto se digne V. E. comunicarme su resolución.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 19 de 1846.*

December 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 17 del corriente y por extraordinario me dice el Sr. Gral Dn. Isidro Reyes Comandante Gral de Zacatecas lo que sigue:

“E. S. A las 2 de esta tarde he recibido por extraordinario comunicaciones del Sr. Coronel Dn. Nicolas de la Portilla ¹ á que me acom-

¹ Nothing of importance is known of this officer.

pañá la que le dirigió el Jefe Político de Cuername¹ participándole que las fuerzas Norte Americanas que ocupaban á Parras, se habían movido y ocupado el Alamo de Parras (Villa de Viesca hoy) con una partida de 40 hombres, y el resto de toda su fuerza había pernotado á una jornada de este último punto. Si han continuado su marcha por Trancas, no hay duda que siguen á Cuername y que su objeto es el Estado de Durango: si al contrario se han dirigido á Atotonilco de los Martínez, no pueden venir más que á esta Capital,² y estas son sus miras positivamente según mi opinión. Yo previne ayer al Sr. Coronel Portilla se presentase en esta Capital, con el fin de alistarlos para que con el Regimiento de su mando marchase cuanto antes á Chihuahua á las órdenes del Sr. Gral Dn. Mariano Martínez según V. E. me tiene ordenado: mas con presencia de tales ocurrencias, y de lo más que ministran las comunicaciones oficiales y particulares que en copias marcadas con los números del 1 al 4 que respetuosamente acompañó á V. E. para su debida imposición, he creído de mi deber ordenar al referido Sr. Coronel Portilla que rectificando las noticias se ponga en marcha con la Sección de su mando si el enemigo se dirige á Durango, y que situándose en el Paso del Calvo,³ inutilice inmediatamente el aguaje único de que pueden proveerse y aprovechando⁴ lo ventajoso de su posición por ser una garganta bastante estrecha procure ostilizarlo⁵ de cuantas maneras le sea dable entretanto yo me ponga á la cabeza de ella con suyo objeto salgo mañana de esta Ciudad; pero que si dicho enemigo ocupando el Real de San Juan⁶ siguiese á Atotonilco de los Martínez como ya entonces no puede dudarse su venida á esta Capital, que en este caso retroceda con su fuerza, rumbo á San Agustín de Melilla, donde me encontrará para organizar allí la defensa del Estado. Este E. S. Gobernador, como único Auxilio que puede prestarme, me ha ofrecido cien Infantes de la Guardia Nacional y una pieza de 8 de las fundidas nuevamente en el Fresnillo;⁷ cuyo auxilio no me espero á llevar personalmente porque en este momento he mandado que se den siete quintales de pólvora de Cañon para que se construyan las municiones que deben servir á la referida pieza que me seguirá cuando esté listo. Para la defensa indicada, no cuento más que con cien Infantes, trescientos caballos del sexto,⁸ doscientos auxiliares y una pieza de á 4 que es de lo que se compone la Sección de San Miguel del Mesquiteal. Creo inútil mani-

¹ This and the other insignificant places here named lay between Parras and Buena Vista.

² The city of Zacatecas.

³ This place lay between the cities of Parras and Durango.

⁴ Aprovechando.

⁵ Hostilizarlo.

⁶ This and the places named just below lay as the text indicates, but were of little importance otherwise.

⁷ A town of some size.

⁸ Sexto.

festar á V. E. que sin embargo de este corto número de tropas, si los enemigos llegásen á avistarse, estoy seguro de que cuantos me obedecen sabran cumplir con su deber. . . .”

Apruebo este paso de V. E. asi como las medidas que ha dictado para hacer una buena defensa y las acertadas de aquel Jefe. . . .

Advirtiéndole que no provoque un lanze contra fuerzas superiores, sino que reduzca sus operaciones á inutilizar los caminos, destruir aguajes, pasturas y proviciones¹ de boca para mortificar al enemigo si el no las lleva; y en una palabra hacerle la mayor ostilidad² en guerrillas, si es imposible, ó riesgosa una batalla sin contar previamente con probabilidades de buen suceso.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 19 de 1846.*

December 22, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Muy reservado.

E. S. Habiendo sabido por diferentes conductos que el Gral Taylor, el dia 13 del corriente se movio desde Monterrey con dirección á Ciudad Victoria³ Capital del Estado de Tamaulipas con una fuerza de milquinientos hombres, y ocho piezas de artilleria: que en Monterrey ha quedado una Guarnición de igual número y que en Saltillo no pasa de mil hombres⁴ con seis piezas de artilleria lo que alli existe, á la vez que la División al mando del Gral Wool que se hallaba en Parras sigue su ruta hacia Chihuahua,⁵ he creido conveniente en tales circunstancias hacer un movimiento rápido sobre el Saltillo y Monterrey con nueve mil Infantes escogidos, y cuatro mil caballos y doce piezas de los calibres de á doce y ocho. Entre tanto que yo me dirijo en persona á ejecutar esta operación el Gral Valencia⁶ con mil quinientos caballos debiera entretener en Ciudad Victoria al Gral Taylor á fin de que desocupado los dos puntos que voy á atacar sobre la marcha, pueda seguir sobre aquel y concluir en detalle con las principales fuerzas de los invasores.⁷ No me embaraza otra que la consideración de la escases en que me voy á ver por el Saltillo y Mon-

¹ Provisiones.

² Hostilidad.

³ Taylor's forces left Monterey Dec. 13, 14, and 15.

⁴ Worth had more than 1,000 men, but his force was certainly weak.

⁵ In this Santa Anna, as we have seen, was mistaken.

⁶ Gabriel Valencia.

⁷ Gen. W. J. Worth, commanding at Saltillo, heard that Santa Anna intended to attack him, and notified Wool and Taylor. Wool left Parras almost instantly, and made an extraordinary march to join Worth. Taylor turned back with a part of the troops then on their way to Victoria. Santa Anna, who had begun his advance, gave up the plan on learning of Wool's movement.

terrey, si el Gobierno no me manda los docientos y pico de mil pesos. que faltan para el presupuesto del presente mes; y por lo mismo suplico encarecidamente al E. S. Gral encargado del S. P. E.,¹ que haciendose un esfuerzo extraordinario, venga del mismo modo ese recurso, para que pueda ejecutar ese movimiento dentro de tres ó cuatro dias á mas tardar, pues ya estoy preparandolo todo para emprenderlo.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 22 de 1846.*

December 22, 1846.

The Governor of Zacatecas, who has attacked me, was Governor in 1835 also, when a revolt occurred there and I had to occupy the place with troops.² He is endeavoring to get revenge. His misrepresentation of my orders caused the legislature of Durango to pass a decree on the 11th which infringes upon my dignity [*me deprime*] unjustly.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Señor. El Sr. Grál Don José Antonio Heredia en Jefe de la División de Operaciones de Nuevo México³ con fecha 7 del corriente me dice lo que copio.

“E. S. Considerando mas presisos en este Estado⁴ los servicios del Batallón del 7° Regimiento que se halla en el de Durango, dispuse su marcha á mi tránsito por Cerro-Gordo,⁵ mas para que pudiese emprenderla me ha sido presiso solicitar bajo mi responsabilidad un prestamo de mil quinientos pesos, que desde la Villa de Allende⁶ remiti al Sr. Comandante Grál⁷ quien á mi paso por Cerro-gordo, me manifestó que aquella Tesoreria no habia ministrado el mes anterior cantidad alguna, por lo que los Cuerpos de su guarnición carecian aun de los mas presisos para el mantenimiento del soldado; resultando por consecuencia, en dicho mes una escandalosa deserción. . . .”

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Diciembre 24 de 1846.*

¹ Santa Anna was elected president this very day, but of course did not know this.

² See note 1 on the letter of Dec. 17, 1846.

³ This name was given to his army in order to suggest that the Americans were to be driven from New Mexico.

⁴ Chihuahua.

⁵ There are two places of this name in the State of Zacatecas. Probably the one near Sombrete is meant. There is no Cerro Gordo in Durango.

⁶ Near Jiménez, State of Chihuahua.

⁷ Apparently the Comandante General of Durango.

December 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Muy Reservado.
E. S. Con fecha 17 del corriente me dice el jefe politico del Partido de Parras, del Estado de Coahuila lo que sigue:

“E. S. Las tropas de los E. Unidos del norte, han ocupado esta Villa desde el dia 5 del corriente. Inmediatamente que se introdujeron di cuenta al Gobierno del Estado como era de mi deber participándole ademas el número de que componian pues pude a veriguar con evidencia que no obstante que se decia venian de tres ó cuatro mil hombres, solo eran por todos mil ocho cientos veinte y tantos incluso los carreros.¹ Sus clases eran las siguientes cuatro cientos de linea, trescientos y tantos caballos y lo mas se componia de voluntarios de Tejas mal vestidos y reclutos al parecer. Traen tambien trescientos carros algunos vacios, y otros con provisiones de boca y guerra. Ocho piezas de campaña. A esta Fuerza deben reunirse trescientos hombres y ciento y tantos carros que vienen de Monclova y deben estar ahora en Patos. Hoy se han movido repentina y tumultuariamente² comenzando por el campo que estaba situado á muy corta distancia de esta Villa en una llanura que se halla al N. E. terminando en una serrania y empezaron á salir según se dice desde las once de la mañana. A la una de la tarde el mismo Grāl llamado Juan Wool hombre de avanzada edad y de buenas maneras entro á la plaza acompañado de su Estado Mayor y escolta con unos pliegos³ en la mano, y la momento parece dió orden de que salieran las tropas que estaban dentro de la población y acostumbraban venir diariamente en bastante número por tres ó cuatro horas al mercado que solia ser muy abundante porque traian bastante dinero en oro y plata, no obstante que ya empezaba á disminuir algo. Luego que expidió su orden el Grāl los Ayudantes y Soldados comenzaron á esparramarse por las tiendas dando en inglés la voz de “*Soldados al momento al campo.*” Luego se pusieron todos en grande alboroto corriendo á pié y á caballo sin cesar esta escaramuza que se formaba de oficiales y soldados, hasta las ocho de la noche. Diariamente á mas de una guardia de sesenta hombres que tenian en las casas consistoriales, recorrian los calles, pequeños patrullos de infantería para conservar el orden, por temor de los voluntarios que son en grāl de pésimas costumbres. De noche rondaban algunos patrullos de Caballeria á mas de los avanzados que tenian en todos los caminos sin dejar salir á nadie que no llevara pasaporte de esta Jefatura visado por el Grāl ó de este solamente. Con especialidad nogaban la salida á los efectos con pena de comiso, y si salian algunos

¹ We do not know just when this count or estimate was made. It may have been correct at the time.

² In consequence of news that Santa Anna was advancing upon Gen. Worth.

³ Presumably a letter from Worth.

era con permiso del Grál para los puntos que quería. Los entrantes eran desarmados y llevados al campo para reconocerlos sin omitir los de la mejor distinción. Pero desde que estalló esta alarma los patrillos se aumentaron con otras de Caballería al mando de oficiales dando mas realce¹ con esto á la grál confusión que se observaba en ellos con bastante gusto de los Mexicanos, pues salían á tomar sus armas y caballos apresuradamente hasta aquellos gentes que parece venían solo agregados á las fuerzas con miras mercantiles ó de conveniencia de esta especie. A esta hora ha cesado el rumor, se dice que quedarán algunas tropas guaraneciendo esta Plaza aunque en corto número probablemente.² La bandera de los E. Unidos que tenían colocada en las consistoriales donde antiguamente flameaba la de nuestra patria, la quitaron como á las cinco de la tarde, queda solo allí la guardia, no se hasta ahora en que numero pues temprano en la noche, se les observaba tráfico á los soldados como aprestandose para marchar. A las seis de la tarde parece que las fuerzas iban ya lejos, pues habían pasado de la Hacienda de San Lorenzo³ con anticipación y dicen llevaban por objeto llegar al Saltillo para mañana precisamente, cosa que dudo, por lo largo del camino y gran tren de la tropa. La gente de esta Villa parece alegre como descargada de un gran peso, pues se veía retraída y con bastante sentimiento pues no había punto donde no anduvieran los Americanos, y sobre todo la colocación de la bandera ocupación de toda la casa consistorial en donde ya no despachaban las Autoridades locales, y provisión⁴ que fuerza hacían de leña para el campo (aunque mediante paga) era cosa molesta para la población no se lo que pueda ocurrir en lo sucesivo, pero ofresco á V. E. quedar en observación para comunicarle cualquiera cosa nueva y lo mas que á V. E. convenga mediante sus ordenes, asi como con mas oportunidad, los males y quejas que se justifique haya habido. Ahora solo me apresuro á dirigirle este parte por lo que queda convenir á las altas disposiciones de V. E. . . .”

No me queda duda alguna de que la División enemiga al mando del Grál Wool ha contramarchado de Parras para el Saltillo, y aunque este acontecimiento liberta á Zacatecas, y á Durango de las hostilidades de esa fuerza, me impide poner en práctica la operación que tenía proyectada, y que comuniqué á V. E. en mi nota reservada del 22, poniéndome en el caso de combinar⁵ movimientos distintos, porque reforzado el Saltillo con 2,700 hombres, y 8 piezas de artillería, se ofrecen dificultades para un ataque violento que no se pulsaban cuando la fuerza que en aquel punto existía, no excedía⁶ de mil hombres.

¹ Realce.

² Probablemente.

³ A point on the road to Saltillo and Buena Vista.

⁴ Provisión.

⁵ Combinar.

⁶ Excedía.

Frustrado por tales motivos mi proyecto de batir en detall al Saltillo, Monterrey y aun al mismo Taylor que se dirige á Ciudad Victoria, de donde á esta hora debe hallarse muy cerca, procederé con arreglo á los avisos que mis espías me comuniquen, habiendo sin embargo hecho avanzar á Matehuala una Brigada de infantería que salió ayer de este Cuartel Gral. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 24, 1846.*

December 24, 1846.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ. News that the enemy are approaching Durango has been received.¹

December 30, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. E. S. Mañana es último dia del mes, y á estas tropas no se les ha podido completar sus haberes, porque solo se ma ha remitido de esa Capital ciento setenta y cinco mil pesos, importando el presupuesto economico cuatrocientos mil. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Diciembre 30, 1846.*

January 1, 1847.

Sinnott² came but could not work gratuitously, and as we have enough interpreters, he was not employed.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 4, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha 19 del ppo Diciembre me dice el Sr. Gral Don José Antonio Heredia en Jefe de la Division de operaciones sobre nuevo Mexico y bajo el no. 15 me dice lo que copio. . . .

A mi tráncito³ por la capital de Durango tuve una conferencia con el E. S. Gobernador relativa á mi comisión en ambos Estados y S. E. me manifestó que apesar de las angustias que en aquel territorio habian causado los Bárbaros; cuyas repetidas invasiones en gran número tenian que repeler, pondrian á mi disposición cuatrocientos ó quinientos hombres de su guardia nacional, cuando en alguno de los dos

¹This report was unfounded.

²Sinnott had offered to assist in seducing the Irish Roman Catholics of Gen. Taylor's army, and the Mexican government had sent him north for that purpose.

³Tránsito.

Estados tuviese que batir á las fuerzas norte-Americanas; siendo este el único auxilio que podria prestarme. En seguida marché á Cerro gordo donde se hallaba el Sr. Comandante Grál con todas sus fuerzas y S. S.¹ me manifestó que la guarnición de aquel Estado la componian el Battallon del 7º Regimiento constante de 140 plazas, el 1º Escuadron activo de ciento treinta y cuatro, con su caballada casi inútil, asi como sus monturas en la mayor parte sin el completo de estas, asi como de Carabinas y lanzas, para toda su fuerza desnuda en su totalidad, el 2º Escuadron Activo que se compone de noventa plazas y un piquete de 20 hombres del 1º Regimiento de Caballeria y que de todo S. S. habia dado parte con repetición al supremo Gobierno; así como tambien de las escases que padecia aquella guarnición, hasta el extremo de no haber tenido ni rancho la tropa en algunos dias del mes anterior; que en todo el Estado habia trece companias auxiliares² de que no podia hechar mano, apesar de la escases de tropa para perseguir á los Barbaros, que como nunca lo tenian invadido por todas direcciones, por no tener con qué socorrerlas siquiera. En este³ estado existen las fuerzas siguientes: el Batallon Activo con cuatrocientas plazas, un piquete del 2º Regimiento de Caballeria con cincuenta y tres, cinco Companias presidiales permanentes con cuatrocientos sesenta y cinco y dos id activas con doscientos nueve que hacen la fuerza total de un mil ciento treinta y cinco hombres, de los que estan en el Paso del Norte á las ordenes del Tente Cõrl Don Gavino Cuilti⁴ ciento ochenta de Infanteria y trescientos veinte de Caballeria, cuatrocientos hombres de ambas fuerzas en Santa Rosalia á las ordenes del Sr. Comandante Grál Don Mauricio Ugarte⁵ y el resto en esta capital.⁶ Toda la fuerza expresada está desnuda en su mayoria, y la caballeria casi á pié, pues la Caballada se ha inutilizado en la constante persecución de los barbaros.⁷ Se han inutilizado en la posición del E. S. Gobernador⁸ cuatro piezas de artilleria de á cuatro y el parque necesario para estas y para fusil; dichas piezas estan servidas con tropa de Infanteria por carecer de artilleros, y como ademas de las expresadas se estan construyendo otras seis, hace notable falta un Capitan y dos subalternos del arma que den la instruccion correspondiente.

¹ Su Señoría.

² Militia of an inferior grade.

³ Chihuahua.

⁴ Nothing of moment is known of him except that on the plea of brain fever he took flight from El Paso del Norte when the Americans under Doniphan approached that place.

⁵ Ugarte, Comandante General of Chihuahua during the autumn of 1846, made some futile movements toward the Americans then in New Mexico, but achieved only promises and threats.

⁶ Chihuahua City.

⁷ The Indians, particularly the Comanches and the Apaches, had been committing great ravages in the State.

⁸ Angel Trías.

Aunque en todo este Estado podrian alistarse mas de cuatro mil hombres de la guardia nacional, solo se cuentan en la Capital ciento cincuenta fusiles para la Infanteria y cien carabinas para la caballeria; único numero de fuerzas de que podrá disponerse en un caso urgente; la que apesar de la escases de tropa no puede mantenerse sobre las armas, por falta de recursos; pues siendo los mas, artesanos y jornaleros, se hace preciso socorrerlos á lo menos, cuando esten en activo servicio porque de lo contrario no podrian subsistir pero si estan todos obligados y asisten con puntualidad á tres ejercicios semanarios. Solo se cuenta para todas las atenciones militares de este Estado segun informe del Sr. Comisario con 14 mil quinientos pesos á la vez que los vencimientos de las tropas y otros gastos indispensables ascienden á mas de veinticinco [mil] pesos; de manera que no puede atenderse á todo con la debida oportunidad. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 4 de 1847.*

January 4, 1847.

The Sixth Regiment, now at the capital, is to come here.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 4, 1847.

Enclosed is a letter (with documents) from Eduardo Gonzales¹, Vice Governor of Coahuila, dated Dec. 29. [The letter says: *á la vez de ocuparme constantemente en reclamar á los respectivos gefes la multitud de ultrajes² que por diferentes motivos han recaido sobre mis compatriotas no hé descuidado en participar á V. E. lo mas notable de estos así como los movimientos que ha hecho el Ejército invasor.³* One man received a ball.]

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 6, 1847.

Letters have been taken from a United States messenger. The most important one (duplicate) is from Major General R. Patterson to the Assistant Adjutant General at Monterey. [It is as follows: Matamoros, December 12. Rough weather "for many days past" has entirely cut off communication between Brazos Island⁴ and the Rio Grande by water, prevented the passage of Boca Chica⁵ by wagons, and prevented steamers from coming up the river

¹ González. He wrote from Saltillo.

² Undoubtedly the American Volunteers did commit many outrages in spite of all that Gen. Worth could do. Worth himself so stated. The main trouble was that Gen. Taylor would not use the needful severity. Scott did much better.

³ It will be noted that González, permitted by the Americans to stay at Saltillo and exercise his functions, repaid them by acting as a spy. When one of his letters was intercepted, Worth read him a rather severe lecture.

⁴ Off Point Isabel, Texas.

⁵ A shallow strait between "Brazos Island" and the mainland. Later it was bridged.

as far as Matamoros. I cannot count on enough wagons to march before the 20th.¹ I hope then to send three regiments on successive days. In many places there is not enough water (it is said) for all to go together. There will be about 1,700 men: Tennessee horse, 650; Third Illinois foot, 550; Fourth Illinois foot, 450; Sappers and Miners, 60. Pillow² has returned in better health and will go with me. I hope to be at Victoria in 13-15 days.³ The men and the horses are in good condition, and can probably average 16 miles a day.]

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 7, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. No habiendo tenido ni contestación á mis comunicaciones de 30 del ppdo y 1º, 2 y 4 del corriente en que he manifestado bien claramente, que este Ejército se encuentra en el mayor abandono, y que no existe ni un peso para sus socorros, me veo en el indispensable caso de anunciar á V. E., que si á la vuelta de este extraordinario no se mandan las cantidades necesarias á esta Comisaría, publicaré inmediatamente un manifiesto á la nación, que la instruya de cuanto debe saber en el particular.

Hoy estamos á siete del mes, y los cuerpos no reciben ni un peso por cuenta del presupuesto de él, cuando ademas no se ha cubierto mas de la mitad del pasado; de manera, que de prestado y con mil afanes se buscan cada dia los ranchos para que el soldado no perezca de hambre ó se deserte huyendo de ella. . . .

Para que tal situación no ceda en mi descrédito, procederé al paso indicado, como único medio legal que me queda. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 7 de 1847.*

January 12, 1847.

Ten bronze cannon, etc., were saved from Tampico.⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 13, 1847.

By the law of January 11 "the national representation has proved [*acreditado*] its patriotism."⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ This refers to Patterson's march from Matamoros to Victoria, where he joined Gen. Taylor, who had moved from Monterey.

² Brig. Gen. Gideon J. Pillow.

³ He reached Victoria Jan. 4, 1847, the same day as Taylor.

⁴ When Parrodi evacuated the city.

⁵ Santa Anna refers to the law which gave the government power to use fifteen millions of Church property.

January 13, 1847.

In reply to the government's circular about repressing every attempt to make a disturbance in consequence of the law regarding ecclesiastical property, I would say that no such danger exists in this army. If anything is attempted here, I will take the necessary steps to prevent its effects.¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 14, 1847.

The enemy have embarked about three hundred men and several cannon at Tampico to join their squadron off Vera Cruz, probably intending to attack Vera Cruz or Alvarado.² Send an express to the Comandante General of Vera Cruz instructing him to be on the lookout.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 19, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Urgente.

E. S. Acerca del estado de miseria en que se halla este Ejército por el abandono en que se le tiene. Hice presente á V. E., que ya no era posible sobrellevar esta situación, y que de ella necesariamente deberian seguirse males de gran trascendencia; asi ha sucedido, y los primeros efectos que se estan notando, son los de la deserción que se verifica diariamente á bandadas, no siendo estraño, que el Ejército en muy pocos dias se disuelva de este modo, si no es que antes, la idea que se ha generalizado, y debe proceder de los enemigos del orden, de que el Supremo Gobierno con estudio lo tiene en este abandono, ó la desesperación que causa el hambre y la miseria, produzcan otros males de mas gerarquia³ y de incalculables consecuencias.⁴

A las angustias expresadas, faltaban las que naturalmente producen las especies vertidas en algunos periódicos de esa Capital, sin duda con perverso designio. En cartas anonimas, y aun en articulos de fondo se dice, que este Ejército *se mantiene en inaccion propor-*

¹ Finding the law extremely unpopular, Santa Anna soon changed his tone. It was suspected that, besides wishing to obtain funds, he had wished this blow at the Church to be struck, so that the prelates would have to make terms with him for protection. The acting executive (Santa Anna could not legally act as President while in command of an army), Valentín Gómez Farfás, the vice president, was an honest radical with whom they could make no bargain.

² A small town lying about sixty miles by the road southeast of Vera Cruz, near the mouth of Alvarado River. The harbor at that place was of value for small vessels; the remains of the Mexican navy were there; and the upper country on the banks of the stream was rich in horses, mules and cattle. Two attacks upon Alvarado had already been made. Another seemed, therefore, probable, and in fact it occurred at the beginning of Apr., 1847.

³ Jeraquífa.

⁴ Santa Anna doubtless had reference to a revolt.

*cionando asi ventajas al enemigo, porque hay un convenio para que este no sea atacado.*¹ Los que así afrentan á la Patria, y á sus mejores servidores, contribuyen tambien á hacer mas penosa su situación. Pero no es tan estraña la conducta de esos malos Mexicanos, como lo es, que el organo ofical² no hable nada sabiendo como sabe el Ministerio, el motivo porque aquel no se mueve. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Enero 19 de 1847.*

January 22, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. He recibido la nota de V. E. fecha 18 del actual, en que de orden del E. S. Vice-Presidente³ me manifiesta haberse librado por ese Supremo Gobierno las ordenes competentes al Sr. Comisario grál de este Estado⁴ para que se ponga en practica la ejecucion del Decreto de 11 del corriente expedido por el soberano Congreso nacional sobre ocupación de bienes de manos muertas.⁵

Permítame V. E. que le diga desluego, que semejante paso ni debe considerarse como auxilio para el ejército, por que su inoportunidad lo hace inútil. La ejecucion del Decreto citado debe empezarse en esa capital, donde la presencia de la autoridad suprema, y su prestigio harán que no se entorpezca la marcha del asunto; y estoy en la firme creencia de que en ninguno de los otros estados surtirá su efecto, si la capital no da el ejemplo. Agrégase á esto, que las legislaturas de Mexico, Puebla y Querétaro han presentado iniciativas para la derogación del expresado decreto, y que esto debe haber infundido desconfianza, y presentado por consiguiente nuevas dificultades para su realización. Pero entre tanto este Ejército se halla en la mas com-

¹ The public had become informed to some extent of the negotiations that had taken place in July, 1846, between Santa Anna and the American government with reference to his regaining power in Mexico and making peace. He was therefore accused by many of acting in collusion with the United States, and such incidents as the evacuation of Tampico were thought to confirm their belief.

² The *Diario*. The precise reasons for its silence on this point cannot positively be stated; but for one thing it is clear that to admit that the army had not been supplied with funds would have given great assistance to the many implacable enemies of the government.

³ Valentin Gómez Farfás, now acting as president.

⁴ The State of San Luis Potosi.

⁵ A vast amount of real estate mortgaged to the Church. As neither debtor nor creditor expected the loan to be paid up, this property virtually belonged to the Church. There was practically no land tax in Mexico, and hence, as the property used for religious purposes was exempt, the Roman Catholic Church, which was believed to hold the greater part of the wealth of the country, bore a very small share of the costs of the war, although—since absorption in the United States would have extinguished its exclusive privileges—the war was carried on in a special sense for its benefit. The prelates showed little inclination to contribute liberally, and hence it seemed necessary to lay hands upon some of the Church's wealth. But the law of Jan. 11 proved substantially a dead letter, and before long, after making an arrangement with the clergy, Santa Anna had it repealed.

pleta indigencia, y abandonado á ella por el Gobierno. Y hace un mes que este se instaló, y no ha enviado hasta ahora ni un real para las tropas. . . .¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 22 de 1847.*

January 22, 1847.

Reservada. Beach,² editor of the *New York Sun*, has gone from Havana to Vera Cruz as an agent of the United States to bring about peace.³ So I hear by private letters from Havana that came by the last packet. He has no official commission,⁴ but full powers,⁵ and will not spare money. "His mission so prejudicial to the interests and the honor of the Nation."

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 23, 1847.

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Apesar du su⁶ estremada subordinación no seria extraño unu desorden promivido por la falta de alimentos, desorden que desvandaria⁷ estas tropas, y con ellas se perderia hasta la última esperanza de salvación.

Así es que entre perderla y con ella nuestro honor, ser político, sagrada religión y libertad individual, ó tomar dinero de donde lo haya, creo que V. cuya prudencia es notoria, la Nación y el Universo, desidirán⁸ lo que deba preferirse.⁹

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 23 de 1847.*

AL SR. DIRECTOR DE LA CASA DE MONEDA DE ESTA CIUDAD.¹⁰

January 26, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Urgente.

E. S. Con asombro noto que el ministro de Hacienda ha resuelto dejar en el abandono y en la desesperación á este Ejército de quien depende hoy la suerte de la Patria. Desde que se instalo la actual

¹ Farfás was sincerely patriotic and anxious to support the war; but he was beset with the most serious difficulties, and probably, too, desiring to reduce the wealth of the Church as one way to curb its power, he was not sorry to have the necessities of the army and the demands of Santa Anna as arguments for the passage of such a law as that of Jan. 11, and therefore did not make all the efforts he might otherwise have made to raise money by the usual methods.

² Moses Y. Beach.

³ This information was correct. Beach conferred with high Roman Catholic dignitaries in Cuba, and presumably the facts were derived from them.

⁴ He had a commission as a special agent but not as a diplomatic representative. The mission was most secret.

⁵ This statement is entirely too strong.

⁶ This word refers to Santa Anna's army.

⁷ Desbandaría.

⁸ Decidirán.

⁹ Subject to variations in form, this was the standard Mexican formula used in justification of what amounted to a seizure of property by military force.

¹⁰ The letter in the Guerra y Marina archives is a copy.

administración, no ha remitido un solo peso á esta comisaria, y tal conducta en las actuales circunstancias, es criminal; protesto pues contra ella ante la nación, por las consecuencias que pueda producir. Se me ha puesto en el caso de mandar ocupar noventa y ocho barras de plata que se acuñaban en la casa de moneda de esta ciudad, como verá V. E. por la copia adjunta, teniendo que garantir á los dueños con la cesión que hago de todos mis bienes para que de ellos sean satisfechos, por si el gobierno no lo hiciere. He contraído otras mas deudas sobre mis dichos bienes, y seguramente de esta vez quedaré arruinado para siempre, pues he comprometido toda mi fortuna¹ y hasta la de mis hijos, antes que poder ser indiferente á la suerte de estos beneméritos soldados. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Enero 26 de 1847.*

January 29, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. . . . La conducta observada por el Gobierno no tiene ejemplo en la historia.² . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 29 de 1847.*

¹ This is not to be taken literally, of course. Besides, his great wealth had been obtained by robbing the people of Mexico, and in the event of failing in his present undertaking he was almost sure to lose at least a large part of it.

² This has reference to its failure to supply Santa Anna with funds. It seems worth while to present the defence of the government against Santa Anna's principal accusations: the failure to send him money and the neglect of Vera Cruz:

E. S. . . . El Gobierno no desconoce la posición de V. E., pero tambien no debe serle estraña la que el mismo Gobierno guarda hoy, porque falto hasta ahora de caudales bastantes para sus grandes y multiplicadas atenciones. El remedio del Erario lo funda en el cumplimiento de la Ley de 10 del actual [date of one stage in the passage of the law regarding Church property]; pero por desgracia ésta ha tenido trabas que al ejecutivo no le ha sido posible superar hasta hoy, porque los interesados en el manejo de los bienes eclesiásticos, han puesto en acción todo el poder de la intriga, usando hasta del respetable nombre de V. E. y su descaro ha llegado hasta el extremo que aseguran que si bien creyo V. E. esta medida como salvadora de la Nación ahora la considera como ineficaz [ineficax] y viciosa. . . .

Afortunadamente la citada Ley ha sido publicada en la mayor parte de los Estados, sin que halla habido mas que ligeras conmociones en esta Capital, y en las de Querétaro y Puebla sin una oposición tenaz, por parte de los reverendos Obispos y Cabildos eclesiásticos, mas que por la del Reverendo Obispo de Michoacan, que ha protestado contra la medida de una manera sumamente fuerte y amenazante [amenazante] al Congreso. . . .

Ahora sobre los enemigos exteriores, podrá acaso V. E. contener los movimientos que intentan hacer sobre las costas de Veracruz, para despues pretender apoderarse de aquella plaza.

El ejecutivo en desempeño de sus obligaciones y para estorbar que llegue tan infortunado caso, ha dispuesto, como se le tiene ya dicho á V. E. formar una División de seis mil hombres que á las ordenes del bizarro Grál Don Romulo Diaz de la Vega, marchará en los primeros dias del proximo mes de Febrero. . . .

Ademas de esta División, el E. S. Vice Presidente interino [Santa Anna and Farfás were interim officials because not elected at the regular time] se ocupa de formar otra de reserva, para atender á los puntos que quedan ser atacados por las tropas Norte Americanas. . . . [Circumstances—particularly a revolt at Mexico—prevented the government from carrying these plans into effect.]

Enero 30 de 1847. Al E. S. Presidente into de la Republica, Benemerito de la Patria y Grál en Jefe del Ejército de Operaciones Don Antonio López de Santa Anna.

February 2, 1847.

E. S. En estos momentos que son las diez de la mañana, parto de esta ciudad¹ con el objeto de alcanzar al ejército de mi mando, cuya retaguardia salió de aquí el 31 del pasado, y aunque como he dicho á V. E. anteriormente, va desprovisto de toda clase de recursos, le sobra entusiasmo y decisión² por sacrificarse an las aras de la Patria.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, 2 de Febrero de 1847.

February 9, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. En el *Diario del Gobierno* del 29 del ppdo, he visto una exposición que con fecha del dia anterior habia pasado ese ministerio al Soberano congreso nacional, manifestando la necesidad de recursos en que se encuentra este Ejército, y ofreciendo presentar las iniciativas convenientes para remediarla.

En un documento de tanta importancia, y en el que por su naturaleza debiera cuidarse de no incurrir en equivocación, debe haberme sido sorprendente la aserción de que *se han mandado recientemente treinta y cinco mil pesos á la comisaria de San Luis*, cuando á nadie mejor que al Supremo Gobierno consta que no se ha hecho tal remesa,³ y que para la manutención de las tropas y preparativos del movimiento que se ha efectuado, he tenido que hacer desembolsos, comprometer mi crédito y arbitrar otros medios como me ha sido posible, sin recibir ni un solo peso de la Tesoreria Grál de la nacion. En tal virtud, ruego á V. E. se sirva rectificar ese acerto⁴ por medio del mismo *Diario*, pues de no hacerse, pudiera darse á entender que mis continuos reclamos han sido exajerados⁵ é injustos, sufriendo por tanto mi reputación. . . .

Tambien ha llamado mi atención que se diga en el mismo documento, que este Ejército tendrá suficientes recursos poniendo en ejecución el decreto sobre bienes de manos muertas en los Estados de San Luis, Guanajuato y Zacatecas, puesto que tales recursos son illusorios por las razones que ya he manifestado al Supremo Gobierno por conducto de ese mismo Ministerio.

Por tanto, espero tambien que estas dificultades se hagan públicas, á fin de que no se crea que este Ejército ha podido hallarse en un estado próspero mientras he tenido que sacrificarme para sostenerlo

¹ On his march to the battlefield of Buena Vista.

² Decisión.

³ At this time the government was standing at bay and fighting for its life.

⁴ Aserto, i. e., aserción.

⁵ Exajerados.

y hacerlo operar, pues el Gobierno sabe que en el mes de Diciembre solo mandó á la Comisaría ciento setenta y cinco mil pesos, y que si se ha cubierto medio presupuesto del mes de Enero, se debe á los auxilios que yo he procurado de la manera que dejo indicada. . . .

MATEHUALA, *Febrero 9 de 1847.*

February 11, 1847.

E. S. Hoy continúo mi marcha para el Saltillo, y lo mismo hace el Ejército de mi mando, que en divisiones avanza segun lo permite la cruda estación, y la miseria que se experimenta naturalmente por desiertos, cuando no hay ni dinero, ni raciones: la baja por enfermos es considerable por aquellos motivos.

El enemigo en número de seis á siete mil hombres¹ con veinte piezas² de Artilleria, se ha situado en Agua Nueva,³ tal vez con el designio de esperarnos alli, ó de avanzar á encontrarnos. El Gral Taylor manda en persona esta fuerza.

Dentro de diez ó doce dias⁴ se dará una batalla. . . .

MATEHUALA, *Febrero 11 de 1847.*

February 17, 1847.

E. S. Por los adjuntos documentos se impondrá V. E. que el Grál Taylor ha reconcentrado sus fuerzas en la Hacienda de Agua Nueva distante de este punto veinte leguas⁵ cuyas noticias ratifican mis espías hasta esta hora, y no cabe duda en que se prepara aquel Grál á una batalla, y que presentará en ella de siete á ocho mil hombres con mas de veinte piezas de Artilleria.

Por mi parte he tomado todas las medidas convenientes para batirlo en su campo el dia 21 del corriente, y tal vez cuando llegue esta nota á manos de V. E., habrá tenido lugar un gran hecho de armas, cuyo resultado será para la patria de incalculables consecuencias. . . .

Las tropas de mi mando marchan con entusiasmo y con deseo de revindicar el honor de nuestras armas: ni las privaciones, ni las fatigas de una marcha penosa, y ni los elementos que parecen conjurados contra nosotros,⁶ pues algunos dias hemos tenido que caminar sobre la nieve, entivian,⁷ su ardimiento.

¹ In fact about 4,750.

² Taylor had fifteen cannon on the field at Buena Vista.

³ About twelve miles south of Buena Vista, which was about six miles from Saltillo in the same direction.

⁴ In fact eleven days, which shows that in this case Santa Anna calculated surprisingly well.

⁵ About fifty-two miles.

⁶ The weather was in fact terribly trying—now cold, now hot, now stormy.

⁷ Entibian. The boast was well grounded.

Los que suponian, que por este rumbo nada tenia que hacer el ejército de mi mando, varán muy pronto, que para dar opinion sobre materia que no se entiende es necesaria alguna circunspección.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN SALVADOR,¹ *Febrero 17 de 1847 á las 10 de la mañana.*

February 23, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. En un momento de lugar, y ahora que son las siete de la noche, participo á V. E. para que se sirva hacerlo al E. S. Vice-Presidente de la Republica que el Ejército de mi mando, despues de una penosa marcha por el largo desierto que media desde el Cedral hasta akui,² ha tenido que sostener una batalla de dos dias contra el Ejército de los Estados Unidos del Norte, al mando del Grál Z. Taylor, compuesta de ocho á nueve mil hombres, con 26 piezas de Artilleria.³ Ambos Ejércitos han peleado con encarnizamiento y desesperación.⁴ Hoy comenzo la acción á las seis de la mañana, y ha concluido al ponerse el sol.⁵ El campo esta sembrado de cadaveres y la sangre ha corrido á torrentes. Iban quedado en nuestro poder dos banderas que tengo el honor de remitir á V. E. con el portador, tres piezas de Artilleria, dos del calibre de á seis y una de á cuatro, con sus dotaciones de municiones, y cuatro carros; aquellas con sus tiros de caballos, y aunque no se ha decidido la batalla, puedo asegurar á V. E., que cuantas veces se ha disputado el terreno, ha quedado por las tropas de la República,⁶ como lo acreditan los trofeos indicados; mas de dos mil cadaveres de los enemigos,⁷ endidos en el campo de batalla y varios prisioneros, cuyo número no se hasta esta hora.

Por mi parte tengo el sentimiento de manifestar á V. E. que entre Grales, Jefes, Oficiales y Tropa, habremos perdido entre muertos

¹ The situation of this place, now a station on the railroad, is indicated by Santa Anna in the first sentence of this letter.

² In fact nearly all of the march beyond Matehuala, more than 100 miles, lay through a desert region.

³ Santa Anna now felt it necessary to exaggerate still the numbers opposed to him. However, that is a common practice with commanders and soldiers. And it is possible after all that he believed the statement, for the American guns were moved from point to point during the battle with such remarkable celerity that they well might have seemed more numerous than they were.

⁴ This statement was true.

⁵ Owing to the high mountains that walled in the valley of Buena Vista sunset came early. The battle ended at about five o'clock.

⁶ This was not correct, but the Mexicans did repeatedly force portions of Taylor's army to fall back. In fact only one of his regiments kept its face to the enemy all day, Feb. 23.

⁷ A gross and no doubt intentional misstatement. As the Mexicans were finally driven from the field they were unable to count or intelligently estimate the number of Americans killed. In killed, wounded and missing Taylor lost about 666.

y heridos, segun se calcula, cosa de mil hombres,¹ lo que hara conocer á V. E. lo reñido del combate, en dos dias continuados. En una de las primeras cargas de este dia, fué herido y muerto mi caballo de un metrallazo.²

La fuerte posición del enemigo lo ha libertado de una completa derrota³ pues muy pocas horas antes de mi llegada á este punto, se retiró del campo de Aguanueva, donde se hallaba, por noticias que tuvo de mis movimientos,⁴ y se situo en este lugar, que forma un puerto y puede compararse al célebre paso de las Termópilas; pero el enemigo debe haber conocido en estos dos dias, que ni la aspereza de las montañas, ni lo fuerte de las posiciones, ni sus ventajas, sean las que fueren, detienen al soldado Mexicano cuando pelea en defenza de los derechos de su patria; estos soldados son dignos de toda consideración, y yo puedo gloriarme de decir que estoy á la cabeza de un Ejército de héroes, que no solamente sabe combatir con brabura,⁵ sino sufrir el hambre y la sed por cuarenta horas continuadas, como lo he visto, porque asi lo ha exigido el servicio de la Nacion. Lo unico que affige en estos momentos mi situación, es no tener ni una galleta, ni un poco de arroz siquiera,⁶ para alimentar á tanto herido, pues con solo carne hemos pasado estos dias; y ya se verá la razon que he tenido en quejarme, por el abandono en que se ha tenido á este Ejército dos meses y en decir, que no es posible hacer la campaña con buen exito sin proveer al Ejército, con cuanto la Guerra exige. Pienso, por tanto, trasladar mañana temprano mi campo á Aguanueva, tres leguas distante, para proveerme de alguna menestra⁷ que debe haber llegado á la Hacienda de la Encarnación;⁸ y si logro hacerme de lo necesario y me alijero de los heridos, que tanto entorpecen los movimientos, volveré á cargar, no obstante haberseme abierto mi herida⁹ por la fatiga que me ha producido andar á caballo doce horas en cada dia. . . .

CAMPO EN LA ANGOSTURA SOBRE BUENAVISTA, *Febrero 23 de 1847.*

¹ The figures should probably have been about 1,800.

² This appears to have been a fact.

³ This opinion was correct, but it reflects credit upon Gen. Wood, who selected the field of battle.

⁴ He could have said "retired precipitately."

⁵ Bravura.

⁶ This was substantially true.

⁷ Merely a pretext. The supplies could have been sent forward to the army. Probably the real reason for retreating was that his army was on the point of breaking up.

⁸ About 55 miles from Saltillo on the road to San Luis Potosí.

⁹ In consequence of a wound received in fighting a party of French troops at Vera Cruz in 1838 one of Santa Anna's legs had to be amputated near the knee. The stump may easily have been made sore by his riding about on the rough ground during the battle.

March 21, 1847.

TO GENERAL VALENTÍN CANALIZO.¹

"Having arrived in this city to assume the reins of government² . . . [I direct] you [to] send your corps³ by arrangement with the chief of the insurgents to their quarters and take back the arms given to the people."⁴

GUADALUPE DE HIDALGO.⁵

April 4, 1847.

"The shameful surrender" of Vera Cruz.⁶

MEXICO.

April 6, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. El día de ayer llegué á esta Hacienda despues de haber forzado la marcha cuanto me fué posible: mañana trasladaré á Corral Falso⁷ y Cerro Gordo⁸ con el objeto de reconocer aquellas posiciones⁹ y dictar todas las medidas conducentes para que se activen todas las obras de fortificacion que alli se practican. En Corral falso situaré por ahora el cuartel Grál. Tengo el sentimiento de manifestar á V. E. que el pavor que se apoderó de los soldados que compusieron la guarnicion de Veracruz ha dado lugar á relaciones exageradas acerca del bombardeo que sufrio aquella plaza, y estragos causados por los proyectiles del enemigo siendo esta la razón del decaimiento del Espiritu de los habitantes del Estado y muy particularmente de la Guardia Nacional que con pocas excepciones¹⁰ ha abandonado sus puestos fugandose vergonzosamente. De luego á luego he dictado una circular, para que todo desertor que sea aprendido de los cuerpos permanentes, Activos o de la Guardia Nacional que

¹ A native of Monterey, Mexico, and one of Santa Anna's most faithful, if not most intelligent, followers.

² Owing to the insurrection (in large measure caused by the attack upon Church property) which broke out at Mexico near the end of February, 1847, chaos reigned at the capital. Congress ceased to assemble, but a large number of the members requested Santa Anna to take possession of the Presidency, to which he had been elected in December, as the only way to restore order. He therefore hastened to the capital.

³ Canalizo commanded the military forces of the government.

⁴ Farfías was the chief leader of the democratic party, and in this crisis had the support of the populace at Mexico. He therefore put arms into their hands.

⁵ A suburb of Mexico.

⁶ Vera Cruz surrendered to Gen. Winfield Scott on Mar. 27 and was occupied by the Americans two days later. From a military point of view it did not have to yield so soon. Many of the people remaining in the town, and through them a considerable number of the soldiers and officers, had become demoralized by the American bombardment; this added to the failure of the central government (which was paralyzed by the insurrection at Mexico) to send aid hastened the surrender.

⁷ A pass on the National Highway, about thirteen miles below Jalapa.

⁸ A hamlet about five miles below Corral Falso.

⁹ Posiciones.

¹⁰ Excepciones.

perteneían al Ejército de Oriente,¹ sea pasado por las armas irremisiblemente con arreglo á ordenanza. He dictado otras medidas y para que se reunan en el cuartel Grál las milicias del Estado, como para que se envíen peones é instrumentos de zapa para los trabajos de fortificación.

Teniendo hoy el sentimiento de manifestarle que ecsaustas² del todo los arcas del estado³ y las de la comisaria de Jalapa; careesco en lo absoluto de medios para ocurrir al mantenimiento de estas tropas, y a todos los gastos que demanda la defensa del país. La Brigada que vino de Puebla al mando del Sr. Grál Pinzón,⁴ carece de socorro desde ayer pues solo sacó para ocho días.

Yo he dado de mi bolsillo quinientos sesenta pesos para comprar brines y ojas de lata con objeto de que se construyan cartuchos y botes de metralla en la fortaleza de Perote con parte de la polvora que conduce la Brigada del Sr. Grál Rangel⁵.

La falta de una fuerza competente en el puente Nacional⁶ para defenderlo con buen éxito obligó al E. S. Grál D. Valentin Canalizo a disponer su evacuacion repligando las cortas fuerzas que allí habia a la cañada de Cerro gordo. He aprobado esa disposicion ordenando se traslade la Artilleria allí existente a dicho punto de Cerro gordo donde voy a establecer la primera linea, ya por ser un lugar a proposito para hacer una buena defensa, como por la dificultad de ser flanqueado, circunstancia de que carece al puente Nacional. El Sr. Canalizo habia determinado que se inutilisase⁷ la Artilleria pero yo he dispuesto que se salva a toda costa.

No puede V. E. tener idea del decaimiento del Espiritu publico y del desorden y desconcierto en que he encontrado todos los ramos merced a la profunda sensacion que han causado los ultimos sucesos de Veracruz. Mi presencia en el estado ha alentado los Animos y no escuso medio de los que estan a mi alcance para que renasca el entusiasmo y cooperen todos los Ciudadanos a la defensa del territorio nacional estando dispuesto a hacer ejemplares severos contra los apáticos o flojos en el cumplimiento de sus deberes.

Hoy se me ha dado aviso de que una Division enemiga⁸ avanza sobre el Puente Nacional. y si pasare de este limite esté seguro el

¹ An extemporized army, commanded by Gen. Canalizo, that occupied several positions on the National Highway above and below Jalapa.

² Exhaustas.

³ The State of Vera Cruz, the capital of which was Jalapa.

⁴ Luis Pinzón, a mulatto born at Acapulco, Mexico, was considered a good officer. He commanded a position at the battle of Cerro Gordo.

⁵ Nothing can be said regarding the antecedents of Gen. Joaquín Rangel. He was leading a brigade from Mexico. It left that city on Mar. 28.

⁶ A long, high bridge of cut stone, one of the finest monuments of the Spanish period, which enabled the National Highway to cross the Antigua River, here a swift mountain stream.

⁷ Inutilizase.

⁸ That of Gen. David E. Twiggs.

Supremo Gobierno de que se le opondra una resistencia obstinada. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRĀL EN EL ENCERO *a 6 de Abril de 1847.*

April 7, 1847.

News was received from Vera Cruz yesterday. I have no doubt the enemy is providing two Divisions to advance to the capital "which is today their principal object." One is to march via Córdoba and Orizaba;¹ the other will come this way, and has already set out. Let the government provide for the defence of the capital. I can attend only to this road. If the brigades arrive in time from San Luis Potosí, the government can provide for the other road. Unless the government sends money "with the velocity of lightning [*rayo*]" all will be lost, and "in no way do I consider myself responsible for any bad result."

ENCERO.

April 7, 1847.

"There is not a single grain of powder at Perote nor in the army."² "If the Government does not send quickly [*a la ligera*]" 200 quintals³ of this article, the war cannot be carried on.

ENCERO.

April 11, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Grāl en Jefe.

É. S. Con fecha de hoy digo al Sr. Grāl Dn. Manuel Arteaga⁴ lo que sigue: "Contesto al oficio de V. S. fecha de ayer en que me comunica que por orden del Supremo Gobierno se dirigia á ocupar con la Brigada de su mando las cumbres de Aculzingo manifestándole; que como quiera que mis convinaciones militares las he formado contando con esa Brigada que hace dias debia estar en marcha para este Cuartel Grāl prevengo a V. S. que del punto en que lo encuentre esta comunicaci3n, tome la direcci3n de Perote 3 Jalapa donde recibirá mis ulteriores ordenes; siendo de la responsabilidad de V. S. la menor demora en el cumplimiento de esta disposicion, pues el enemigo desde esta mañana está á la vista de mis posiciones con fuerzas superiores, y trata de hacer un grande esfuerzo para abrirse paso á la capital de la República."

¹ Well-known cities near the coast on the direct railroad from Vera Cruz to Mexico.

² No doubt an exaggeration.

³ The quintal was a hundredweight.

⁴ An officer commanding troops raised by the State of Puebla.

Tengo el honor de trasladarlo á V. E. manifestándole: que por haber dictado el Supremo Gobierno al Gral Arteaga la disposicion indicada se han seguido trastornos a mis convinaciones militares, y Dios quiera que no tengamos que deplorar por ello algunas desgracias.

CERRO-GORDO, *Abril 11 de 1847.*

April 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. He conseguido fortificar del mejor modo posible los principales pasos y establecido dos lineas de defenza sostenidas por treinta y cuatro piezas de artillería seis mil infantes y dos mil caballos,¹ prometiéndome un buen resultado si el enemigo que se halla en el Plan del rio² y diariamente se tirotea con mis avanzados, llevare al cabo su intentona de forzar el paso.

Sirva á V. E. de gobierno que toda la fuerza del enemigo se ha dirigido para el Plan del rio á donde se halla, y por lo mismo, no debe temerse nada por el rumbo de Orizava; sin embargo, es necesario prevenir al Sr. Gral Dn Antonio León³ que se dirija á aquel punto y fortifique el del Chiquihuite,⁴ conservando su fuerza en Córdoba⁵ como le he prevenido.

La escases de numerario me pone en mil dificultades,⁶ pues estas tropas me piden sus socorros y yo no puedo subministrárselos; y á no ser por algunos viveres con que auxilia á este Ejército el E. S. Gobernador del Estado⁷ y por el ganado que hago conducir de mi hacienda del Encero, y con que contribuyo gustoso, estos soldados que han detenido la marcha del enemigo habrian perecido.

Es preciso que vengan violentamente docientos mil cartuchos de á 19 adarmes;⁸ que se aligere la marcha de los docientos quintales de pólvora que pedí con urgencia en mis notas anteriores y que se le repitan ordenes al Gral Arteaga para que se me incorpore á este Ejército, por ser sumamente necesario.

CERRO GORDO, *April 13 del 1847.*

¹ His forces in the battle of Cerro Gordo probably numbered at least 10,000.

² Plan del Río, a hamlet lying on the National Highway about five miles below the hamlet of Cerro Gordo.

³ Antonio León, an officer commanding a brigade of militia from the State of Oaxaca.

⁴ A naturally strong position near Córdoba on the road from Vera Cruz to Orizaba.

⁵ Córdoba.

⁶ By the date of the battle of Cerro Gordo (Apr. 18) Santa Anna had funds enough, but he may not have had on the 13th.

⁷ Juan Soto.

⁸ In 1847 this was the preferred calibre for Mexican army muskets, though muskets of other calibres were used.

April 17, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe. Parte.

E. S. He manifestado á V. E. para que se sirva hacerlo al E. S. Presidente sustituto,¹ que con la mayor premura fortificaba estas gargantas² para contener el paso del invasor, que ansiaba por llegar á Jalapa para proseguir su marcha á la Capital de la República, y que con mil afanes y en medio de la escases de todo, habia logrado el principal objeto.

Hoy á las doce del dia ha comenzado el enemigo por atacar³ una de mis posiciones en el cerro del Telégrafo,⁴ y he tenido que sostener una lucha de cuatro horas⁵ contra la mayor parte de sus fuerzas mandada en persona por el Gral Scott⁶ habiendo logrado rechazar á este con grande pérdida,⁷ pues ha dejado en el campo porción de muertos y heridos. Por mi parte han resultado un oficial y veinticinco soldados muertos y ciento veintidos heridos de todas clases.

Según se advierte los esfuerzos de los invasores continuaran mañana y la lucha sera encarnizada, porque las tropas de mi mando estan desididas⁸ á sacrificarse en el servicio de su Patria. Las posteriores ocurrencias las comunicaré á V. E. por extraordinario.

Es de necesidad que el Gobierno Supremo auxilie á este Ejército con dinero, y con todos los recursos que le fuere posible, y tan ejecutivamente como se necesita. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN CERRO GORDO, *Abril 17 de 1847.*

April 25, 1847.

I hear that 10,000 Americans are landing at Mocambo⁹ and will move directly toward Jalapa without going to Vera Cruz.

ORIZABA.¹⁰

¹ In order to eliminate Farías, who had failed to give general satisfaction as executive but under the constitution would have resumed automatically the duties of that office on Santa Anna's returning to the army, the vice-presidency was abolished by Congress. Hence a substitute president, Gen. Pedro M. Anaya, born in Mexico in 1795, was chosen by Congress when Santa Anna was about to take the field against Gen. Winfield Scott.

² Particularly the pass just below the hamlet of Cerro Gordo and that at La Hoya above Jalapa.

³ Twiggs unexpectedly encountered a small Mexican post while marching to gain the rear of Santa Anna's main position.

⁴ The key to the Mexican position near Cerro Gordo. A few Americans attacked it, but without orders to do so.

⁵ This was a struggle for the possession of a hill named La Atalaya, which stood over against El Telégrafo.

⁶ Neither Scott nor "the greatest part of his forces" was present. The Americans were commanded by Twiggs. Scott did not intend to fight at this time. He was merely aiming to place his troops in advantageous positions.

⁷ The loss in killed and wounded was probably about 100 to 150 on each side.

⁸ Decididas.

⁹ A name applied to the beach opposite the island of Sacrificios and about three miles from Vera Cruz. Scott's army had landed there on Mar. 10. Santa Anna's information that 10,000 Americans were landing there was incorrect.

¹⁰ After losing the battle of Cerro Gordo Santa Anna fled to Orizaba.

April 27, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. La escandalosa conducta de algunos Jefes y Oficiales de Ejército de Oriente, que no solo fueron los primeros en voltear la espalda al enemigo; ¹ sino ir difundiendo el terror hasta esa Capital hace preciso una medida fuerte de parte del Supremo Gobierno, y yo pido expresamente que todo Jefe ú Oficial que en el término perentorio de veinticuatro horas, no salga ² á incorporarse á este Ejército ó presentarse al Gral en Jefe en los dias que el Gobierno le señale quedará por este hecho sin empleo y se le expedirá su licencia absoluta, llevandose á puro y debido efecto, sin consideración alguna á esta disposición.

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZABA, *Abril 27 de 1847.*

April 27, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones do Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. Desde que me encontraba en esa Capital á la cabeza de Gobierno, ³ dispuse se ordenase al Gral Dn Ignacio Mora y Villamil en Jefe del Ejército del Norte, que remitiese á la mayor posible vrebidad 4 piezas de á 16 y trescientas tiendas de campaña y como no halla sabido si dicho Gral a dado cumplimiento á esta disposición he de merecer á V. E. se sirva decirme donde se hallan estos materiales; y si han llegado á esa Capital, que se disponga la continuación de la marcha hasta Tehuacan. ³

Como en Sn. Luis Potosi hay una existencia de mas de cincuenta piezas de artilleria, y por este rumbo no ha quedado casi ninguna de regular calibre, soy de opinión, que se libren ordenes por extraordinario al Sr. Gral en Jefe del Ejército del Norte para que ponga en camino inmediatamente á demas de las de á 16 que se le han pedido una bateria de á 12 y 8, y para que no halla demora en esto. seria bueno que el Supreme Gobierno haga salir carros que conduzcan estas piezas, porque en Sn Luis no ha de haberlos.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZBA, *Abril 27 de 1847.*

¹ Santa Anna refers to the battle of Cerro Gordo.

² From Mexico City.

³ On his return from Buena Vista.

⁴ Born in Mexico and now about fifty-six years old. During this war he was the chief of the military engineers, but when Santa Anna left northern Mexico after the battle of Buena Vista he appointed Mora commander of the Army of the North.

⁵ Tehuacán, a town of some importance some thirty or forty miles southwest from Orizaba.

April 28, 1847.

Let the ammunition detained at Puebla come to me.¹

ORIZABA.

April 28, 1847.

Yesterday the enemy advanced from Perote to Tepeyahualco about 2,000 infantry, with eight light cannon.² About 3,000 remain at Perote.³

ORIZABA.

April 29, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

Exmo Sr. No he podido oír con indiferencia ciertas especies vertidas en Perote por el Gral de Brigada Dn. Juan Morales, con relación al suceso de cerro gordo. Este Jefe se hallaba arrestado en la fortaleza de aquel punto con los de su clase los Sres Landero⁴ y Durán,⁵ entre tanto se sustanciaba la causa que el Supremo Gobierno es mando instruir; y prevalido de las ocurrencias del día 18 del presente, se ha marchado para Puebla,⁶ en donde se encuentra paseándose, despues de haber escandalizado con sus murmuraciones en el mismo Perote, y en su transito hasta la Ciudad referida. Ha llegado á mi noticia, que á la entrada en aquel Pueblo⁷ de la Caballería dispersa, á la que iban agregados muchos Jefes y Oficiales de infantería, el Gral Morales montado en su caballo andaba de corrillo en corrillo, de casa en casa con aire de triunfo, sembrando por todas partes la insubordinación y el desorden, aumentando con comentarios ridículos las exageraciones de los que en estos casos hechan mano de frívolos argumentos para conectar⁸ su miedo y su cobardía y manifestando sin recato y sin pudor alguno cierta espresión⁹ que por ser tan frecuentes entre sus labios, ha podido sin reserva llegar á mis

¹ Some ammunition on its way from Mexico to Santa Anna stopped at Puebla in consequence of his losing his army at the battle of Cerro Gordo.

² This refers to a brigade of Gen. Worth's division, which Scott had thrown forward rapidly in pursuit of the Mexicans after the battle of Cerro Gordo. Tepeyahualco was a small place about fifteen miles beyond Perote in the direction of Puebla.

³ Worth's division numbered in all about 2,330.

⁴ José Juan Landero of Vera Cruz.

⁵ José Durán, a veteran officer, had commanded the fortress of Ulúa during the siege of Vera Cruz, and, allowing himself to be persuaded by Morales that he was under the orders of the commander of the city, permitted the surrender of the latter to carry with it the surrender of the fortress. Probably the reason for this apparently astounding performance was that the people of Vera Cruz saw that the guns of Ulúa would soon be firing upon them, should that fortress remain under Durán's command after the Americans should take possession of the city.

⁶ A city of about 80,000 population some sixty or seventy miles (by road) southeast of Mexico.

⁷ The town of Perote lay near the fortress of that name.

⁸ This almost illegible word seems to stand for "conectar," and the meaning may be "frivolous arguments to make a bridge from fear to cowardice."

⁹ Expresión.

oidos. *Ahora veremos quien le forma su causa*¹ al Gral Santa Anna es lo que constantemente predica el Gral Morales, sin pararse en medio alguno para detractarme, pretendiendo enbileser² mi nombre y mi reputación con cierta especie astutamente propagada por los enemigos de la República de que mi persona comete traición contra los sagrados derechos de la Patria. Yo presindo³ de vindicar aquí mi conducta como soldado y como ciudadano Mexicano, por no ser este el objeto de la presente nota; y porque mis hechos como tal pertenecen á la historia y no á mis enemigos personales, y solo me concreto á significar á V. E. que siendo la conducta del Gral Morales en extremo pernicioso,⁴ no tan solo por lo que llevo manifestado, sino que siendo él la causa principal ó la consecuencia precisa del suceso mismo de Cerro Gordo (que en mi concepto ha debido complacerle), me parece que el Supremo Gobierno debe tomarla en consideración para ordenar si lo encuentra por conveniente que el expresado Gral continúe arrestado en la Ciudadela de México, y que su fiscal el Sr. Gral Dn. Gregorio Gómez,⁵ que se halla hoy en Puebla, prosiga la causa que se le ha mandado formar, hasta que sea vista en consejo de guerra de Sres. Grales, agregándose á ella la presente nota, como se lo suplico al E. S. Presidente sustituto por conducto de V. E.

Como Gral de División del Ejército Mexicano, interesado en su buen nombre, y por el mejor servicio de la patria, pido en toda forma que la conducta del Gral Morales se ponga en tela de juicio respecto de la entrega al enemigo de las Plazas de Veracruz y Ulúa presentando á la vez rendidas y prisioneros de guerra sus beneméritas guarniciones, cuando la tropa ni aun descargaba sus fusiles y manifestaba deseos de combatir; cuando la plaza no habia sufrido asalto alguno, ni se habian inutilizado ni perecido las dos terceras partes de la tropa que las guarnecía; cuando, en fin, la de Veracruz no tenia abierta brecha practicable por donde el enemigo pudiese intentar el asalto.

Así que, la conducta del Gral Morales es cobarde y traidora bajo cualquier aspecto que se considere. Veracruz y Ulúa tenian viveres y municiones,⁶ y no hay duda que pudieran resistir hasta mi llegada con las tropas que iban⁷ en marcha y en su auxilio, que ciertamente no ignoraba el Gral Morales, porque se lo habia comunicado el Comandante de Batallón de la Guardia Nacional de Jalapa Dn. Juan de la Mata⁸ que se introdujo en la plaza para llevarle auxilios

¹ Bring formal charges.

² Envilecer.

³ Prescindo.

⁴ Perniciosa.

⁵ Little is known of this man except that he was one of the worst types of the Mexican officer.

⁶ This appears to have been true.

⁷ Iban.

⁸ Nothing is known of this officer.

pecuniarios.¹ No ignoraba que cada dia que prolongase la defenza conseguiria un triunfo, porque al enemigo se le disminuian considerablement sus fuerzas con la enfermedad de la fiebre y el vómito,² en tanto que la estación adelantaba; no ignoraba igualmente, que á la llegada del auxilio que yo mismo conducia, ese enemigo, devilitado³ por sus bajas y anonadado por la constancia de los de la Plaza, debia ser batido por su retaguardia.

Para evadirse de esto el Sr. Morales comprometio al Gral Dn José Juan Landero, á fin de que se encargara del mando,⁴ y que bajo su nombre se consumara la fatal entrega, pasando en seguida á Ulúa á comprometer al honrado Gral Durán para que rindiera aquella fortaleza, convenciéndole primero de que no era mas que el Comandante Militar de ella, debiendo por tanto someterse á lo que el Comandante gral del Estado le preceptuase.⁵ Vease por esto la parte principal, y sin duda alguna exclusiva,⁶ que el Gral Morales ha tenido en el hecho á que voy refiriéndome, cuando hypócritamente pretendio cubrir su crimen con la entrega que hizo del mando al sencillo Gral Landero. Porque aun cuando la plaza de Veracruz careciera de recursos para prolongar su defenza, claro es que quedaba al Gral Morales el de abrirse paso por entre el enemigo con cinco mil hombres de que constaba su guarnición despues de dejar provista de viveres la fortaleza de Ulúa.

Pelear y ser vencido, no es por cierto deshonra en los anales de la Milicia; pero pelear para ser humillado, lo reprueban el honor, las leyes de la guerra, y la civilización del siglo en que vivimos.

Las guarniciones de Veracruz y Ulúa han pasado por las horcas caudinas. Cada individuo fué entregando sus armas y sus banderas, y después se toco fagina para que los Cuerpos se dispersasen y marcharan como pudieran al interior de la República, resultando de esto un desvandamiento⁷ escandaloso, robos y exesos⁸ que cometieron los soldados, y el pánico que á la vez esparcian por todos los pueblos del trancito⁹ con la fatal noticia de que ivan afectados.

La consecuencia de todo debió ser muy funesta para la nación, y aun ese mismo suceso de Serro¹⁰ Gordo que tanto parece ha complacido al Gral Morales, es una de ellas, y por consiguiente un cargo

¹ Mata certainly did this.

² The season of yellow fever was at hand, and cases probably occurred before Vera Cruz surrendered to Scott.

³ Debilitado.

⁴ When it became clear that Vera Cruz would surrender, Morales, who doubtless knew what he had to expect from Santa Anna's hostility against him, turned the command over to Landero and left the city in a boat. Landero then surrendered.

⁵ This appears to be a verb derived from "precepto," precept.

⁶ Exclusiva.

⁷ Desbandamiento.

⁸ Exesos.

⁹ Tránsito.

¹⁰ Cerro.

mas que le resulta, porque siendo su señoría Comandante Gral del Estado, debió fortificar con anticipación aquella importante garganta,¹ cumpliendo asi con uno de sus deberes como Gral, al tiempo mismo que con las ordenes y prevenciones terminantes del Supremo Gobierno sobre el particular. Si el punto de Serro Gordo se hubiera fortificado, como era debido, yo me habria encontrado con este apoyo, y el enemigo probablemente no lo hubiera llegado á tomar, pues aunque me posecione² de el y me decidi con un puñado de hombres á disputarle el paso, cuando el enemigo salia de Veracruz con dirección á Jalapa, no fué posible en 8 das³ y sin operarios hacer obras que requerian necesariamente mas tiempo⁴ y mas tranquilidad: bastante se hizo en tan pocos dias como es constante; mas no de manera que los puntos quedaran bien asegurados, cuando apenas hubo lugar de atender á las avenidas principales, de cuya circunstancia supo aprovecharse⁵ el enemigo. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZABA, *Abril 29, 1847.*

May 12, 1847.

TO GENERAL JOAQUÍN REA.

Ejército de operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

Conociendo la eficacia de V. S. y el celo por el bien del servicio nacional he tenido por conveniente comisionarlo para que inmediatamente marche á Tlapa⁶ con el objeto de reunir todas las fuerzas permanentes Activas y de Guardia Nacional que existen en aquella demarcación y en las subprefecturas de Acatlán y Chautla, con cuyas fuerzas regresará V. S. á incorporarse á este ejército de mi mando. Igualmente autoriso á V. S. para recoger cuantas armas y caballos utiles de todas aquellas demarcaciones para remontar los cuerpos de caballeria del Ejército y cuantos efectos de guerra existen en las mismas poblaciones. . . .⁷

PUEBLA,⁸ *Mayo 12 de 1847.*

AL GRAL JOAQUIN REA.⁹

¹ Morales had not the means of doing this, and until Santa Anna arrived upon the ground it was not known at which of several eligible points (one of them stronger than Cerro Gordo pass) he would decide to make a stand.

² Poseslone.

³ Santa Anna was on the ground Apr. 7.

⁴ This was true. Santa Anna displayed remarkable energy and accomplished a great deal. But the real secret of his failure was a lack of judgment rather than a lack of time.

⁵ Aprovechase.

⁶ This and the towns named below were small places at the southern end of the State of Puebla or nearby in the State of Guerrero.

⁷ Santa Anna believed in taking what he desired wherever he found it.

⁸ Santa Anna had just arrived from Orizaba with what troops he had been able to collect.

⁹ Rea was the principal guerrilla chief in this quarter.

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Según los partes que he recibido hasta esta hora que son las 9 de la noche, la División de vanguardia del enemigo compuesta de cuatro mil hombres debe dormir esta noche en Amozoc,¹ la División del centro compuesta de mil quinientos en ojo de Agua,² y la retaguardia compuesta de igual fuerza según algunos datos, deberá salir de Jalapa de viernes a Sabado de la presente semana.³

Desde Nopalúcan⁴ dirigió ayer el Grál Worth al E. S. Gobernador⁵ del Estado la comunicación⁶ de que acompaño á V. E. copia y habiéndome dado cuenta con ella, le indiqué que contestase, que hallándome yo aquí, á mi es quién debía dirigirse.

Como ya he dicho á V. E. la fuerza y elementos con que cuento no son suficientes para comprometer una batalla con el enemigo con probabilidades de buen exito; y por eso he determinado salir el dia de mañana para San Martin Tsemelucan⁷ con las tropas de mi mando divididas en brigadas, y sistemando todo con el orden que corresponde.

PUEBLA, Mayo 13 de 1847.

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha de ayer dije al E. S. Gobernador del Estado lo que sigue.

“E. S. Al llegar á esta ciudad he leído con la mayor sorpresa y disgusto consiguiente, el bando que el dia 29 del pasado publicó en esta ciudad el prefecto Dn. José Sánchez prescribiendo las reglas que debe observar la población cuando el Ejército enemigo entre á esta misma Ciudad.⁸”

He determinado que se abra un juicio al funcionario indicado para que responda de su conducta ante los tribunales competentes. . . .

PUEBLA, Mayo 13 de 1847.

¹ A manufacturing town of considerable size on the road from Jalapa and Perote to Puebla, and ten or eleven miles from Puebla.

² Ojo de Agua, a point between Tepeyahualco and Amozoc, where there was a very large spring.

³ This part of the American army, commanded by Gen. Twiggs, left Jalapa on May 22.

⁴ A rather important town on the same road about thirty-six miles from Puebla.

⁵ J. R. Isunza.

⁶ In this communication Gen. Worth announced that he was about to occupy Puebla, and expressed a wish to confer with the authorities previously, so as to arrange matters amicably.

⁷ A town about twenty miles from Puebla on the direct road to Mexico.

⁸ Santa Anna had reason to protest against the proclamation, for it showed no disposition to oppose the Americans. The authorities of the State and city had in fact arranged to receive our forces amicably.

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de operaciones de Oriente. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. . . . La proclama¹ que el Grál Scott dirige á la nación mexicana, la cual por su estilo parece escrita originalmente en Castellano² y no traducida del yngles. Ojalá que no sea cierta la sospecha que abrigo de que sea redactada por algun mexicano de esos que han contribuido con sus escritos y con sus hechos á enconar á los mejicanos unos contra otros, y á llevar á la nación al lastimoso estado en que hoy se encuentra.

Esa proclama de Scott está escrita con la mas refinada hipocrecia³ y con la mas infame perfidia. Es el mayor de los insultos que se puede hacer al pueblo Mexicano, á quien se pretende adormecer para hacerlo presa de la ambición de esa Nación⁴ enemiga de nuestra raza, cuando por otra parte no tiene embarazo en proclamar por la prensa y en documentos oficiales que viene á hacernos una guerra de conquista.

Ya se ve, ese escrito está en armonia con algunos de los que han visto la luz pública en esa Capital en los últimos dias, que con razón los han juzgado los mexicanos sensatos, mas perjudiciales por la ponzoña que encierran, que la pérdida de una batalla.

Pero en medio del encono que demuestra tener contra mi el Gral Scott, me honra demasiado, cuando dice *que ellos se equivocaron al juzgar de mis verdaderas intenciones⁵ y que por eso me permitió su Gobierno regresar á mi pais.* En efecto V. E. los Estados unidos se engañaron cuando creyeron que yo sería capaz de traicionar á mi patria. Antes que tal cosa sucediera, preferiría ser quemado en una hoguera y que mis cenizas se esparcieran para que de ellas no quedara ni un solo atomo.⁶

PUEBLA, Mayo 13 de 1847.

May 15, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. . . . El enemigo pernoctaba en Amozoc y yo me preparaba para pasar á situarme en este pueblo con las tropas de mi mando, el dia de ayer. En efecto, la infantería y la artillería salieron para este lugar; pero la caballería la reservé para hacer un movi-

¹ A proclamation dated May 11 and issued at Jalapa (House exec. doc. 60, 30th Cong., 1st sess., p. 968).

² This conjecture was correct. The proclamation proceeded from Mexican and clerical sources.

³ Hipocresia.

⁴ The United States.

⁵ Intenciones.

⁶ It is doubtless true that in giving the United States to understand that he was likely to make peace, should he regain power in Mexico, Santa Anna believed that it would be for the advantage of his country to terminate the unequal contest.

miento, con el ánimo de sorprender un convoy de cerca de docientos carros que caminaba custodiado con muy poca fuerza¹ á unirse á la primera división² del ejército enemigo, llevando el movimiento el doble objeto de desafiar á este, para que saliendo de Amozoc á un terreno conveniente, se librase una batalla.

El convoy que llevo referido pernoctó el dia 13 en Nopalucan, y yo calculé que aunque saliere muy temprano, lo encontraría mas acá de Acajete³ en el punto en que el terreno se presta para a manioobra de la caballeria, pero sin duda la circunstancia de venir al cuidado de muy poca tropa, obligó al Jefe de esta á salir precautoriamente á media noche, de manera que á las ocho y media de la mañana hora en que yo flanqueaba á Amozoc para tomar el camino real, ya el convoy estaba muy proximo al pueblo, en un callejon cubierto con árboles de un lado y otro que lo defendian de los ataques de mi tropa. Sin embargo, el enemigo⁴ temeroso de que el convoy fuera tomado, destacó inmediatamente en su auxilio una fuerza como de mil infantes y seis piezas de artillería, con las cuales hizo un vivo cañoneo sobre mi columna, que impávida prosiguió su marcha hasta una legua mas allá de Amozoc, en cuyo punto determiné contramarchar á Puebla á donde llegué á las cuatro y media de la tarde en el mejor orden.⁵

Toda la poblacion de esta hermosa Ciudad se conmovió al entrar mi división dando señales del mas vivo entusiasmo. Yo tuve trabajo para caminar, porque millares de ciudadanos me rodeaban victoreando á la independenciam y á la República y pronunciando palabras que esplicaban el odio que profesan á nuestros invasores.⁶

En estos momentos, diversas sensaciones tuvo mi corazon, porque veia á un pueblo animado que me pedía con empeño armas para defenderse, dando las mas patentes señales de amor á la libertad de su patria; y porque reflexionaba en la responsabilidad que han contraido, los que, pudiendo, no han sacado todo el partido posible de la buena disposición de ese mismo pueblo.⁷ Lo que ha faltado en aquella ciudad, Sr Exmo, son hombres que lo muevan en provecho de la causa nacional.

¹ Under Gen. John A. Quitman.

² Gen. Worth's.

³ Between Amozoc and Nopalucan.

⁴ Gen. Worth.

⁵ Santa Anna's account of this affair is not entirely correct. He nearly surprised Worth's division at Amozoc, for that general had neglected to post guards and send out patrols; but the fire of the American artillery quickly scattered the Mexicans. They re-assembled, however, and proceeded against Quitman: but Quitman, who had in fact set out early so as to reduce the distance between himself and Worth, had been warned by the noise of the firing, and, assisted by a detachment promptly sent to his aid by Worth, presented so imposing a front that Santa Anna gave up the idea of attacking him.

⁶ It is quite possible that impressionable Pueblans acted about as is here stated; but in reality that city disliked Santa Anna deeply, and he knew it.

⁷ Santa Anna refers to the State and city authorities, who had in fact an understanding with the Americans.

Prosiguiendo el hilo de la narración que hacía de la operación militar, tiré á V. E. que aunque el guia que me conducía por haber equivocado el camino, nos condujo á tiro de metralla del pueblo de Amozoc y flanqueamos completamente ese pueblo, dando á entender al enemigo con este atrevido movimiento el desprecio con que lo veíamos. Él no se resolvió á alejarse del lugar en que tenia todo su apoyo, una vez que vió asegurado el convoy; y tanto yo como todos mis subordinados nos regresamos con el sentimiento de que el enemigo no hubiera admitido nuestro reto en campo raso. La pérdida que tenemos que deplorar en esta función de armas es la de tres soldados muertos y un herido y cuatro caballos muertos.¹

No obstante que se sabia que el enemigo debia moverse muy temprano para Puebla, yo quise que la División de Caballería pernoctase anoche en la misma ciudad y al amanecer de hoy emprendió su marcha para este Pueblo, al que llegué yo igualmente esta mañana.

SAN MARTIN TESMELUCAN, *Mayo, 15 de 1847.*

May 16, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. Desde ayer hasta hoy que son las ocho de la noche, no ha ocurrido otra cosa digna del conocimiento del Supremo Gobierno, que haber ocupado el Enemigo á la ciudad de Puebla en numero de cinco mil infantes, doscientos caballos,² rece piezas de artilleria y cuatro cientos carros, y segun los partes que he recibido, aquella populosa ciudad se movio toda en plazas y calles balcones y ventanas para presenciar la entrada de los invasores. Una persona que llevo esta mañana y habló con un Jefe enemigo me ha informado que aquel le aseguró que dentro de un mes se pondrian en marcha para esa capital, despues de haber recibido un gran refuerzo. . . .

Las guerrillas que dije organizadas en tierra caliente cerca de Veracruz atacaron al destacamento que existía en Santa Fé, compuesto de cincuenta hombres, á quienes pasaron á cuchillo, apoderandose de sus armas, caballos, equípos y algunas otras cosas.³ Estas operaciones aunque en pequeño son las que mas daño pueden hacer al enemigo y por eso he tomado tanto empeño para que por todas partes por donde Aquel se encuentre se organicen partidas ligeras que lo hostilicen á todo trance.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN SAN MARTIN, *Mayo 16 de 1847.*

¹ American reports made his loss considerably larger.

² The Americans numbered less than 4,000.

³ An affair of this general kind did take place.

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OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1918

IN TWO VOLUMES
AND A
SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME

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THE YEAR 1918

OF THE ASSOCIATION

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VOL. I

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1919.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1918.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. G. ABBOT, *Acting Secretary.*

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ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum, at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

ART OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The art of anthropology is a science that seeks to understand the human mind and behavior. It is a multidisciplinary field that draws on psychology, sociology, and biology. The goal of anthropology is to understand the human condition in all its complexity. This involves studying the physical and cultural aspects of human life. Anthropologists use a variety of methods to collect and analyze data, including fieldwork, laboratory experiments, and archival research. The art of anthropology is a challenging and rewarding pursuit that offers a unique perspective on the human experience.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
July 30, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1918. The report is in two volumes (and a supplemental volume), of which the second volume constitutes the Fourteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, being the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States. The association is indebted to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress for the copying and editing of this important document.

The first volume of the report contains, in default of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the association which was abandoned because of the epidemic of influenza, the business transactions of the executive council, the address prepared by the president of the association, Dr. William Roscoe Thayer, to be read at the meetings of December, 1918, and a group of papers, together with an interesting document, relating to American agricultural history. It is thought that this last contribution will be particularly appreciated in view of the growing importance that is being attached to all phases of American economic history, and especially to agricultural history, a field heretofore almost unexplored, yet one of particular significance.

The final part of the first volume contains a directory of the American Historical Association, which is at the same time to all intents and purposes a directory of the historical profession in America.

The supplemental volume contains a bibliography of Writings on American History during the year 1918, compiled by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin.

Respectfully,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

HON. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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VOLUME II.

Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick.

SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME.

Writings on American History, 1918, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin.

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CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

V.

There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI.

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such com-

mittees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

VII.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

BY-LAWS.

I.

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II.

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III.

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in By-law II.

IV.

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

The officers elected at the annual meeting of the Association for the year 1911 are as follows:

II

The following members of the Association were elected at the annual meeting held at the Hotel Hamilton, New York, on the 17th day of December, 1911:

President: Dr. W. M. G. F. Smith
 Vice-President: Dr. J. H. ...
 Secretary: Dr. ...
 Treasurer: Dr. ...
 Members: Dr. ...

III

The annual meeting of the Association was held at the Hotel Hamilton, New York, on the 17th day of December, 1911.

IV

The Association authorized the payment of travel expenses to the members of the Association for the purpose of attending the annual meeting of the Association.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress,
January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 29, 1917.

(Continued in office to December, 1919.)

PRESIDENT :

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D.,
Cambridge.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A.,
French Embassy.

SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER :

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D.,
Detroit.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.

CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
(Deceased, Dec. 31, 1918.)

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
(Ex-Presidents.)

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,
Boston, Mass.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D.,
University of Chicago.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,
Cornell University.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

(Elected Councillors.)

SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D.,
Indiana State University.

LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D.,
Vassar College.

HENRY E. BOURNE, L. H. D.,
Western Reserve University.

GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., F. R. S. C.,
University of Toronto.

HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D.,
University of California.

WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D.,
University of Chicago.

WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D.,
Vanderbilt University.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 1, 1917.

(Continued through 1919.)

PRESIDENT:

JOSEPH M. GLEASON, A. M., S. T. B.,
Palo Alto, Cal.

VICE PRESIDENT:

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, PH. D.,
University of Washington.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,
University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

ROBERT C. CLARK, PH. D.,
University of Oregon.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME, M. A.,
University of Idaho.

WALDEMAR C. WESTERGAARD, A. B., M. L.,
Pomona College.

EDNA H. STONE, A. B.,
Oakland, Cal.

EXHIBIT

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.
GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.
GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT., 1899.
EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1913.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D. 1914.
H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1915.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1916.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1917.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS.

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
†HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT. 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.

†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.

†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1912, 1913.

†H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D., 1916, 1917.

SECRETARIES.

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1900.

†A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

TREASURERS.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884-1917.

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1917—

CURATOR.

†A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1918.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.

†CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.

†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.

EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.

†WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.

†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.

†RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.

JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.

†ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.

†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.

†GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.

JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.

†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.

†JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.

†H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.

†EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.

†MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.

†PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., L. L. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.

HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.

EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.

†EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.

†GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.

†REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.

WILLIAM MacDONALD, Ph. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
MAX FARRAND, Ph. D., 1907-1910.
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, Ph. M., 1907-1910.
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph. D., 1908-1911.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph. D., 1908-1911.
FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., Ph. D., 1909-1912.
EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.
JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.
FRED MORROW FLING, Ph. D., 1910-1913.
HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, Ph. D., 1911-1914.
DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911-1914.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Ph. D., 1912-1914.
JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, Ph. D., LL. D., 1912-1915.
FREDERIC BANCROFT, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913-1915.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Ph. D., 1913-1916.
EUGENE C. BARKER, Ph. D., 1914-1917.
GUY S. FORD, B. L., Ph. D., 1914-1917.
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, Ph. D., 1914-1917.
LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D., 1915-
SAMUEL B. HARDING, Ph. D. 1915-
HENRY E. BOURNE, A. B., B. D., L. H. D., 1916-
CHARLES MOORE, Ph. D., 1916-1917.
GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916-
HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., Ph. D., 1917-
WILLIAM E. DODD, Ph. D., 1917-
WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., Ph. D., 1917-
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, Ph. D., 1917-

COMMITTEES APPOINTED FEBRUARY 1, 1919.

Committee on Program for the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.—Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University, chairman; A. E. R. Boak, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Dana C. Munro.

Committee on Local Arrangements.—Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice chairman; Samuel B. Platner, secretary, 1961 Ford Drive, Cleveland; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J. Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.

Committee on Nominations.—Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical Manuscripts Commission.—Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon Street, Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gailard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize.—Frederic L. Paxson, Army War College, Washington, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street NW., Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Charles D. Hazen, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Public Archives Commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, N. Y., chairman; Herman V. Ames, Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, R. D. W. Connor, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, Peter Guilday.

Committee on Bibliography.—George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman. Other members of the committee to be added on nomination of the chairman.

Committee on Publications.—H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools.—Joseph Schafer, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Daniel C. Knowlton, Andrew C. McLaughlin.

Conference of Historical Societies.—Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.

Advisory Board of the Historical Outlook.—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman; Frederic Duncalf, Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Oscar H. Williams.

Special Committee on Policy.—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.

Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro.—Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius Klein, 1824 Belmont Road, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Percy Martin.

Special Committee on American Educational and Scientific Enterprises in Ottoman Empire.—Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James Breasted, Albert H. Lybyer.

Committee on Military History Prize.—Milledge L. Bonham, jr., chairman, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.; Frank Maloy Anderson, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.; Allen Richards Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Fred M. Flinn, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association is the national organization of those persons interested in history and in the promotion of historical work and studies. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was incorporated by act of Congress, its national character being emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the governmental publication of its annual reports. Its present membership of 2,700 is drawn from every State of the Union as well as from all the Territories and dependencies, from Canada and South America, and from other foreign countries. The association should appeal, through its meetings, publications, and other activities, not only to the student, writer, or teacher of history, but to the librarian, the archivist, the editor, the man of letters, to all who have any interest in history, local, national, or general, and to those who believe that correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so situated as best to accommodate in turn the members in different parts of the country. The average attendance at the meetings is about 400, representing generally 40 or more States and Canada, while from 75 to 100 members usually have an active part in the program. But it is the opportunity afforded for acquaintance and social intercourse quite as much as the formal sessions and conferences that make the meetings so agreeable and profitable.

The annual report, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to members. It contains the proceedings of the association and the more important papers read at the annual meetings, as well as valuable collections of documents, bibliographical contributions, reports on American archives, on the activities of historical societies, on the teaching of history, etc.

The American Historical Review is a quarterly journal of two hundred or more pages. Each issue contains at least four authoritative articles in different fields of history, as well as selected documents, critical reviews of all new works of any importance, and a section devoted to historical news of periodical and other publications, institutions, societies, and persons. The Review is recognized, both in this country and abroad, as the standard American journal devoted to history, and it easily takes rank with the leading European journals. It is indispensable to all who desire to keep abreast with the historical work of the world, and of great value and interest to the general reader. The Review is distributed free to all members of the association.

To the subject of history teaching the association has given much and consistent attention. Round-table conferences have been held, committees have been appointed, investigations made, reports and papers read at nearly every annual meeting. The high standard of excellence in the teaching of history throughout the United States is due in no small degree to the association's activity in this direction. The Report of the Committee of Seven on history in the secondary schools, published in 1898 and supplemented in 1910, and

the Report of the Committee of Eight on history in the elementary schools, published in 1909, form the basis of the present curriculum of history in most of the schools of the country.

There is at present a committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools, appointed by the association in cooperation with the National Board for Historical Service and the National Education Association, which is considering the place of history in the curriculum of all schools below the college as one of the measures of educational readjustment made desirable by the new conditions following the war. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of this phase of its work and its relation to the future citizenship of the Nation, the association in 1911 assumed a guiding interest in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, now the *Historical Outlook*, a monthly journal of the greatest practical value to the teacher of history.

Realizing the importance and value of the work of the many State and local historical societies, the association has from its earliest days maintained close relations with these kindred organizations. Since 1904 a conference of delegates of historical societies, which has since been given a semi-independent status, has been held in connection with the annual meetings of the association. At these conferences are considered the problems of historical societies—for example, the arousing of local interest in history, the marking of historic sites, the collection and publication of historical material, the maintenance of historical museums, etc.; cooperative enterprises, too great for any one society, but possible for several acting together, are also planned. The most important of these enterprises, the preparation of a catalogue of the documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, is now nearing successful completion.

An important function of the association is the discovery and exploitation of the manuscript sources of American history. Thus, the historical manuscripts commission, created in 1895 as a standing committee, has published in the Annual Reports nearly 8,000 pages of historical documents, including such collections as the correspondence of John C. Calhoun; the papers of Salmon P. Chase; the dispatches of the French commissioners in the United States, 1791-1797; the correspondence of Clark and Genet, 1793-94; the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas; the correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb; the papers of James A. Bayard, letters to R. M. T. Hunter, etc.

Realizing that the public records, which constitute the principal source for the history of any country, were generally neglected in America, and that this neglect had caused, and must continue to cause, irreparable losses, the association created in 1899 the public archives commission, the function of which was to examine and report upon the general character, historical value, physical condition, and administration of the public records of the various States and of the smaller political divisions. The commission has now published reports on the archives of over 40 States, and has, furthermore, been instrumental in securing legislation providing for the proper care and administration of so valuable a class of historical material. Since 1909 the commission has held an annual conference of archivists, in connection with the meetings of the association, for the discussion of the more or less technical problems that confront the custodian of public records.

In the meantime the association is working actively to secure for the national archives at Washington a central building where the records of the Federal Government may be properly housed and cared for instead of being, as at present, scattered among several hundred offices, where they are too often in the gravest danger from fire or other destructive forces.

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of the historian and the guide of the layman, has not been neglected. The committee on bibliography has recently published *A Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries*, which has proved of the greatest value to librarians and students alike. A special committee is at present engaged in cooperation with a committee of English scholars in the preparation of a descriptive and critical bibliography of modern English history, and a joint committee of the American Historical Association and the American Library Association has recently been appointed to complete a *Manual of Historical Literature* for the use of libraries and the general public. For some years now there has been prepared and published under the auspices of the association an annual bibliography of *Writings on American History*, which contains a practically complete list, in some 3,000 items, of all books and periodical articles appearing during the year. It is generally recognized as the most complete and usable of all the national bibliographies. Bibliographies on special subjects have been printed from time to time in the *Annual Reports*; especially should be noted a *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, filling over 1,300 pages, which was printed in the annual report for 1905.

In 1904 a Pacific coast branch was organized, which, while an integral part of the association, elects local officers and holds separate annual meetings. Its proceedings are published in the *Annual Reports*. In 1914 headquarters of the association were established in London for the benefit of the many American students working there in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. The association is enabled to share the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square. At the same time plans were on foot to establish an office in Paris, where the hospitality of the Ministry of Public Instruction had been offered to the association. The war unfortunately made it necessary to suspend this project, but it will be taken up again at a more propitious season. Doubtless offices or rooms will in time be opened in other European capitals as the demands of American students may seem to justify such action.

The association has from the first pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work, but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member, or by direct application. The annual dues are \$3, there being no initiation fee. The life membership is \$50, and carries with it exemption from all annual dues.

All inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., may be addressed to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

the first of these was the establishment of a national bank, which was done in 1791. The second was the establishment of a national judiciary, which was done in 1789. The third was the establishment of a national executive, which was done in 1789. The fourth was the establishment of a national legislature, which was done in 1789. The fifth was the establishment of a national executive, which was done in 1789. The sixth was the establishment of a national legislature, which was done in 1789. The seventh was the establishment of a national executive, which was done in 1789. The eighth was the establishment of a national legislature, which was done in 1789. The ninth was the establishment of a national executive, which was done in 1789. The tenth was the establishment of a national legislature, which was done in 1789.

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HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

For the purpose of encouraging historical research, the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the Annual Report of the association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairmen of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina;" with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Antislavery sentiment before 1808."

* 1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights;" with honorable mention of M. Louise Green, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party;" with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter: A study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy;" with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774;" with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—servitude—freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Charles Arthur Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary W. Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

1916. Richard J. Purcell, "Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818."

1918. Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776." (Columbia University Studies in History, etc., No. 182.)

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The spiritual Franciscans;" with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The Interdict: Its history and its operation; with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III;" and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men in England during the Interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The leveller movement;" with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814."

1917. Frederick L. Nussbaum, "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Pease, Purcell, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

The American Historical Association offers a prize of \$250 for the best unpublished essay in American military history submitted to the military history prize committee before July 1, 1920.

The essay may treat of any event of American military history—a war, a campaign, a battle; the influence of a diplomatic or political situation upon military operations; an arm of the service; the fortunes of a particular command; a method of warfare historically treated; the career of a distinguished soldier. It should not be highly technical in character, for the object of the

contest is to extend the interest in American military history but it must be a positive contribution to historical knowledge and the fruit of original research.

The essay is not expected to be less than 10,000 or more than 100,000 words in length.

It should be submitted in typewritten form, unsigned; and should be accompanied by a sealed envelop marked with its title and containing the name and address of the author; and a short biographical sketch.

Maps, diagrams, or other illustrative materials accompanying a manuscript, should bear the title of the essay.

The committee, in reaching a decision, will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality but also clearness of expression and literary form. It reserves the right to withhold the award if no essay is submitted attaining the required degree of excellence.

For further information address the chairman of the military history prize committee, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

The first of these is the fact that the British Empire has been the most successful in the world in the last century. This is due to a number of reasons, including the superior military and naval power of the British, the superior administrative and political system of the British, and the superior economic and industrial system of the British.

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The fifth of these is the fact that the British Empire has been the most successful in the world in the last century. This is due to a number of reasons, including the superior military and naval power of the British, the superior administrative and political system of the British, and the superior economic and industrial system of the British.

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The seventh of these is the fact that the British Empire has been the most successful in the world in the last century. This is due to a number of reasons, including the superior military and naval power of the British, the superior administrative and political system of the British, and the superior economic and industrial system of the British.

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I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
IN 1918.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN 1918.

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Philadelphia in December, 1917, it was voted to hold the meetings for 1918 in Minneapolis, but provision was made whereby the executive council was authorized to change the place of meeting or to abandon the meeting altogether should it consider such action desirable in view of the emergency conditions created by the war. Exercising this authority the council decided, during the course of 1918, to hold the meetings for that year in Cleveland, Ohio, as at the time when the council was obliged to make its decision the speedy termination of hostilities could not be foreseen, and conditions of railroad travel were such that it seemed desirable to have the meetings as near as possible to the geographical center of the association's membership.

An excellent program was prepared and all arrangements had been made for what promised to be a series of uncommonly successful sessions, when the recrudescence of influenza in epidemic form compelled the public health authorities of Cleveland to advise against holding the meetings. The council therefore voted to abandon the meetings, and the members of the association were notified to that effect in season to prevent serious inconvenience.

By vote of the association, passed in prevision of such an exigency, the officers elected in December, 1917, are continued in office until the next annual meeting, which is to be held in Cleveland in December, 1919. The business of the association, however, required that the council should meet for its transaction, which it did in New York on January 31 and February 1, when the reports of officers and committees were read and discussed, the budget for 1919 voted, and plans for the work of the association formulated and adopted.

The proceedings of the council are herewith presented as the proceedings of the association for the year 1918.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, JANUARY 31, 1919.

The council met at 8 p m., President W. R. Thayer in the chair.

Present: Vice President Edward Channing, Miss Salmon, Messrs. Leland, Moore, Bourne, Burr, Dunning, Fleming, Harding, Jameson, Lingelbach, and the secretary.

The following committee chairmen and editors of the American Historical Review and the Historical Outlook were also present: Messrs. Cheyney, Dutcher, Johnson, McKinley, Learned, Paltsits, Paxson, J. H. Smith, and Van Tyne.

Mr. Jameson presented the appended memoir of the late Henry Adams, ex-president of the association, which was accepted and ordered to be spread upon the minutes.

The secretary of the council read the appended memoir of the late Theodore Roosevelt, ex-president of the association, prepared by Mr. A. B. Hart, which was accepted by a rising vote and ordered to be spread upon the minutes. The secretary was directed to send a copy to Mrs. Roosevelt. Mr. Leland presented resolutions respecting the late A. Howard Clark, curator of the association, which were adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the following resolutions be adopted by the executive council of the American Historical Association and that the secretary be instructed to transmit a copy of them to Mrs. A. Howard Clark and to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution:

The executive council of the American Historical Association learns with unaffected sorrow of the death of A. Howard Clark, curator of the association, and curator of history in the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Clark was a member of this association for 32 years and for 30 years an officer—first as assistant secretary and curator, 1889–1900; and then as secretary and curator, 1900–1908; and finally as curator from 1908 until his death on December 31, 1918. During these years he gave service as invaluable as it was unselfish and laborious to the affairs of the association and to him the association owes no small degree of the success which it has enjoyed.

The council having before it invitations from Cleveland and Minneapolis for the annual meeting of 1919 voted, on account of the exceptional conditions resulting from the war which seemed to make a central meeting place desirable, to hold the meeting in Cleveland. It was voted to lay on the table the question of the place of meeting for 1920.

Maj. F. L. Paxson, chairman of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, reported that five essays had been submitted and examined by the committee and that the prize for 1918 had been awarded to Arthur M. Schlesinger, of Columbus, Ohio, for his essay entitled "The colonial merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776," printed as Volume LXXVIII of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

The report of the committee on publications, as appended, was presented by Mr. Learned and was accepted and placed on file.

It was voted that the committee on publications be instructed to offer its services to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum with a view to securing a publisher for his essay on Ducher to which was awarded the Adams prize of 1917; but that if a publisher can not be secured the committee be authorized to postpone publication of the essay until further action by the council.

It was voted to authorize the committee on publications to proceed with the preparation of the annual report for 1918 and to approve the proposed contents as indicated by the committee in its report.

Certain parts of the report of the committee on publications, concerning the use by the association of advertising pages in the American Historical Review and the publication of two volumes of papers composed respectively of reprints from the first 25 volumes of the American Historical Review and of presidential addresses were referred to the board of editors of the Review for consideration and report during the present meeting.

A report for the public archives commission was made by its chairman, Mr. Paltsits, who stated that as no appropriation had been made for the commission in 1918 it had been inactive during the past year and had no formal report to

present. Mr. Paltsits said that the original program of the commission, the preparation of reports on the archives of all the States, had been completed, as nearly as was practicable; that the commission had prepared and printed in the annual reports of the association a series of chapters on various phases of archive economy and practice, and that in his opinion the time had come for the commission to draw up and inaugurate a new program of activities.

The appended report of the historical manuscripts commission was presented by its chairman, Mr. Justin H. Smith, and the proposal of the commission to prepare for publication in the annual reports three volumes of the papers of Stephen F. Austin, to be edited by Prof. E. C. Barker, was approved.

Mr. Jameson read a personal letter from Prof. Pirenne, of the University of Ghent, relating his experiences and those of Prof. Fredericq while interned in Germany. The following resolution was adopted:

The executive council of the American Historical Association extends to Prof. Henri Pirenne and to Prof. Paul Fredericq its sympathetic congratulations on the occasion of their return to the University of Ghent after 32 months of the most unjustifiable and cruel exile, enforced upon them by the late German Government, and expresses to them its cordial wishes for the future.

The council then adjourned to meet on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock,

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE LIBRARY
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRU-
ARY 1, 1919.**

The council met at 10 a. m. and remained in session, with a short intermission for lunch, until 4 p. m.

Present: President Thayer, Vice President Channing, Miss Salmon, Messrs. Leland, Moore, G. B. Adams, Bourne, Burr, Dunning, Fleming, Harding, Jameson, Lingelbach, and the secretary.

The chair was taken successively by President Thayer, Vice President Channing, and Mr. Burr.

The committee chairmen present were Messrs. Cheyney, Dutcher, Learned, Paltsits, Paxson, and Smith.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report as appended, showing that the total membership of the association on November 30, 1918, was 2,519 as against the enrollment of 2,654 for December 19, 1917, and 2,739 for December 19, 1916. The report was received and ordered placed on file.

The recommendations of the secretary were adopted by the following votes:

I. Voted: That any person who was a member of the association on July 1, 1914, or who has since become a member, and who has since that date been in the active military service of the United States or of the powers associated with the United States, or who, if a citizen of the United States, has been engaged in an officially recognized war activity overseas, may, upon his or her request, be continued until September 1, 1919, on the roll of members of the association without the payment of annual dues for such period as said member may have been engaged in said service; and the secretary of the association is hereby authorized and directed to supply said members, upon their request, with such copies of the American Historical Review as they may have failed to receive by reason of said service, at the nominal price of 25 cents per copy.

II. Voted: That the secretary of the association be, and hereby is, authorized to send to the University of Lille, which was a member of the association in 1914, all copies of the American Historical Review from October, 1914, to July 1919, inclusive, which said university may have failed to receive because of its location in the invaded districts of France.

III. Voted: That the secretary of the association and the secretary of the council be authorized to prepare for publication in the annual report for 1919 such records of the association as have not yet been printed and which in their judgment should be preserved in this form.

IV. Voted: To appoint a special committee of three which shall be, and hereby is, instructed to present to the council at its next meeting nominations, not to exceed nine in number, for corresponding and honorary membership in the association.

Messrs. G. B. Adams, J. F. Jameson, and A. C. McLaughlin were named as members of this committee.

The treasurer of the association presented his annual report, as appended, for the period from December 19, 1917, to November 30, 1918, a summary of which follows:

Balance on hand Dec. 19, 1917.....		\$2,424.35
Receipts Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918.....	\$9,958.11	
Disbursements Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918.....	9,129.18	
		828.93
Excess of receipts over disbursements.....		828.93
Balance on hand Nov. 30, 1918.....		3,253.28
Other assets Nov. 30, 1918:		
Bond and mortgage.....	\$20,000.00	
Accrued interest.....	152.47	
Twenty shares of bank stock.....	4,400.00	
Endowment fund.....	2,909.19	
		27,461.66
Total assets, cash and invested funds.....		¹ 30,714.94
Estimated value, stock of publications, furniture, etc.....	7,612.75	
Bank balance, American Historical Review.....	1,358.28	
		39,685.97
Grand total, all assets.....		39,685.97

The treasurer presented an audit of his accounts made by the American Audit Co., which certified to the correctness of the report.

The annual report of the treasurer and the audit thereof were ordered to be accepted and placed on file.

The treasurer was authorized to send to members with the annual bills for 1919-20 a request for additional voluntary contributions of \$1 for a deficit fund.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved by the executive council of the American Historical Association at its regular session held in the city of New York February 1, 1919, That the secretary and treasurer of the association be, and they are hereby, empowered to sell 20 shares of the capital stock of the American Exchange National Bank of New York City, now owned by the association, at a price not less than \$220 a share.

¹ Increase since Dec. 19, 1917, \$2,198.72.

The secretary of the council reported that the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize had announced in March, 1918, the award of that prize for 1917 to Lieut. Frederick L. Nussbaum for his essay entitled "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

The secretary of the council stated that the committee on history in schools had been inactive during the year, mainly because it had been impossible to make any appropriation for it and also because of unavoidable delay in effecting its organization. The secretary stated, however, that the national board for historical service had been able to carry on certain of the activities which might appropriately have been undertaken by the committee. He gave notice that the future organization and work of the committee would be discussed in connection with the report of the committee on appointments.

The chairman of the committee on bibliography, Prof. G. M. Dutcher, presented the appended report, which was ordered to be accepted and placed on file. He stated that having had no appropriation for the past year the committee as such had been obliged to be inactive, although individual members of the committee had made various bibliographical contributions. The work already accomplished by Dr. B. C. Steiner toward a bibliography of American travel had been transferred to the committee and assigned to Mr. Shearer, who was ready to bring it to completion provided the necessary appropriation for that purpose could be made.

The secretary of the association presented a communication from the president of the American Library Association asking that the council of the American Historical Association appoint a committee to cooperate with a committee of the American Library Association—the appointment of which had been authorized by the executive board—in compiling a bibliography of general history similar in scope and purpose to the now out-of-date Manual of Historical Literature compiled by C. K. Adams. During the discussion the secretary stated that it was proposed to make the work of compilation a cooperative enterprise, in which a large number of scholars would be asked to contribute notes on volumes of which they had special knowledge; that for the present year small appropriations by the two associations would suffice for the planning and inauguration of the enterprise; and that it was proposed to arrange for the publication of the completed work on such terms as would not involve either association in any expense for printing or publishing.

It was voted that the committee on bibliography be instructed to cooperate with a committee of the American Library Association in the compilation of a manual of historical literature.

The report of the committee on the international historical congress on the history of America, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in September, 1922, prepared by Mr. Julius Klein, secretary of the committee, was read by Mr. Leland. In accordance with the recommendation of the committee, the council voted to authorize it to take such measures, in the name of the association, as it might deem appropriate and necessary for securing recognition by the Government and an appropriation from Congress sufficient for adequate representation of the United States at the congress.

Prof. E. C. Moore, chairman of the committee on American scientific and educational interests in the Ottoman Empire, which was appointed at the last annual meeting of the association, being absent in Europe on a mission for the American Committee for Relief in the Near East, a brief summary of the committee's report was presented by the secretary of the council. The committee had gathered information with respect to educational needs in Turkey; the laws regulating private schools in Turkey; western, and especially American, educa-

tional and philanthropic institutions in Turkey before the war; and had prepared suggestions for preliminary measures designed to safeguard the future of scientific research in the Ottoman Empire. The chairman of the committee had presented to the Secretary of State a general statement on behalf of the committee urging that the representatives of the United States at the peace conference should charge themselves with seeing that the general interests involved should secure consideration in any terms which might be made with the Ottoman Empire. A member of the committee, Prof. Lybyer, at present in Paris as an expert on near eastern affairs attendant upon the American mission to negotiate peace, would particularly bear in mind the objects of the committee, and the chairman expected to be able materially to further those objects in the course of his mission in the Near East. The committee also recommended that the association cooperate with the Archaeological Institute of America in bringing before the peace conference the desirability for taking action for the conservation of the monuments of western Asia.

It was voted that the council is in sympathy with the purposes indicated in the report of the committee on American scientific and educational interests in the Ottoman Empire and that Messrs. Jameson, Leland, and Moore be appointed a special committee to take such action in the name of the council with respect to the committee's report as they might deem appropriate.

It was also voted that the council associate itself with the Archaeological Institute of America in presenting to the peace conference the importance of insuring the preservation of monuments of western Asia.

Prof. E. P. Cheyney presented the annual report of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*. He also reported the views of the board of editors with respect to the various matters which had been referred to them by the council. He reported that the board was prepared to take up with the Macmillan Co. the question of advertising space in the *Review* for the publications of the association.

Prof. Burr presented the appended memoir of the late Andrew D. White, first president of the association. It was ordered by a rising vote that the memoir be accepted and spread on the minutes of the council.

Dr. Jameson reported briefly for the committee on the London headquarters.

It was voted to approve the recommendation of the committee on publications with respect to the publication in the *Review* of a list of the publications of the association in such manner as may be arranged by the board of editors.

The treasurer, as chairman of the finance committee, presented the estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1919, which, with amendments, were approved. as follows:

Estimates, 1919.

Receipts:

Annual dues.....	\$6,990.00
Publications.....	300.00
Royalties.....	110.00
Interest and dividends.....	1,100.00
Gifts and miscellaneous.....	250.00
	8,750.00
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1918.....	3,253.00
	12,003.00
Total.....	

Expenditures:

Charges against unexpended balances, 1918—

Already expended—

Secretary and treasurer.....	\$3. 68
Program committee	38. 75
Conference of historical societies.....	26. 58
Publication committee.....	17. 48
Winsor prize, 1916.....	50. 00
Abandoning meeting.....	127. 58

\$264. 07

Payable on call—

Historical manuscripts commission.....	135. 25
Military history prize.....	250. 00
Bibliography of Modern English History.....	125. 00

510. 25

774. 32

New appropriations, 1919—

Secretary and treasurer.....	2, 000. 00
Nominating committee	25. 00
Pacific coast branch.....	50. 00
Program committee	150. 00
Publication and editorial.....	500. 00
American Historical Review.....	4, 615. 00
Adams prize, 1917.....	200. 00
Winsor prize, 1918.....	200. 00
London headquarters.....	150. 00
Committee on history in schools.....	400. 00
Historical manuscripts commission.....	100. 00
Rio Janeiro congress.....	25. 00
Committee on policy.....	25. 00
Writings on American history.....	200. 00
Executive council.....	300. 00
Committee on bibliography.....	50. 00
Plate for London headquarters.....	50. 00

9, 040. 00

9, 814. 32

Excess of expenditures over receipts..... 1, 064. 32

Estimated balance, 1919..... 2, 238. 68

On behalf of the committee on appointments the secretary of the council reported the following nominations for committees of the association for the year 1919, which were approved:

Historical manuscripts commission.—Justin H. Smith, chairman; D. R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Lincoln, M. M. Quaife.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Frederic L. Paxson, chairman; A. C. Cole, E. S. Corwin, F. H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Ruth Putnam, chairman; W. C. Abbott,¹ C. D. Hazen, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

¹ Declined appointment; C. H. McIlwain appointed in his place.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; H. V. Ames, E. E. Barker, Solon J. Buck, R. D. W. Connor, John C. Fitzpatrick, C. N. Fuller Peter Guilday.

Committee on bibliography.—George M. Dutcher, chairman; other members of the committee to be added on nomination of the chairman.

Committee on publications.—H. Barrett Learned, chairman; all other members ex officio.

Member board of editors of the American Historical Review.—E. P. Cheyney (to serve 6 years from Jan. 1, 1919).

Committee on history in schools.—S. B. Harding,¹ chairman; W. C. Bagley F. S. Bogardus, J. A. C. Chandler, D. C. Knowlton, G. S. Ford, A. C. McLaughlin, Joseph Schafer.

The committee on history in schools was confirmed after a discussion in which it was explained that the national board for historical service, upon request by the National Education Association, had appointed Messrs. Harding Bagley, Bogardus, Chandler, and Knowlton a committee to prepare a report on the study of history in all schools of less than collegiate grade, and that the board had requested the association to cooperate with it in this activity by appointing a similar committee. The council thereupon voted to substitute for its standing committee on history in schools a special committee consisting of the five members already appointed by the national board, together with Messrs. Ford, McLaughlin, and Schafer, and to instruct this committee to prepare as soon as possible a report on the changes and readjustments which should be made in the study and teaching of history in all schools, elementary, secondary, rural, vocational, etc., below the grade of college.

It was voted to lay before the trustees of the Carnegie Corporation a statement respecting the special importance at this time, from the point of view of educating American youth for intelligent citizenship, of the work entrusted to the special committee on history in schools, and to request the trustees to contribute to the expenses of the committee.

Mr. Jameson reported progress in the plans for a national archive building. It was voted that the former committee on the national archives be revived with the following membership: Messrs. Jameson, Moore, Paxson.

Mr. McKinley presented a report on the Historical Outlook (continuing the History Teacher's Magazine). It was voted that a special committee be appointed to consider the future relation of the Historical Outlook with the association and to report to the council an appropriate plan of cooperation. Messrs. Greene, Bourne, and Lingelbach were appointed members of this committee.

It was voted to reappoint Messrs. Frederic Duncalf and O. H. Williams as members of the board of advisory editors of the Historical Outlook for one year, with the understanding that some change in the organization of the board may be made at the end of this year.

It was voted that the officers of the association be entrusted with the responsibility of continuing so far as possible the services now performed by the national board for historical service and instructed to report to the council at its next meeting.

The committee on finance was authorized to associate with itself seven additional members for the specific purpose of increasing the endowment fund of the association.

¹ Resigned as chairman, but continued on committee; Joseph Schafer appointed chairman.

The work of the committee on policy being under consideration, it was voted to ask the members of the committee now in this country to take such measures as may be appropriate to forward its work in the absence of the chairman on service abroad.

It was voted that a special committee be appointed by the chair to study the problem of the membership of the association and the relation between the association and local historical societies.

It was voted that, in order to signalize the thirty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the American Historical Association and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the American Historical Review, a special committee of three be appointed which shall be, and hereby is, authorized to publish, in the name of the association, a volume of historical essays reprinted from the American Historical Review and the Papers and Reports of the American Historical Association, provided that such publication shall be without expense to the treasury of the association. It was further voted that the committee shall consist of the chairman of the committee on publications, a member of the board of editors of the American Historical Review to be named by the chairman of the board, and a chairman to be chosen by the two members above indicated.

It was voted that the committee on local arrangements for the Cleveland meeting of 1918 be continued for the meeting of 1919 as follows: Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice chairman; Samuel Ball Plater, secretary; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J. Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.

It was voted that the committee on appointments be authorized to appoint a program committee for the meeting of 1919.

[This committee has been appointed as follows: Elbert J. Benton, chairman; A. E. R. Boak, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Dana C. Munro, Isaac J. Cox, Edgar H. McNeal.]

Mr. Leland stated that the committee of five on the organization of a university center for higher studies in Washington, consisting of Prof. D. C. Munro, chairman, and Messrs. A. B. Hart, C. A. Beard, Gaillard Hunt, and W. G. Leland, secretary, had presented a printed report to a conference held at Cincinnati in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and that the plan for the organization of a center as set forth in this report had been approved by this conference and had received the approval of the executive council by a formal vote. At the same time formal approval was given by the council of the American Political Science Association. Mr. Leland stated that early in 1917 the committee had secured the indorsement of the plan by the following governmental officials: The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Interior, the Librarian of Congress, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and the Director of the Pan-American Union. At the declaration of war the committee decided that it was best to lay aside the plan for the time being, but since the signing of the armistice had resumed active efforts to make the execution of the enterprise possible. He stated that at the present time an effort was being made to secure the amount of money which would make it possible to organize this center and open it for the reception of students during the coming fall.

Mr. Leland read a statement, prepared by Mr. Joseph Schafer, vice chairman of the national board for historical service, respecting the work of the board during the past year. The statement is appended to the minutes.

It was voted to offer the thanks of the council to Prof. Dunning for his courtesy and hospitality in arranging for the meetings of the council as well as for the luncheon and dinner.

Adjourned.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

[Jan. 25, 1919.]

MEMBERSHIP.

A year ago the committee on membership was temporarily discontinued and its functions were assigned to a special committee consisting of the two secretaries who were given authority to appoint other members to their committee. In view of the situation which existed during the greater part of 1918 demanding unusual sacrifices of the country in calling upon everyone for his or her utmost, it seemed unwise to the committee to make any special effort to increase the membership of the association; consequently, no canvass or campaign for membership was attempted. Notwithstanding this inactivity 150 new members were added to the association in 1918, and, although this falls considerably short of the numbers during the last four years, ranging from 221 to 290, it is nevertheless an encouraging indication of the vitality of the association and of the appeal which it makes to those who are interested in history.

For 1919, however, the situation has materially changed, and a vigorous campaign for members is already under way. The first step in this campaign was to send to all members a request that they suggest the names of persons who might properly be asked to join the association. As a result, some 130 names were sent to the secretary's office, and in the last few days invitations to apply for membership in the association, together with the association's booklet have been sent to them. It is too soon as yet to know what the result of this will be. The next step will be to canvass advanced students of American history in the universities through the departments of history in those institutions. I hope that it may be impressed upon all professors of history that they should encourage their best students to become members of the association.

As soon as the next meeting place of the association has been decided upon every effort will be made to interest people living in that region in the association.

In looking over the statistics of membership for the last five years, which are appended to this report and copies of which are in the hands of members of the council, it will be seen that the total membership on December 1, 1918, was 2,519, the lowest figure which the association has reached in the last 10 years. The total paid membership is 1,817, which is the lowest number in the last 10 years. It should be remembered, however, that these statistics are of December 1, whereas last year the statistics were made up nearly three weeks later. Of the 702 members who were delinquent on December 1, 1918, 258 have since paid their dues, so that the total number of delinquents at the present time is 442, and a careful examination of the list gives reason for expecting nearly 200 of these to pay their dues within the next month or six weeks. The net loss in membership for the year was 135, as compared with 85 in 1917 and 187 in 1916. The

figures have not materially changed since the 1st of December with the exception of 258 delinquents who have paid their dues. The total number of members on January 25 was 2,524. On the whole the regional statistics reflect the same condition as the general statistics. The States showing the largest number of new members in 1918 are Pennsylvania with 32, Texas with 13, California, Massachusetts, and Virginia with 10 each, New Jersey and New York with 7 each, and all others with less. In a number of States there were no new members.

The falling off in membership is to be accounted for mainly by the stress of the times and, to a less extent, by the entrance of members into military service. With regard to these latter, about 80 of our members are known to have been or to be in the military service of the United States, but this record is doubtless incomplete. Of this number, some 42, including members in allied service, have not paid their dues either for one, two, or three years. I believe that it would be a graceful act on the part of the association to enable these members to receive such numbers of the Review as they have missed at a nominal price and to continue their membership without break in the association. In order to effect this I suggest the following vote:

Voted: That any person who was a member of the association on July 1, 1914, or who has since become a member, and who has since that date been in the active military service of the United States or of the powers associated with the United States, or who, if a citizen of the United States, has been engaged in an officially recognized war activity overseas, may, upon his or her request, be continued until September 1, 1919, on the roll of members of the association without the payment of annual dues for such period as said member may have been engaged in said service; and the secretary of the association is hereby authorized and directed to supply said members, upon their request, with such copies of the American Historical Review as they may have failed to receive by reason of said service, at the nominal price of 25 cents per copy.

Under this vote 202 copies of the Review as a maximum might be called for at 25 cents a copy. The cost of this to the association would be \$40.40. Furthermore, the University of Lille, which was a member of the association in 1914, has of course been unable to receive any publications and has made no payment of dues. I suggest that to this university there be sent, with the compliments of the association, all the copies of the Review from October, 1914, to July, 1919, inclusive. To put this into effect I move the following vote:

Voted: That the secretary of the association be and hereby is authorized to send to the University of Lille, which was a member of the association in 1914, all copies of the American Historical Review from October, 1914, to July, 1919, inclusive, which said university may have failed to receive because of its location in the invaded districts of France.

WAR SERVICE OF MEMBERS.

As already stated, some 80 or more members have been in military service and a great many others have performed civilian service. It has not been feasible as yet to compile a complete list, but the national board for historical service proposes to compile a list which will indicate the military or civilian service of all members of the historical profession and this will of course be essentially a record of what members of the American Historical Association have done to help in winning the war. I take pleasure in joining with the chairman of the committee on publications, who will present the matter to you more in detail, in recommending that this be published by the association in its annual report.

DEATHS.

During the year 1918, 39 members of the association died. Three of these were members of the council—Dr. Andrew D. White, the first president of the association; Mr. Henry Adams, who was president in 1894; and Mr. A. Howar Clark, who was assistant secretary from 1889 to 1899 and then secretary until 1908, and since 1908 curator. Another former president of the association Mr. Roosevelt, has died since the close of 1918. It is making no invidious comparison to observe that the council since it last met has lost its three most illustrious members and it has lost an officer who for many years devoted himself unselfishly and whole-heartedly to the interest of the association. The council should not adjourn without having fittingly recorded its appreciation of these members. The list of deceased members is as follows:

[* Life members.]

*Henry Adams.	*Arthur Gilman.	Herbert L. Osgood.
George Barrie.	Louis F. Girous.	*George Willis Pack.
*Eugene Frederick Bliss.	Mrs. Lee C. Harby.	Gilbert M. Plympton.
James L. Coker.	Jane E. Harnett.	James F. Riggs.
Mrs. Henry C. Cunningham.	Charles Henry Hart.	Charles G. Saunders.
*Horace Davis.	Rowland G. Hazard.	Fay Catharine Schneider.
William Fairley.	John P. Hewitt.	Charles Card Smith.
Mrs. Corra Bacon Foster.	Philo C. Hildreth.	Edward J. Smith.
Edward M. Gallaudet.	*Ripley Hitchcock.	Leverett W. Spring.
Frederic Gardiner.	Leon Beck Hook.	Raymond G. Taylor.
Robert D. Garwood. ¹	Francis S. Houghteling.	*Andrew D. White.
Leslie F. Gay, jr.	*Edward C. Lee.	*Edwin O. Wood.
	Peter H. K. McComb.	Henry Parks Wright.
	Ruth E. Marshall.	

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.

The year 1919 marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the association. Undoubtedly this event will be signalized in some appropriate manner at the next annual meeting. It has occurred to me that it would be appropriate at this time to place in print some of the early records of the association which exist only in manuscript. This would include especially the minutes of the council from 1898 to 1911, when the council minutes began to be printed, and the reports of all committees, so far as these can be gathered, that have not already been printed in the annual reports. I will suggest, therefore, that the council authorize the two secretaries of the association to prepare for publication in the annual report for 1919 such records of the association as have not yet been printed and which, in their judgment, should be preserved in this form.

Another form of signalizing the thirty-fifth anniversary would be the election of new honorary or corresponding members. The association has at present one honorary member, Lord Bryce, and during its entire course has had but three. I therefore suggest that the council take the following action:

Voted: That the council appoint a special committee of three which shall be and hereby is instructed to present to the council at its next meeting, nominations, not to exceed nine in number, for honorary or corresponding membership, in the American Historical Association.

¹ Killed in service in an airplane accident.

In closing this report I feel that I should state to the council that, after mature deliberation, I have decided that it will be best for me not to serve as secretary after the close of the present year. In 1920 and 1921 I shall be absent from the country for so long a period as to make it impossible appropriately to perform the duties of the office, and this fact alone is sufficient to determine my decision. In addition, however, I realize that it will be highly advantageous to the association to have another secretary who will enter upon his service with fresh views and plans.

Respectively submitted,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

[Nov. 30, 1918.]

Balance on hand Dec. 19, 1917.....		\$2, 424. 35
Receipts to date:		
Annual dues—		
2,105 at \$3.....	\$6, 315. 00	
1 at \$1.....	1. 00	
1 at \$2.97.....	2. 97	
2 at \$3.05.....	6. 10	
1 at \$3.09.....	3. 09	
10 at \$3.10.....	31. 00	
1 at \$3.15.....	3. 15	
1 at \$3.50.....	3. 50	
	<hr/>	\$6, 365. 81
Life-membership dues.....		150. 00
Dividend on bank stock.....		260. 00
Interest on bond and mortgage.....		900. 00
Publications—		
Prize essays.....	142. 97	
Papers and reports.....	44. 42	
Writings on American history.....	5. 65	
Church history papers.....	6. 20	
Royalties.....	60. 82	
	<hr/>	260. 06
Gifts—		
London headquarters.....	106. 20	
Writings on American history.....	240. 20	
Historical manuscripts commission.....	150. 00	
	<hr/>	496. 40
Deficit fund.....		1, 298. 00
Registration fees.....		183. 50
Miscellaneous.....		44. 34
	<hr/>	9, 958. 11
Total receipts to date.....		12, 382. 46
Total disbursements to date.....		9, 129. 18
	<hr/>	
Balance on hand Nov. 30, 1918.....		3, 253. 28
	<hr/>	

Disbursements, Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918:

Expense of administration—

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 104, 105, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119—	Salary of assistant.....	\$1, 200. 00	
Additional assistance and services of all kinds		30. 75	
			\$1, 230. 75
Postage			237. 04
Telegrams, messenger service, express, money-order fees, notary fees.....			23. 87
Stationery and supplies.....			180. 33
Furnishings			12. 61
Printing and duplicating.....			143. 35
Auditing treasurer's report, 1917.....			25. 00
Collection charges.....			. 65
Miscellaneous.....			35. 50
Postage and express charges on account of Adams prize committee.....			7. 31
			<hr/>
			\$1, 896. 41
Committee on nominations, vouchers 102, 114, 122—	Services.....		2. 50
	Printing.....		31. 25
			<hr/>
			33. 75
Annual meetings—			
Committee on program, vouchers 21, 22, 23, 103, 120, 121—	Postage		30. 00
	Stationery.....		5. 00
	Printing.....		49. 75
			<hr/>
			84. 75
Publications—			
Committee on publications, vouchers 28, 48, 54, 55, 81, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 107, 108, 123—	Printing and binding.....	1, 287. 86	
	Wrapping and mailing.....	29. 90	
	Postage and express.....	19. 88	
	Storage and insurance.....	124. 13	
	Advertising.....	11. 00	
	Miscellaneous.....	13. 75	
			<hr/>
			1, 486. 52
Editorial services, vouchers 30, 42, 51, 62, 65, 82, 92, 106, 109, 124.....			146. 05
Cumulative index, vouchers 36, 85.....			250. 00
American Historical Review, vouchers 11, 12, 13, 29, 35, 56, 58, 73, 74, 75, 83, 84, 110, 115.....			4, 541. 85
Standing committees, historical manuscripts commission, voucher 66; services.....			14. 75

Disbursements, Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918—Continued.

Prizes, Winsor prize committee, voucher 125, paid on account of prize-----	\$100.00
Funds held in trust—	
London headquarters, vouchers 5-6, 57, 112, rent-----	156.20
Writings on American history, voucher 41-----	240.20
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1917—	
Committee on membership, vouchers 14, 15, 16—	
Postage and services-----	\$8.20
Printing -----	20.50
	28.70
Funds invested, vouchers 52, 93, life membership dues (transferred to endowment fund for investment)-----	150.00
Total -----	9,129.18
Net receipts-----	9,958.11
Net disbursements-----	9,129.18
Excess of receipts over disbursements-----	828.93

The assets of the Association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at 24 East Ninety-fourth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Nov. 30, 1918-----	152.47
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 220-----	4,400.00
Cash on hand in Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia-----	3,253.28
American Historical Review funds on hand in Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia-----	1,358.28
Endowment fund:	
Liberty bonds-----	\$2,850.00
Cash in Central Trust Co., of New York-----	59.19
	2,909.19
Total assets -----	32,073.22
Assets at last annual report-----	28,516.22
An increase during the year of-----	3,557.00
Among the assets of the association should be included:	
Publications of American Historical Association in stock, estimate--	7,184.00
Furniture, office equipment, etc., estimate-----	250.00
Publications received from American Historical Review, estimate--	178.75
Total -----	7,612.75

Endowment fund.

Balance on hand Dec. 19, 1917-----	1,489.89
Receipts, Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918:	
Contributions from members of the association-----	\$950.00
Interest on money deposited in the Central Trust Co. of New York-----	38.05
Interest on Liberty bonds-----	31.29
Life membership dues transferred from general account for investment-----	150.00
	1,169.34
Total -----	2,659.23

Disbursement, Dec. 19, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918:

Invested in Liberty bonds-----	\$2, 600. 00	
Collection charges-----	. 04	
		\$2, 600. 04
Balance in Central Trust Co. of New York-----		59. 19

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AUDIT CO.

DECEMBER 16, 1918.

Mr. CHARLES MOORE,

*Treasurer American Historical Association,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We have audited the accounts and records of the American Historical Association from December 20, 1917, to November 30, 1918, and submit our report herewith, including the following exhibits:

Exhibit A, assets as at November 30, 1918.

Exhibit B, receipts and disbursements from December 20, 1917, to November 30, 1918.

We verified the cash receipts as shown by the records and the cash disbursements with the receipted vouchers on file and found the same to agree with the treasurer's report.

The balances in banks, according to bank statements, were reconciled with check-book balances and found to agree with the treasurer's report.

The securities of the association were submitted for our inspection and found to be as called for by the records.

Respectfully submitted.

[SEAL.]

AMERICAN AUDIT Co.,
By C. R. CRANMER,
Resident Manager.

Approved:

F. W. LAFRENTZ, *President.*

Attest:

C. W. GOETCHINS, *Assistant Secretary.*

EXHIBIT A.

Assets as at Nov. 30, 1918.

Cash on hand, Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia:

General-----	\$3, 253. 28	
American Historical Review-----	1, 358. 28	
		\$4, 611. 56

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City-----

Accrued interest on above-----	152. 47	
		20, 152. 47

20 shares American Exchange, National Bank stock, at \$220----- 4, 400. 00

Endowment fund:

Liberty bonds-----	\$2, 850. 00	
Cash in Central Trust Co. of New York-----	59. 19	
		2, 909. 19

Inventories (not verified by American Audit Co.):

Publications, estimate-----	\$7,362.75
Furniture, office equipment, etc., estimate-----	250.00
	\$7,612.75
Total-----	39,685.97

EXHIBIT B.

Receipts and Disbursements, Dec. 20, 1917, to Nov. 30, 1918.

Receipts:

Annual dues-----	\$6,365.81
Life membership-----	150.00
Dividends on stock, American Exchange National Bank-----	260.00
Interest on bond and mortgage on real estate, 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City-----	900.00
Publications-----	199.24
Royalties-----	60.82
Gift for London headquarters-----	106.20
Writings on American history-----	240.20
Temporary deficit fund-----	1,298.00
Gift for historical manuscripts commission-----	150.00
Registration fees-----	183.50
Miscellaneous receipts-----	44.34
Total receipts account 1918-----	9,958.11
Cash on hand Dec. 19, 1917-----	2,424.35
Total-----	12,382.46

Disbursements:

Secretary and treasurer-----	1,896.41
Committee on nominations-----	33.75
Committee on program 1918-----	84.75
Committee on publications-----	1,486.52
Editorial services-----	146.05
Cumulative index-----	250.00
American historical review-----	4,541.85
Winsor prize-----	100.00
Writings on American history-----	240.20
Standing committee (historical manuscripts commission)-----	14.75
Held in trust-----	156.20
Total disbursements account 1918-----	8,950.48
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1917-----	28.70
Funds invested-----	150.00
Total disbursements-----	9,129.18
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1918-----	3,253.28
Total-----	12,382.46

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

November 30, 1918.

Receipts Feb. 4, 1918, to Nov. 30, 1918:

Amount received from Prof. C. H. Van Tyne-----	\$906. 28
Editorial expenses:	
March–November, 1918, 9 months-----	1, 800. 00
Refund on check No. 187 drawn on American Security and Trust Co.-----	52. 00
Interest on money in Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia-----	6. 42
	\$2, 764. 70

Expenditures Feb. 4, 1918, to Nov. 30, 1918:

Petty cash, warrants 1, 2, 9, 14, 18, 20, 21, 24, 27-----	126. 38
Stationery, printing, supplies, warrants 3, 4, 6, 10, 28, 29-----	57. 75
Contributions to Review:	
April number, warrant 5-----	\$427. 25
July number, warrants 11, 16-----	354. 75
October number, warrant 25-----	295. 75
	1, 077. 75
Transcribing documents for the Review, warrants 7, 19-----	18. 75
Binding, warrant 8-----	6. 00
Publications, warrant 26-----	5. 00
Travel, warrants 12, 13, 22, 23-----	56. 74
Reprints, warrant 17-----	6. 05
Miscellaneous:	
Check issued in place of check No. 187 on Ameri- can Security and Trust Co., warrant 15-----	52. 00
	1, 406. 40
Balance Nov. 30, 1918-----	1, 358. 28

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

To the COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

A volume of official letters, written by Gen. Santa Anna in connection with the war between the United States and Mexico and preserved in the archive of the war department, Mexico, has been edited by a member of the commission, and is ready for the printer. It will probably make about 125 pages.

The trustees of Clemson College most kindly sent the Calhoun papers to Dr. R. P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, as the commission desired, with a view to the preparation of a volume of letters addressed to Calhoun. A partial calendar was made and submitted to the commission. The case then appeared clear. The documents were evidently of value, and the proposed volume seemed particularly desirable as the complement of one already published by the association. A number of scholars outside of the commission were consulted and appeared to feel as we did regarding the matter. Imme-

mediate action was almost essential. The trustees of the college could not be expected to leave in other hands for an indefinite period letters they highly prized. It was not certain that Dr. Brooks would be able at a later time to complete the work already well begun. There would plainly be economy in his working definitively rather than tentatively. The commission therefore voted unanimously to authorize him to proceed, and for some months he has been doing so.

The commission is considering a proposition of much importance, which, if indorsed, will be laid promptly before the council.

Very respectfully submitted.

JUSTIN H. SMITH, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 5, 1918.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

In the preliminary report of the historical manuscripts commission presented last year mention was made, I think, of a volume proposed by Dr. E. C. Barker. For that he is now willing to substitute the papers of Stephen F. Austin, edited by himself. This project was submitted to the commission by its chairman in the following terms:

* * * The collection contains a great many letters, written to him from different sections of the United States during 1821-1836, which reflected particularly the economic conditions of this country, and in many cases drafts of his replies; the official correspondence between him and the administrative and military authorities directing the affairs of Texas; correspondence between him and the colonists on matters of local administration; and, finally, documents on Missouri (1799-1820) and Arkansas (1819-20). It thus throws much light on the history of the United States, Mexico, and Texas. Dr. Barker estimates roughly that three octavo volumes (about 2,000 to 2,200 pages) would be needed. The enterprise appeals strongly to me, but perhaps my interest in southwestern history and my confidence in Dr. Barker's exceptional qualifications for editing this material create a prejudice in my mind; and I desire to point out clearly that the papers include a large amount of local material. As Dr. Barker says, however, even the details are of interest as showing how Americans adapted themselves to Mexican administration, and Texas was so connected with the whole westward movement and with events leading toward the Mexican War that the motives which took men there and their doings after they arrived are of considerable national importance. The magnitude of the enterprise and the fact that three volumes of Texas Diplomatic Correspondence have been published by the association are further points unfavorable to the plan, but it will be for the council to consider them. The question before us, I take it, is whether the historical value of the papers and the qualifications of the editor recommend the undertaking. It is not easy, of course, to bring together material and editorship, both of high quality.

The question thus presented has been decided by the commission in the affirmative, and the purpose of this communication is to lay the matter before the council.

The reasons why the members of the commission were not asked to express an opinion on the expediency of the project were, first, that the chairman felt sure that the council—particularly in view of the magnitude of the plan—would wish and feel bound to decide that issue, and therefore a decision made by us regarding it, in addition to involving a waste of effort, might possibly be slightly embarrassing; and, secondly, it was thought desirable to present to the commission the question of merit clear cut. If, however, the council desires our opinion, the chairman will most cheerfully take the matter up with the commission; and meantime he begs leave to offer a few remarks informally, hoping they may prove in some degree interesting.

1. It is natural that the association should publish a somewhat disproportionate share of material coming from the South, for the historical documents of that section have had less favorable opportunities than those the North to reach the public and have been correspondingly neglected.

2. The position of Texas among the States is unique, since she was for some time an independent nation, and hence in a peculiar way her early affairs concern our country as a whole, when they concern it at all. This was true of the Texas Diplomatic Correspondence viewed as a collection, even portions of it could perhaps have been omitted, and is believed to be true of the Austin papers to a large extent.

3. A good many years have passed since that correspondence was published.

4. It is very difficult to bring together material of high value, made ready for the press without expense to the association—as the Austin papers are to be—and editing of equal worth, necessarily done as a labor of love.

5. The historical manuscripts commission has made but small demands for space in the annual reports of the association during recent years. In the report for 1918, it will probably need but 100 to 125 pages; the Austin papers would presumably constitute its offering for three years; and it has definite in view only one other volume—the letters to Calhoun.

Very respectfully submitted.

JUSTIN H. SMITH, *Chairman.*

JANUARY 31, 1919.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

The work and appropriations of the public archives commission, as announced at the last annual meeting (December, 1917), were suspended during the year 1918. It has been impossible, therefore, to enlist contributors of reports on State or local archives, to organize a conference of archivists for the forthcoming meeting at Cleveland, or otherwise do more than mark time. I have had correspondence as occasion warranted with persons interested in public archives; have done what seemed to be necessary during the interrupted period of war, and am happy to know that at last, after many years of agitation, a national archive building at Washington is assured and soon to be begun in earnest.

The chairman of the commission has had some \$3 worth of postage stamps left over from the previous year and he has used old letterheads and envelopes; hence no expense has fallen upon the treasury during 1918.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR H. PALTSIT, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

To the AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

This report covers the work of the year 1918. It is hardly necessary to say at the outset that your committee has been seriously hampered by conditions arising from the war. However, the annual report for 1915 was issued and distributed in February; the General Index to Papers and Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, 1884-1914, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson and constituting Volume II of the report for 1914, appeared in July and Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818, by Dr. Richard J. Purcell, the Justice Winsor prize essay of 1916, was published in November.

The annual report for 1916 is in page proof and should be ready for distribution this coming spring. Comments on the contents of this report were

made in my statement last year. It consists of two volumes. The report for 1917, now in galley proof, will be comparatively small. It will contain Mr. Worthington C. Ford's presidential address given at Philadelphia and entitled "The editorial function in United States history," in accordance with the recommendation of the committee on publications made to and adopted by the council on December 1, 1917. There will be included in it 13 other papers listed on the final program of the Philadelphia meeting, and a report by Thomas M. Marshall concerning the archives of Idaho.

A number of papers which would have increased the value of the report have already appeared in print elsewhere and are consequently omitted. Three of these omitted papers were printed in the *American Historical Review*;¹ two went into the new *Hispanic-American Historical Review*;² two others were taken by the *Military Historian and Economist*;³ four were promptly combined into a small volume published by the Harvard University Press and entitled "Russian Revolution and the Jugo-Slavs";⁴ and five papers by as many different authors found places in some variety of publications.⁵ Although members of the association may note these losses to our report, they are sure to find in the volume other papers of permanent value.

By the terms of the charter of this association we are required annually to make a report to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Accordingly, although no meeting was held in 1918, an annual report for the year must be prepared. The task will be an easy one. It will afford an opportunity for the printing of some variety of useful materials. The following materials can be made readily available:

- (1) Council minutes, reports of officers and committees, and other matter respecting the activities of the association.
- (2) "Vagaries of historians," the annual address of President William Roscoe Thayer, to have been read at Cleveland, reprinted from the *American Historical Review*, January, 1919.
- (3) List of historical societies and data concerning such societies, constituting a handbook.
- (4) "The Santa Anna Papers," edited by Dr. Justin H. Smith as the thirteenth report of the historical manuscripts commission.
- (5) War activities of the historical profession, and historical activities during the war, a record and report prepared by the national board for historical service.

These materials should make a volume of about 500 pages. If it seemed desirable still further to enlarge the volume, it has been suggested that the committee print the diary record of observations kept by Mr. Charles Moore, our treasurer, on his trip with Prof. A. C. McLaughlin (April to July, 1918)

¹ A. T. Oimstead, *Oriental Imperialism*; W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*; G. W. Botsford, *Roman Imperialism*.

² C. H. Cunningham, *Institutional Background of Latin-American History*; C. W. Hackett, *Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions*, etc.

³ V. S. Clark, *Notes on American Manufactures during the Civil War*; Lieut. Col. Paul Azan, *Functions of an Historical Section of a General Staff*.

⁴ A. Petrunkevitch, *The Rôle of the Intellectuals in the Liberating Movement in Russia*; S. N. Harper, *Factors in the March Revolution of 1917*; F. A. Golder, *The First Week of the Revolution of March, 1917*; R. J. Kerner, *The Jugo-Slav Movement*.

⁵ E. P. Costigan, *Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties, and Tariff Adjustments*, in *American Economic Review*, supplement, March, 1918; C. H. Moore, *Decay of Nationalism under the Roman Empire*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1918; J. C. Ayer, jr., *Church Councils of the Anglo-Saxons*, in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*; A. C. McLaughlin, *Background of American Federalism*, in *American Political Science Review*, May, 1918; A. Henderson, *Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee*, in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, April, 1918.

through Great Britain and Ireland, a trip made under the auspices of the British universities. Mr. Moore's record is full of informing and delightful recollections and should be made permanently available to present and future members of this association.

Dr. Richard J. Purcell's essay, "Connecticut in transition: 1775-1818" (pp. 471-x) is the most costly volume thus far printed in the series of prize essays. Its total expense to the association, including items of wrapping, mailing, and postage, amounts to \$1,307.86, as compared to about \$860, the cost of Dr. Theodore C. Pease's "The Leveller movement" (pp. 406-x). The edition is limited to 500 copies. It may be doubted whether the cost of publication will ever again be so large, materials and labor, owing to the war, having reached an exorbitant height. There is at present in the keeping of the committee the manuscript of the Adams prize essay, "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution," by Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum. To this essay was awarded the Adams prize in March, 1918. You will remember that at a meeting of the council held in New York City on December 1, 1917, it was there voted that the recipient of the Adams prize should be asked to waive his right of publication under the rules hitherto in force. Disinclined to accept this ruling—the essay having been prepared some time previous to the alterations in the rules—and finding the suggestion of the committee unacceptable, that the essay be printed in the annual report of the association, Lieut. Nussbaum has expressed a wish to have the essay appear in the usual form of a separate volume. There is, of course, no question regarding the author's right in the matter. Inasmuch, however, as the separate publication of another volume in the series would be at this time exceedingly costly—it could hardly be done for much less than a thousand dollars—the committee can only recommend that the solution of the problem be postponed to a more advantageous time. Hereafter, in accordance with the action of the association taken at Philadelphia on December 29, 1917, the publication of the prize essays in their present form will be discontinued.

A brief comment in my report last year suggested the desirability of starting an effort to dispose of our publications—prize essays, papers, annual reports, church history papers, and writings on American history—now in the possession of or controlled by the association. To this subject Mr. Leland referred in his report read at the Philadelphia meeting. On December 26, 1917, the council voted that a "definite effort be made by a special committee or otherwise to dispose of the stock of publications of the association now stored in the office of the secretary." There is no evidence that any such committee was appointed; and during the past year no effort to sell our publications has been made. Total publications, bound and unbound, now amount to over 8,000 volumes. These have an estimated value of about \$7,300. But the annual item for storage and insurance on them is rather more than \$125, with a tendency to increase. This burden on our finances should somehow be reduced.

Last year I suggested that an appropriation of \$200 for advertising purposes might afford a partial solution of the problem. You will observe in the estimates for 1919 an appropriation of \$500 for the committee on publications, \$125 of which is set aside for advertising. The proper place regularly to advertise our publications would appear to be the *American Historical Review*, now the recognized organ of this association. If two pages of the *Review* were devoted to this purpose, we should be able to keep the titles of the prize essays and those of other association publications regularly before the public. Moreover, with a view toward making an appeal to a wider market, it might also be feasible to have a pamphlet drawn up which should contain detailed information concern-

ing many of our volumes. This pamphlet could be circulated among booksellers and libraries. In this connection I should like to make the further suggestion that a page of the Review be set aside hereafter for a full list of the officers and all committees of the association. Heretofore such a list has been usually available only in the April number of the Review or in the annual reports. This latter suggestion, if adopted, would keep our members and a somewhat more extended public regularly and conveniently informed of the working personnel of the entire organization. It would, I think, quicken to some extent our work, and it might aid appreciably the sale of our publications.

Within recent years the question has arisen as to the desirability of bringing together in the shape of a single volume the annual presidential addresses that since September, 1884, have been delivered before the association by leading American scholars. In view of the fact that we are close to the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the association, I wish once more to call attention to this question. I venture at the same time to raise another question of a somewhat similar nature, in hopes that the two questions may be considered together. In October, 1920, the American Historical Review will have completed its twenty-fifth year. To members of the association it is needless to dwell at length upon the significance of the Review in directing, vitalizing, and lending encouragement to careful methods of formulating and presenting historical problems. It would be impossible briefly to state its value in establishing correct standards of research or to estimate the aid that it must frequently have given toward the proper solution of difficult historical problems. Is it not time to consider the question of making a collection of selected essays taken from the files of the Review, in the hope of strengthening the Review, gaining for it and the association together a larger group of readers and members? The results of the war are certain to quicken and enlarge the interests in history. Such a volume of essays might yield notable results. At any rate, the accomplishments of a quarter of a century should give both the Review and the association a permanent place, not merely among historical scholars, but among a class of readers constantly growing and interested in historical themes and activities.

H. BARRETT LEARNED, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

As chairman of the committee on bibliography, I have the honor to make the following report for the year 1918:

As there was no appropriation for the work of the committee during the current year, and as I have myself been so extremely busy, I have had very little correspondence with other members of the committee, except Dr. Shearer, and so have only general knowledge that several of them have been interested in bibliographical work during the year, and, in a number of cases, in matters connected with the war. I am sorry that I am not able to give definite report of their individual achievements. If I learn such information prior to the meeting of the association, I shall ask leave to file an additional statement to make such report.

The work on the bibliography of American travel was, at the beginning of the year, transferred from Dr. Steiner to Dr. Shearer, and Dr. Shearer has been enabled to make some progress with the further preparation of that work, which could be brought to completion with reasonable speed should the necessary funds be made available.

With regard to my own activities, I have continued my quarterly contributions to the American Historical Review, and have, in cooperation with the national board for historical service, prepared a "selected critical bibliography of publications in English relating to the World War," which appeared as a war supplement to the March (1918) issue of the History Teacher's Magazine (vol. 9, pp. 155-183). This was later reprinted as War Reprint No. 3, in 36 pages, with nine additional groups of topics. The material was also, in the fuller form, included by Prof. McKinley in the volume of Collected Materials for the Study of the War, pages 105-136. In addition to this, I also compiled a manuscript bibliography of books on the war in European languages, for the use of the Inquiry. This was found to be of sufficient service to require its reproduction in subject and title cards by photostatic process. Since the work of the Inquiry was closed, this photostatic copy has been returned to me and presented to the Wesleyan University Library, where it may be consulted.

I trust that the condition of the association will permit some grant of funds for the work of the committee in 1919 and ensuing years, so that definite progress in both preparation and publication of bibliographical material may be made.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 20, 1918.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The board of editors of the American Historical Review beg leave to report that, apart from the routine production of the five members of the Review since they last reported to the council, and the consideration of questions connected with their contents, the only matter of general interest and importance has been that of the amount of the subsidy payable to the Macmillan Co. from the Review. On account of the increased cost of production the publishers claimed an increase in the amount payable by the association for each subscriber. After somewhat prolonged negotiation the amount settled upon for the year 1918 was 45 cents per subscriber. The publishers at the same time gave notice that it would be necessary to ask for a still further increase for the year 1919.

In order to meet this added expense and otherwise to reduce the cost of the Review, the board decided to make a slight decrease in the size of the Review, or, rather, to return to the usual length of some years ago, which has been exceeded during recent years. The main means by which this is to be accomplished is by the publication, usually, of three body articles rather than four in each number.

In response to the suggestion of the council that the minute read before the council on the death of Henry Adams be published in the Review, the board of editors would say that an estimate of the ability and services of Mr. Adams has already been published in the Review, and that an article on Mr. Adams's writings and position as an historian will appear in the April number. They are of the opinion, therefore, that it is not desirable that this minute be published, and beg the permission of the council to be excused from conforming to its request.

In response to the recommendation to its consideration of the proposal to publish a volume of collected inaugural addresses by presidents of the association, formerly published in the Review, and a volume of selected articles that have appeared in the Review, the board declares its entire willingness that

such material from the Review should be published and its confidence that the publishers would make no objection to its use. On the question of the wisdom of publishing these two volumes, they do not feel prepared to make any recommendation. On the question raised at the same time concerning the desirability of printing in each number of the Review a list of the officers and members of standing committees of the association, the board of editors doubts whether such frequent publication is called for and recommends a continuation of the present practice of publishing the list once a year, usually in the April number.

The remaining proposal referred by the council to the board, the publication in the advertising pages or elsewhere in the Review of a list of volumes issued and for sale by the association, commends itself to the board, and the managing editor has been requested to communicate with the Macmillan Co. as to the mutual interest of the association and the Macmillan Co. in such an advertisement and the expense to the society.

Respectfully submitted.

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

FEBRUARY 1, 1919.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE BRAZILIAN CENTENARY.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

I have the honor to report as follows upon the work of the committee appointed to arrange for the participation of the American Historical Association in the international congress on the history of America, which is to be held in Rio in September, 1922, in connection with the celebration of the centenary of Brazilian independence.

The general arrangements of the congress are in charge of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro), which has chosen an executive committee with Dr. Benjamin Franklin Ranfiz Galvão, former director of the Brazilian National Library, as president, and Dr. Max Fleluss as secretary. The program is to be made up of 30 sections, each devoted to a republic or colony of the new world.

The following committee has been designated by the council of the American Historical Association to take charge of the participation of that association and similar societies of this country: Prof. Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Hon. Edwin V. Morgan, American ambassador at Rio de Janeiro; Prof. Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; Dr. Charles Lyon Chandler, Philadelphia; Dr. Julius Klein, Harvard University, secretary.

A preliminary meeting of certain members of the committee had been planned in connection with the Cleveland session of the Historical Association, but owing to the cancellation of that session a later date for this committee meeting will have to be fixed.

It is highly desirable that the undertaking be given official recognition by the United States Government. In this connection the following cable, dated December 21, 1918, has just been received from Ambassador Morgan:

In connection with centennial celebration 1922, Brazilian Historical Geographical Institute suggests that Historical Association at Cleveland meeting urge American Government to accept invitation of institute to appoint general committee to arrange preparation papers on constitutional, administrative, parliamentary, economic, military, diplomatic and literary and artistic history of United States. Also upon geographical, archeological and ethnological explorations. Monographs should be ready September, 1922.

Suggest that association arrange with Governments to undertake organization committee and assignment papers.

It is, therefore, recommended that the council authorize a proper official or officials of the association to confer with Assistant Secretary of State Phillips upon this matter of governmental recognition and upon the appropriation of funds by the Government to cover the expenses of an American delegation to the proposed congress. The secretary of the committee conferred on these points with Dr. L. S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who has had experience with such undertakings, especially in connection with the Pan American scientific congress held in Chile in 1908. It is believed that an appropriation of \$25,000 will be necessary to cover the expenses of a delegation of five representatives and a secretary. Informal discussion of the matter with various governmental officials in Washington seems to indicate that no great difficulty will be encountered in securing the above recognition and appropriation.

It is recommended that an appropriation of \$25 be made available for the uses of the committee to cover incidental expenses, such as stationery, printing and stamps.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIUS KLEIN, *Secretary.*

JANUARY 18, 1919.

ANNUAL REPORT RESPECTING "WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY," JANUARY 1
TO DECEMBER 3, 1918.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

In accordance with annual custom I present the following report to each of those societies and individuals who during the present five-year period are subscribers to the fund for maintaining the annual bibliography, entitled "Writings on American History," prepared under my supervision by Miss Grace G. Griffin, at the Library of Congress.

MANUFACTURE AND ISSUE.

As in previous years, the cost of compilation of the volume has been paid from the fund the administration of which I am now reporting upon, and the manufacture and publication were undertaken by the Yale University Press, even though, as in previous years, they had published the volume at considerable loss.

This is the first report at the close of a given year when I have not been in a position to state that a volume had been published and distributed. But in the present instance the volume for 1916, which was sent to the printer in manuscript early in January of the present year, was reported on January 8, 1919, as being then in the bindery. The delay has, I believe, been due in large part to the abnormal condition of labor during the war, and while I regret it exceedingly, and feel that every possible effort should be made to bring these volumes out more promptly, yet I do not feel that I am in a position, in my dealings with the Yale Press, to bring any strong pressure to bear upon them.

The volume now about to be published is of 200 pages, listing 3,156 items and provided with the usual comprehensive index. Just as soon as it comes out copies will be sent to all the subscribing societies and individuals.

COMPILATION.

The manuscript of the volume covering the issues of the year 1917 was sent to the printers on December 28, 1918. We shall hope that much better

speed can be made upon it than upon its predecessor, and that distribution can take place in the summer, as heretofore. In previous reports I have, I think, explained why it is not possible to send manuscript of these volumes to the printer earlier in the year. Owing to conditions prevailing during the war production in the field of history has been considerably lessened, so that the volume for 1917, I understand, will be perceptibly smaller than the preceding issues.

The Library of Congress has continued throughout the year the aid which it has steadily afforded to Miss Griffin in her work.

FINANCES.

A statement of receipts and expenditures is inclosed herewith. From this it will be seen that, as in the preceding year, we close the year with a deficit, in the present case of about \$21. It should be observed also that had the volume for 1916 been brought out during the year, as would ordinarily have been the case, there would have been the printer's bill for proof corrections to meet, which would probably have amounted to some thirty or forty dollars additional.

From the above showing it will be seen that our fund needs to be increased somewhat, and that I shall endeavor to bring about by one or two additional subscriptions. It is therefore hoped that each subscribing organization and individual will continue its subscription during the present year, and that at the end of the year the undersigned may be able to make a more satisfactory report upon finances.

The present period of subscriptions runs from 1917 to 1921, inclusive. Subscriptions for the year 1919, are now due, and payment of them will be gladly received. I should be greatly obliged if at your convenience you would send me the sum of \$200, which I understand is the amount subscribed by you. Checks should be made payable to J. Franklin Jameson, trustee, and addressed to me at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

With continued appreciation of your liberality in contributing to the maintenance of this bibliography, and with continued conviction that such a bibliographical manual is indispensable to the proper progress of American historical studies,

Very truly yours,

J. F. JAMESON.

Statement of "Writings on American History," Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1918.

Receipts:

Balance in bank, Jan. 1, 1918.....	\$0. 74
American Historical Association.....	240. 20
Chicago Historical Society.....	50. 00
Colonial Society of Massachusetts.....	50. 00
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	50. 00
Michigan Historical Commission.....	50. 00
Minnesota Historical Society.....	50. 00
Morrisson-Reeves Library.....	25. 00
New York Historical Society.....	50. 00
New York State Historical Association.....	50. 00
Library of the University of Pennsylvania.....	50. 00
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	50. 00
C. B. Alexander.....	50. 00
T. E. Brittingham.....	50. 00
H. W. Farnam.....	25. 00

Receipts—Continued.

Edwin F. Greene.....	\$50.00
Cleveland Public Library.....	10.00
Northwestern University Library.....	10.00
	<hr/>
	910.94
Advanced by J. F. Jameson.....	21.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	931.94

Expenditures:

Deficit from 1917.....	41.00
Services in preparing manuscripts—	
G. G. Griffin.....	\$875.00
Mary Loveall.....	2.50
	<hr/>
	877.70
Supplies, C. E. Gould.....	6.30
Yale University Press (extra copies).....	6.26
	<hr/>
	931.26
Balance in bank, Dec. 31, 1917.....	.68
	<hr/>
Total.....	931.94

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:

The secretary of the conference of historical societies reports that there was unprecedented interest last year in the questionnaires sent to the 500 living historical societies, nearly 300 being answered. These were copied and nearly prepared for press for the proposed Handbook of Historical Societies, but conditions, both war and personal, prevented the publication and the material is being held until 1919, when it is hoped that the book can be published. A report of the fourteenth conference was printed and sent out in February, 1918. The appropriation of 1918 has been used for the printed report, while the amounts contributed by historical societies (as appended) have been saved for publishing the handbook. No effort was made to secure further contributions until the handbook should be issued. The fifteenth conference will be held jointly with the committee on bibliography, December 27. No appropriation is asked for 1919.

Respectfully submitted.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER, *Secretary.*

DECEMBER 16, 1918.

STATEMENT RESPECTING THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

The national board for historical service was organized as the result of a conference held in Washington, April 29, 1917, on the invitation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington through its department of historical research. The objects of the organization have been made known to the historical profession

through reports sent out from time to time. A brief summary of the activities of the board during the year 1918 follows. For the period terminating August 27, 1918, this summary is based upon the reports of Chairman Evarts B. Greene as presented to the board July 15, 1918, and August 27, 1918.

The main outline of the board's activities during that period are summarized under research, educational service, international service, bibliography, and records, cooperation with the Committee on Public Information, proposed hand-book series. Under research were mentioned the work of the inquiry, which is just now coming into complete fruitfulness at the Paris conference; the report on the "Diplomatic history of Europe, Asia, and Africa since 1870," compiled by F. M. Anderson and A. S. Hershey with the cooperation of other historical scholars; "The study of governments less than sovereign," by W. W. Willoughby and Charles G. Fenwick; and the highly important studies of the current German press by Victor S. Clark. It may be stated that Mr. Clark's service has continued to the present time and provision has been made for its further continuance. Under educational service, Dr. Greene indicated the board's cooperation with the Bureau of Education, particularly in the distribution of Leaflet No. 1; the lectures for Army camps which had a considerable vogue during the summer of 1918, the provision of contributions to the History Teacher's Magazine, now known as the Historical Outlook, the preparation of the war reader edited by D. C. Munro for the use of English classes, and the French reader edited by W. G. Leland and Charles A. Downer; the prize essay contest and cooperation with summer schools. The English war reader was published in September and is now before the public, the French reader is about to go to press, and the prize essay contest has been brought to a conclusion. Under international service, the most important item reported by Chairman Greene was the mission of Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, accompanied by Mr. Charles Moore, to the British universities. It is understood that a complete report of this mission has been prepared by Mr. Moore and is now in manuscript form ready for publication. One of Prof. McLaughlin's lectures was published in the July number of History, London.

The board cooperated in the production of bibliographies, including a list of periodicals prepared by Miss Dilla which was later taken over by the Division of Bibliography of the Library of Congress, and "A selected bibliography of the war," by G. M. Dutcher, issued as a supplement to the History Teacher's Magazine. A further statement about such cooperation under this head will be added later. The board has also cooperated continuously with the Committee on Public Information in the production of the Red, White, and Blue Series, the War Information Series, the War Cyclopedia, both the original edition and the revised edition (which has not yet been published), and one of its members, Prof. S. B. Harding, has had an important relation to the publication called the National School Service.

In his report of August 27, 1918, Chairman Greene adverted again to the international service, mentioning the lectures of Prof. George M. Wrong and the McLaughlin mission. Another point which he stressed was the appointment of a committee, consisting of S. J. Buck, M. M. Quaipe, and R. D. W. Connor, to prepare a report of the work of State historical institutions in relation to the preservation of war records. All that can be added at this time on the last point is that, so far as is known, this committee has not yet actually worked out plans. It seems highly desirable, now that the war is over, that practicable plans for the garnering of this historical material in the nature of war records should be worked out. On this point the board would be glad to receive suggestions from the council.

When the present vice chairman entered upon the duties of his office, October 2, he found various lines of activity open, and one of these seemed especially eligible; this was cooperation with the committee on education and special training, of the War Department war issues course. Chairman Greene and Chairman Munro had been in conference with Mr. Frank Aydelotte, director of this course, who was engaged in preparing material for the colleges and universities, and the vice chairman found that most of his time for a number of weeks could be most profitably occupied in assisting in this work. Specifically, cooperation was given toward the preparation of C. e. 17, Bibliography No. 1, and C. e. 21, Questions on the Issues of the War. Another bibliography has been prepared entirely by this board on the peace and on reconstruction. This bibliography is in print and is practically ready for distribution at the office of the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. This also grew out of our cooperation with the war issues course.

In connection with the same work it was deemed advisable to provide teachers in the colleges with material on a number of subjects bearing upon reconstruction. The vice chairman has cooperated with Mr. Aydelotte and others in promoting the production of such material, and the final outcome is a volume entitled "Democracy in Reconstruction, Twenty Essays by American Specialists," edited by Frederick A. Cleveland and Joseph Schafer, and which is to be published April 1 by the Houghton Mifflin Co.

The board has it in contemplation also to promote the production of another volume on the general subject of war activities in Washington. Plans for this volume have been initiated, but their active development waits upon the completion of the preceding piece of publication work, which just now occupies our time very fully. It might be added that the vice chairman is personally preparing for "Democracy in Reconstruction" the introductory chapter, which will be entitled "Historical backgrounds of American reconstruction."

Another important activity of the board during the past few weeks has been the preparation, under Dr. Jameson's direction, of a series of lectures for the use of the Y. M. C. A. in the Army camps in France. These include three lectures on the United States, one on France, and one on England.

Attention is called, in the secretary's report, to the appointment of a committee to consider the question of history in schools. With the work of this committee the board is deeply concerned and is prepared to promote it in every way possible. There is also a plan for publishing a summary of the special services performed during the war by the members of the American Historical Association.

In conclusion it may be said that colleges, universities, and schools are appealing to the board in considerable numbers for assistance of one kind and another toward the organization and conduct of classes for the study of the war, the study of the peace, and the study of reconstruction. It seems probable that, as reported to the director of the war issues course, a very large proportion of the nearly 600 colleges that were giving that course will continue to give an equivalent course on a voluntary basis. Many of these schools are depending now upon the board for helps and suggestions which during the first term were secured from the director of the war issues course.

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH SCHAFER, *Vice Chairman.*

JANUARY 31, 1919.

Statistics of membership.

I. GENERAL.

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total membership.....	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654	2,519
Life.....	122	120	117	115	109
Annual.....	2,578	2,587	2,388	2,318	2,201
Institutions.....	213	219	234	221	209
Total paid membership, including life members.....	2,176	2,374	2,378	2,132	1,817
Total delinquent.....	735	552	361	522	702
Since last bill.....	610	391	361	508	675
For one year.....	127	161	.....	14	27
Total loss.....	205	277	431	306	285
Deaths.....	30	32	40	33	39
Resignations.....	102	168	118	96	65
Dropped.....	73	77	273	177	181
Total gain.....	275	290	244	221	150
Life.....	2	.....	1	1	2
Annual.....	260	277	235	214	142
Institutions.....	13	13	8	6	6
Total number of elections.....	182	273	172	191	119
Net gain or loss.....	70	13	-187	-85	-135

II. BY REGIONS.

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.....	549	511	483	445	409
North Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.....	803	831	816	802	796
South Atlantic: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.....	153	155	148	149	139
North central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.....	607	600	558	529	490
South central: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia.....	109	101	85	90	77
West central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas.....	300	312	275	287	284
Pacific coast: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California.....	276	305	280	258	238
Territories: Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands.....	11	11	8	5	5
Other countries.....	105	100	86	89	81
Total.....	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654	2,519

III. BY STATES.

	December—					New members, 1918.
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	
Alabama.....	17	14	10	9	6	.....
Alaska.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	1	1	2	3	2	.....
Arkansas.....	8	8	4	4	4	.....
California.....	167	190	169	158	140	10
Colorado.....	10	13	15	14	17	3
Connecticut.....	110	100	99	94	83	5
Delaware.....	3	9	12	11	11	.....
District of Columbia.....	85	102	93	86	98	5
Florida.....	5	8	5	6	3	.....
Georgia.....	28	3	21	21	21	2
Hawaii.....	1	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	4	5	4	5	5	.....
Illinois.....	222	224	208	190	182	4
Indiana.....	61	58	61	50	47	1
Iowa.....	52	52	46	43	43	3
Kansas.....	28	37	28	36	34	3

III. BY STATES—Continued.

	December—					New members 1918.
	1914.	1915	1916	1917	1918	
Kentucky.....	32	23	21	24	25	
Louisiana.....	23	20	19	16	16	1
Maine.....	24	23	24	21	21	1
Maryland.....	53	50	55	56	54	3
Massachusetts.....	340	319	295	268	245	10
Michigan.....	102	105	95	90	84	3
Minnesota.....	44	48	49	51	43	1
Mississippi.....	9	9	6	3	3	
Missouri.....	53	50	49	50	45	4
Montana.....	8	10	9	10	8	
Nebraska.....	26	31	28	24	24	2
Nevada.....	4	5	5	5	4	
New Hampshire.....	29	29	29	30	27	2
New Jersey.....	74	85	84	85	81	7
New Mexico.....	3	6	6	8	9	1
New York.....	391	393	386	373	348	7
North Carolina.....	31	30	30	30	23	
North Dakota.....	5	5	3	4	6	1
Ohio.....	128	122	110	115	106	2
Oklahoma.....	8	12	8	10	9	
Oregon.....	32	30	24	17	18	1
Pennsylvania.....	197	192	189	191	204	32
Philippine Islands.....	6	5	4	3	3	
Porto Rico.....	2	2	2	2	2	1
Rhode Island.....	36	30	28	25	24	
South Carolina.....	31	33	28	22	20	1
South Dakota.....	7	5	8	8	7	1
Tennessee.....	37	35	31	31	24	
Texas.....	46	44	33	41	53	13
Utah.....	7	8	10	12	8	
Vermont.....	10	10	8	7	9	1
Virginia.....	48	61	64	70	72	10
Washington.....	35	32	30	23	23	2
West Virginia.....	14	17	17	23	19	3
Wisconsin.....	94	91	84	84	71	2
Wyoming.....	5	4	6	3	4	1
Canada.....	38	39	34	33	29	
Cuba.....	2	2	2	2	2	
South America.....				2	4	
Foreign.....	65	59	50	52	46	1
Total.....	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654	2,519	150

PROGRAM.¹

All sessions will be held in the Hotel Hollenden, rooms to be announced later. Persons not members of the association are cordially invited to attend the sessions. Papers are limited to 20 minutes unless other and special arrangements have been made.

Thursday, December 26.

- 6-9 p. m.: Bureau of registration and information open for early registration.
 6 p. m.: Meeting of executive council of the American Historical Association.
 7 p. m.: Subscription dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; open also to members of the American Historical Association. Chairman, E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Mo.

Friday, December 27.

- 10 a. m.: American history, joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, Harlow Lindley, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Richmond, Ind. Papers to be announced later.

¹The program was not carried out owing to the abandonment of the meeting.

10 a. m.: Latin-American history.

Brazil and the war, Percy A. Martin, Leland Stanford Junior University.
Peruvian-Chilean relations: The Tacna-Arica question, W. L. Schurz, University of Michigan.

The influence of our political ideals in South America, W. S. Robertson, University of Illinois.

Economic effects of the war on Latin-America, Julius Klein, United States Department of Commerce.

Discussion, led by James A. Robertson, editor *Hispanic-American Historical Review*.

10 a. m.: Conference of history teachers. Chairman, Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University.

The American Revolution restated: A problem for teachers, A. M. Schlesinger, Ohio State University.

The study and teaching of the history of the Far East: The problem and a suggested solution, Kenneth S. Latourette, Denison University.

Discussion: What modification of the history programs of the elementary and secondary schools is made desirable because of the war? Opened by Oscar H. Williams, Indiana State high school inspector, and Armand J. Gerson, district superintendent of schools, Philadelphia.

12.30 p. m.: Luncheon given by the trustees of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Hotel Hollenden.

2.30 p. m.: Ancient history. Chairman, A. E. R. Boak, University of Michigan.

Treatment of the civilian population in territory occupied by hostile forces: (a) In Assyria, D. D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago; (b) In Greece, Herbert Wing, jr., Dickinson College.

Philip's use of coinage as political propaganda, A. B. West, University of Rochester.

German historians and Macedonian imperialism, John R. Knipfing, Ohio State University.

2.30 p. m.: Conference of historical societies in joint session with the committee on bibliography. Chairman, Wallace H. Cathcart, Esq.; secretary, Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.

War books, George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University.

Discussion—The collection of books, posters, and other materials relating to the war, by historical societies and libraries, William W. Bishop, president of the American Library Association; Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society.

2.30 p. m.: Conference on the "War-issues course" of the S.A.T.C. Chairman Frank Aydelotte, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, director of war-issues course, Committee on Education and Special Training, United States War Department.

The war-issues course as seen by a university director, Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois.

Experience of a district director, Frank S. Bogardus, Indiana State Normal School.

Discussion—What shall be done with the course? Possibility of a permanent combined course in modern history, political science, economics, philosophy, and literature.

(a) Philosophy, J. H. Tufts, University of Chicago.

(b) Literature, J. S. P. Tatlock, Leland Stanford Junior University; Stuart P. Sherman, University of Illinois.

(c) Economics, H. G. Moulton, University of Chicago.

(d) History, Norman M. Trenholme, University of Missouri; Arthur I. Andrews, Tufts College.

(e) Political science, Maj. W. B. Munro, Harvard University; Thomas F. Moran, Purdue University.

- 6 p. m.: Dinner conference on far eastern history. Other dinner conferences may be arranged.
- 8 p. m.: General session. Chairman, Edward Channing, vice president of the American Historical Association.
 Presidential address: Vagaries of historians, William Roscoe Thayer.
 Address: The development of the British Empire and of the United States: A comparative view, Lord Charnwood.
- 10 p. m.: Smoker at the Union Club.

Saturday, December 28.

- 10 a. m.: General session. American history. Chairman, William Roscoe Thayer.
 Nationalism in its first phase, 1820-1850, Edward Channing, Harvard University.
 Lincoln and the sense of nationality in the North, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, College of the City of Charleston, S. C.
 Fifty years of American nationalism, 1865-1918, Charles A. Beard, New York City.
- 12.30 p. m.: Luncheon given by the president and trustees of Western Reserve University. Informal address by Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago; Impressions of Britain in war time.
- 3 p. m.: Annual business meeting of the American Historical Association. Election of officers.
- 4.30 p. m.: Visits to the Cleveland Museum of Art, East Boulevard at Bellflower Road, and to the Western Reserve Historical Society, Euclid Avenue and East One hundred and seventh Street.
- 8 p. m.: General session. European History. Chairman, William Roscoe Thayer.
 Why France must recover Lorraine, Marcel Knecht, French high commission.
 The platform of the British Labor Party, Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania.
 Germany's Russian policy: The Brest-Litovsk treaties, Victor S. Clark, Washington, D. C.
 The psychology of nationalism, Max S. Handman, University of Texas.
 The Ukrainian national movement, Frank A. Golder, State College of Washington.

In Memoriam.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE.

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

On the morning of November 4, 1918, at his home on the campus of Cornell University, Dr. Andrew Dickson White ended his long and useful life. Born on November 7, 1832, he had all but completed his 86th year.

At Saratoga in the autumn of 1884 he was one of the little group which organized this association. It was he who was then made its first president, and a little later it was his name that headed the list of its incorporators. At its earliest meetings he was a regular attendant; and, though this habit was interrupted by the public duties which repeatedly and for long took him abroad, he retained till his death a warm interest in our activities.

To history in America his services were great and of many kinds. He was one of the first in this country to devote himself to the teaching of history as an academic career, and such was his success at the University of Michigan, where in 1857 he began his work, that he soon won for that subject an independent chair and made it one of the most important. Already, through the magazines, he had begun to claim for historical studies a larger place in American education; and when a few years later, as a member of the senate of his native State of New York, he had large part in the creation of Cornell University; he saw to it that there from the outset history was held in honor. He himself became not only its president but its professor of modern European history, and in the teaching of history he had two colleagues, one of them Goldwin Smith. The poverty of the young institution, however, and President White's chivalrous unwillingness to favor his own department made further development slow. It was not till 1881 that his old friend, Moses Coit Tyler, could be called to a chair of American history, the first devoted exclusively to that subject in any university, and that Herbert Tuttle, whom Mr. White had learned to know at Berlin, was added to the faculty. In 1885 he laid down the presidency, but it was only to transfer it to his old pupil and fellow historian, Charles Kendall

Adams. Meanwhile his private wealth had enabled him to build up a notable historical library, and this, in 1887, he presented to Cornell with stipulations as to its care and increase and as to a historical librarianship and historical fellowships. The university, in recognition of the gift, not only accepted these conditions, but gave to her combined departments of history and political science, which the sale of a part of her lands now permitted her to expand, the name of "The President White School."

But Mr. White's was also a wider spokesmanship for the studies he loved. As a commissioner to international expositions, he reported to our National Government on their progress abroad and the growing facilities for their students. As lecturer and writer he lost no chance to urge their claims at home. His acquaintance with historical scholars the world over was large and was more than once a door to invitations oversea.

The worth of the historical studies he championed as training for public service he vindicated yet more eloquently by his own career. As his country's representative at the court of Russia and twice at that of Germany, as one of President Grant's commissioners to Santo Domingo and one of President Cleveland's on the Venezuela-Guiana boundary, as the head of our delegation at the first international conference at The Hague, and in a host of minor posts of public trust, he had ample chance to demonstrate their value.

And not all his heavy cares as teacher, administrator, public servant, prevented his plying still the pen of the historian. The lectures which were the joy and inspiration of student audiences at Michigan and at Cornell were always written out with care, and at least a volume of them has seen the light of print in his "Seven Great Statesmen." His studies of the struggle of science for freedom, a pareragon through many busy years, grew to the thick octavos of his history of the "Warfare of Science with Theology." His ripened memories took shape in the two charming volumes of his "Autobiography," which will remain a priceless source for nineteenth-century history. There is hope that from his manuscript remains may yet be gleaned a volume of papers, perhaps, too, a selection from his correspondence; and for a revised edition of his "Warfare of Science," much work had been done.

But the tale of his services to the study of history would be sadly incomplete if it failed to mention what he did for other students. His interest in younger scholars was all his life active and eager. To them his friendship, his home, his table, at need his purse, were open. On both sides of the sea his help was fruitful in opening for many the way to a career, in stirring many another to larger effort.

His memory will long be held in loving gratitude by us all.

HENRY ADAMS.

By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

The Executive Council of the American Historical Association takes occasion of its first meeting since the death of Henry Adams, president of the association in 1893-1894, to record its appreciation of the loss which American historical scholarship and the world of letters have suffered in his departure. Heir to the best traditions of American public life, cultivated by wide reading, travel, social experience, and keen observation, and familiar already with two generations of American public men, while detached from the confusing struggles of politics, he devoted the 20 years of his prime to the history of his country. As a teacher during six years at Harvard University he made a deep impression upon many of the best young minds of his time and signally improved by brilliant example the methods of historical instruction in our universities. As biographer of Gallatin, whose rich mind, varied experience, and European background made him an especially congenial subject, he restored one of our greatest statesmen to his proper place in American regard. As historian of the United States under Jefferson and Madison, he applied years of research, unwearied labor skillfully concealed, an inherited independence of judgment, great literary skill, and all the resources of a richly stored and singularly penetrating mind to the depicting of a great epoch in the history of America, the epoch when she freed herself from dependence upon Europe and its political principles, and threw the reins upon the neck of nature. If ever any American historian has satisfied the demands both of those who chiefly desire scientific completeness of knowledge and of those who chiefly desire skill in presentation, Mr. Adams achieved it in this classical work. Moreover, severe as were his judgments of political characters, and detached as was his mind from commonplace American prepossessions, his full appreciation of European culture never prevented him, any more than it prevented Gallatin, from fully appreciating also, and at times setting forth in inspiring passages, the wholesome and hopeful elements in the life of this young and fresh Nation. At 52 he took leave of formal historical composition. History still remained one of the principal interests of his extraordinarily active and fertile mind, but the tendency of his later years was toward speculation on the relations of history to physical science and, more broadly, on the relations of thought to vital energy. The progress of his search for a scientific or philosophic explanation of history may be traced in the stimulating letter which he sent to the association in 1894 in lieu of a presidential ad-

dress, in his "Letter to American Teachers of History," and partially in his "Mont St. Michel and Chartres," and in that classic of autobiography, "The Education of Henry Adams." His loss is the loss to America of a sincere but discerning friend, of a great historical writer, of the most brilliant of talkers, of a social figure of surpassing interest, and of a mind singularly acute and comprehensive.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

A great national calamity has befallen the American people. They have lost at the same moment their wisest and most renowned statesman, their broadest intellectual and moral leader, and their best-beloved friend. This many-sided man is mourned by all classes, all sections, all sorts and conditions of men. The hunter in the solitude of the Rockies, the sailor on the ocean, the farmer in his wheat field or his cotton field, the miner, the brakeman, the bookkeeper, the ironworker, the teacher in the schoolroom, the woman at the loom, all feel that the world is enshadowed because Theodore Roosevelt has left it.

Among this vast host of sincere mourners those whose thoughts and labors turn to the history of nations and the affairs of state have a special right to grieve at the loss of one who was at the same time a maker and a recorder of history. Subtract from the annals of the last two decades his stimulating presence, his joyous appreciation of clean life, his belief in the aims and the just expectations of the American people, and America would be deprived of an essential part of national life and national history.

The council of the American Historical Association, of which he was a valued member, therefore can not gather at this time without some expression of the affection, confidence, and grief of the historical scholars and teachers of the land. Theodore Roosevelt throughout his life was a passionate student of historical questions. His first book on the Naval War of 1812 revealed his fearlessness, his spirit of research, and his historical mindedness. In many other books, historical and political in nature, he revealed his amazing grasp of the character of American leadership and the fiber of American manhood and womanhood. His formal contributions to historical literature were large and have had a great influence on American thought. His state papers and addresses include many historical discussions and are themselves among the most important

historical documents of the age. No one can read or write or understand the history of the United States without knowing for what Theodore Roosevelt stood.

Toward other historical scholars, as toward men of every kind, Theodore Roosevelt stretched out the hand of brotherhood, appreciation, and the stimulus of a mind which was master in many subjects. As president of the American Historical Association, in the year 1912, he drew from his stores of experience and reflection for the annual address. He used his official influence for the preservation and right use of public historical materials. The world recognized his fellowship in letters and bestowed upon him all the honors due a world scholar. It was his province to show that school and college, ranch, official desk, command and military life, and the high responsibilities of the head of a nation all could combine to form the accomplished scholar, the ready and forcible writer, the keen critic, and the controller of vast affairs.

The personal side of Theodore Roosevelt's relations with this body includes many warm and steadfast friendships. We know whereof we speak. Therefore we desire to place upon our records and to communicate to those nearest our great dead friend in kinship the following resolution:

Resolved by the council of the American Historical Association, in behalf of that association and of the confraternity of students, teachers, and writers of history, That the untimely death of Theodore Roosevelt has silenced the pen of one of America's great writers, whose thought and influence were always turned toward high things. His life has enriched his countrymen and the world by his immense contribution of practical political concepts, by his splendid enthusiasm, by his unvarying Americanism, by a personality bountiful beyond any man of his time, by his lofty nature, his courage, his constancy, his steadfast and immovable belief in the future of his country, by his devotion to his friends, and his confidence in his Maker. In the name of those in America who read and study history as a record of great minds and noble souls we say, "Vale, Theodore! Vale, gift of God!"

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the general conditions of the country, and to a statement of the objects of the mission.

The second part contains a detailed account of the progress of the mission, and of the various objects which have been discovered. It is divided into three sections, the first of which relates to the general appearance of the country, the second to the various objects which have been discovered, and the third to the results of the various experiments which have been made.

The third part contains a description of the various objects which have been discovered, and of the results of the various experiments which have been made. It is divided into three sections, the first of which relates to the general appearance of the country, the second to the various objects which have been discovered, and the third to the results of the various experiments which have been made.

The fourth part contains a description of the various objects which have been discovered, and of the results of the various experiments which have been made. It is divided into three sections, the first of which relates to the general appearance of the country, the second to the various objects which have been discovered, and the third to the results of the various experiments which have been made.

The fifth part contains a description of the various objects which have been discovered, and of the results of the various experiments which have been made. It is divided into three sections, the first of which relates to the general appearance of the country, the second to the various objects which have been discovered, and the third to the results of the various experiments which have been made.



The sixth part contains a description of the various objects which have been discovered, and of the results of the various experiments which have been made. It is divided into three sections, the first of which relates to the general appearance of the country, the second to the various objects which have been discovered, and the third to the results of the various experiments which have been made.

II. VAGARIES OF HISTORIANS.

By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

VAGARIES OF HISTORIANS.¹

By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Man has an instinctive curiosity concerning processes; though he has been baffled a thousand times in his search for ultimate causes, he turns eagerly to watch causes unfold. If he can not discover the *why* of things, he can observe with the utmost accuracy the *how* of things; and possibly he may be able, after a sufficiently ample investigation, to deduce the *why* from the *how*. The reason may be indirectly disclosed by the process.

There is another instinct strong in man, and that is his instinct for certitude. He does not rest tranquil amid doubts. The missing link in a chain of evidence or argument torments him, and if he can not find it, he busies himself in imagining what it ought to be like.

These two instincts have never been more active than during the last half century. You have only to glance through an approved history of the literature of any country in order to see with what perfect precision and assuredness the work is done. The sequence of cause and effect rolls on as smoothly as does the leather belt which turns the wheels in a factory. There are no gaps, no doubts, no hesitation. Take the history of American literature, for example, and see how simply Washington Irving is "accounted for," and then how naturally William Cullen Bryant followed him, and when you come to the New England School, how Emerson, and Hawthorne, and Longfellow, and Whittier, and Holmes, are beautifully related each to each in a fatal rack-and-pinion combination. There is an implied causal connection, and everything is so perfectly adjusted that you begin to infer that nature amuses herself by playing an unending ball-and-socket game.

If you allow your mind a little freedom, however, or even indulge in a little common sense—that most uncommon and little valued of human attributes—you must perceive that the causal relationship among those American authors was purely imaginary. Emerson might have flourished and have been the complete Emerson whom we know, although Holmes and Hawthorne had never existed; and so not one of them was important, much less indispensable, to the

¹ Presidential address prepared to be read before the American Historical Association, at Cleveland, Dec. 28, 1918. (Reprinted from the *American Historical Review*, January, 1919.)

development of the others. I do not mean, of course, that being contemporaries and acquaintances they had no superficial influences on each other, but I do mean that they were structurally independent.

Now to write literary history in this fashion is to falsify. The persons who produce it mean no harm; they are simply the unconscious victims of the instinct for process and of the instinct for precision; having only half learned the theory of evolution, they inevitably misuse it. Six or eight authors of a given generation look up before them; what can be more certain than that these authors have some occult evolutionary interdependence?

Thus do personalities, the most fluid and elusive of essences, become petrified and standardized and made to fit into one another, and into the pattern which the historian has devised, as if they were pieces of metal, molded into interlocking parts of a soulless machine.

The same calamity befalls a national history, or any episode in it, in the hands of historians of this sort. They, too, must account for everything, and carefully dovetail one incident into another leaving no gap, for fear they may be thought undiligent, or inaccurate. So we have from them a perfectly consecutive story without breach or suture, the product, though the writers know it not, of our common craving for certitude. No class of our historical writers seems more prone to this defect than do the documentarians—by whom I mean those who devote themselves almost entirely to the inspection of documents, which they come sometimes to worship as fetishes. They withdraw themselves so far from actual life that they fail to understand that the written document alone is not the sole material of history, nor is it always the best.

The historian comes to his work with many prepossessions which must, if he gives them free play, lead him to strange and unexpected results. It is as if some demon urged him not to use his own eyes but to wear colored glasses; and as the colors vary, so will his pictures. The prepossessions of race, of creed, of a political party, or of an economic school are all temptations which he must resist. A judicious reader will not, of course, be deceived by them; indeed, they will often help him to know more intimately than he otherwise could the principles and the desires which sway the zealots of creed or party. The writer who strives to be neutral or parades his impartiality may often lead us farther from the truth than does the partisan whose very zeal discloses it.

But there are still larger prepossessions which I may call cosmic. These are based on your ultimate conception of the universe, on what you think life is, and on your duties and relations towards it. I need hardly say that as long as man was regarded not only as the central object for which the earth was created, but also as the very sum and crown of life in the visible universe, the historians in the bonds of

these prepossessions made a very different story of man's deeds than anybody would make now. The Jews, for instance, looked upon themselves as the Chosen People, and in the Old Testament they pieced together fact, tradition, myth, poetry, religious and civil laws, and even sanitary and hygienic ordinances so as to prove their assumption. The early chronicles of other peoples—of Egyptians and Assyrians, of Babylonians and Chinese—have similar features. Even the open-minded and keen-sighted Greeks did not escape from assigning to Hellas supreme importance: the gods of Hellas were to them indisputably the highest of all deities, just as they themselves, the Hellenes, were first among men.

When we read the works of the Jews or Greeks, or other ancient peoples, we must remember, therefore, that this conviction of primacy lay in the back of the mind of each of them. It came to be taken for granted; it ceased to be debated or discussed.

Substituting creeds for races, we find just such a prepossession in the case of Christians and Mohammedans, and later, when Christians became divided, between Protestants and Roman Catholics. There was always the primal assumption that one creed was orthodox and that the supporters of all the other creeds were heretics. Likewise, among races yours was civilized and all the others were barbarian.

In the nineteenth century, however, came the revelation, now generally accepted among intelligent peoples, that the earth is not the center of the universe, and consequently man's cosmic position has completely changed. His history, at least so far as it concerns ultimates, must be wholly revised. As we look out at the Milky Way on a clear frosty night, we no longer modestly assume that its millions of stars and all the other suns and constellations were created and are whirling forever on their immeasurable circuits for the benefit of us mere men. Not only the scale by which we measure has changed, but the degree and the purpose.

The modern key word for solving the enigma is evolution, development, growth, not special creation according to theological assertions and guesses. After trying this key in every lock during the past 60 or 70 years, we find, as it seems to me, that it has opened to us not the secret of life itself, but the process by which we and all other living things, and all forms of matter, live.

Inevitably, the study of history and its writing felt the change and felt it so imperiously that for the last half century historical students and writers have sought deliberately to record the process of evolution in human affairs. No doubt the formula helps us to advance a long way towards truth, and it supersedes all the fantastic and arbitrary formulas which men employed earlier. But the question for us now is, how far should we employ it? Shall we make it so paramount that it obtrudes? Should it not rather be like the skeleton in

man and most vertebrate animals, which really determines their form and motions but is concealed beneath a covering of flesh? The turtle, to be sure, wears its skeleton on its outside, but the turtle is, after all, neither the highest nor the most beautiful kind of animal. And may we not be misled by employing too rigidly in the human field formulas which apply best to the domain of matter, to the field of chemistry, for example, or of physics, or of astronomy?

I have long had my doubts as to the accuracy or propriety of calling history a science. We investigate historical material in the same way that a chemist investigates his material, but we must not therefore assume that the two sorts of materials are identical, or that the employment of similar methods by historians and chemists makes history a science in the same sense that chemistry is one. In these matters we are apt to quarrel over the mere words, the names of things, rather than over the things themselves behind the words. But in general I feel that the less an historian has to do with science, the less he deliberately imitates and assumes scientific aims and conclusions, the better.

Recently, on rereading Henry Adams's "A Letter to American Teachers of History,"¹ I was confirmed in my conviction. How many know that extraordinary Letter by our master ironist—and, may I not also say, our master historian? There are passages in it so cryptic, and other parts in which the intricacies of physics and dynamics are treated with such a nimble raillery, that I am not sure that I wholly understand them. But Henry Adams's main thesis is clear enough. He had come very early on the theory of evolution and on the Darwinian illustrations of it, and then his eager and inquisitive mind had turned from organic nature to the study of mathematical and physical laws. Before you can know an animal or a man thoroughly you must know the laws of gravity, embolism, and all the other processes which control his physical growth.

For a few decades the scientific world rested complacently on the new demonstration of the law of the conservation of energy. Now, according to Mr. Adams's view, history written by anyone who understood this law should in some way embody it, just as history written about the Saracens should reveal the Mohammedan creed, which formed the background of their life and actions. The revelation would not necessarily be formal or definite or vivid, but you would always be able to infer what it was that made the Saracens unlike other races.

Chronos, however, still devours his children as voraciously as he did when the old Greek myth-maker first caught him at this cannibalistic work. Hardly was the great law of the conservation of

¹ Privately printed in 1910.

energy accepted as final before William Thomson, better known to posterity as Lord Kelvin, flung into the scientific world his law of the dissipation of mechanical energy, which had been, in fact, propounded as early as 1824 by Carnot. According to Kelvin's later definitive statement his law was as follows:

1. There is at present in the material world a universal tendency to the dissipation of mechanical energy.

2. Any restoration of mechanical energy, without more than an equivalent of dissipation, is impossible in inanimate material processes, and is probably never effected by means of organized matter either endowed with vegetable life or subjected to the will of an animated creature.

3. Within a finite period of time past, the earth must have been, and within a finite period of time to come, the earth must again be, unfit for the habitation of man as at present constituted, unless operations have been, or are to be performed, which are impossible under the laws to which the known operations going on at present in the material world are subject.

Mr. Adams devotes 200 pages to a keen and often dazzling examination of this law, and of the stupendous deductions to be drawn from it. We need not follow him in the details. He may or may not be right in such a matter as suggesting that all fossil traces of the missing link which connected man with his simian forerunners have been buried beneath the polar ice-cap which gradually covered the earthly paradise existing around the North Pole before the Glacial Period. The upshot of his wit and analysis and argument and suggestion is destructive; for he implies that while the theory of evolution on its pleasant side pointed to the upward progress of humanity, it registered on its ruthless side the fated extinction of individuals and species, of tribe and race.

How does all this affect the historian? First of all, Henry Adams would have the historian wisely instructed in the foundations of science, almost to such a degree that he might with a little extra study qualify as a teacher of physics. Next, the historian, being saturated with Kelvin's law of the dissipation of energy, would so construct his history as to make it appear as an illustration of the working of that law. If I understand him, an adequate history of the Peloponnesian War or of the American Revolution would disclose how each was an experiment, so to speak, not merely in politics and war, but also in the dissipation of energy. There would be obvious difficulties in the way. What means of measuring this dissipation would the historian have? If Kelvin's law is true, there must have been less energy in 1865, when our Civil War ended, than in 1861, when it began. The energy dissipated during these four years was

not only human but material, solar, sidereal, cosmic. Who can compute it?

And, after all, why should we inject into our description of human affairs the law of dissipation rather than the law of gravitation, or of capillary attraction, or the binomial theorem. So far as any of these scientific truths, or any other, affected the conduct of men we may notice them, but not otherwise. The discoveries of Copernicus and the laws framed by Kepler, when they affected religion and theology and led to the efforts of hierarchs to persecute those persons who believed them, were as humanly pertinent as was any of the dogmas which caused religious wars. But in general, scientific facts, theories, and doctrines should be reserved for the histories of science.

So far as Henry Adams reaches a conclusion, I may sum it up in his own words:

If the entire universe, in every variety of active energy, organic and inorganic, human or divine, is to be treated as clock-work that is running down, society can hardly go on ignoring the fact forever. Hitherto it has often happened that two systems of education, like the Scholastic and Baconian, could exist side by side for centuries * * * by no more scientific device than that of the shutting their eyes to each other; but the universe has been terribly narrowed by thermodynamics. Already History and Sociology gasp for breath.

The department of History needs to concert with the departments of biology, sociology, and psychology some common formula or figure to serve their students as a working model for the study of the vital energies; and this figure must be brought into accord with the figures or formulas used by the departments of physics and mechanics to serve their students as models for the working of physico-chemical and mechanical energies. Without the adhesion of physicists, the model would cause greater scandal than though the contradictions were silently ignored as now; but the biologists—or, at least, the branches of science concerned with humanity—will find great difficulty in agreeing on any formula which does not require from physics the abandonment, in part, of the second law of thermodynamics. The mere formal exception of Reason from the express operation of the law, as a matter of teaching in the workshop, is not enough. Either the law must be abandoned in respect to Vital Energy altogether or Vital Energy must abandon Reason altogether as one of its forms and return to the old dilemma of Descartes.

Here is science with a vengeance, enough, one would suppose, to satisfy the most zealous professor of scientific history, and much more than enough to tax the learning and wits of most of those who write and study any history. In reading Henry Adams's astonishing tract, I can not help suspecting at times that he is making fun of us historians; for he proposes, as I think you would agree with me, something which is not only impossible for anyone to carry out but which he himself never even attempted to carry out. In all the nine volumes of his American History, is there a hint of the second law of thermodynamics? Can you discover the slightest trace of a common formula for history and physical chemistry?

I find, on the contrary, Henry Adams's annals of Jefferson and Madison packed full of *human* stuff. He is not content merely to mention a man by name; he draws that man's portrait. The interactions of persons, the rivalries of political parties, the intrigues of competing groups, the clashing of international diplomacy, are not described as examples of abstract laws, but as workings of the human will through concrete human beings. And how delicately and surely are his descriptions drawn! How admirably he probes the baffling complexes of character! And with what a wealth of allusion, borrowed equally from history and literature, he enriches his portraits and views! His reflections tinged with sarcasm, which springs now from his pessimism and now from his irony, complete this masterly specimen of historical writing.

In other words, Henry Adams refutes by his practice the theories which he professed. He was in the prime of life, in the years round 50, when he wrote the *History*. He was 20 years older when he wrote the *Letter to Teachers of History*. Some men grow more abstract as they grow old; their interest in persons gives way to a greater interest in laws. I do not say that this was the case with Mr. Adams. Certainly, his *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* and his *Education*, written when he was 60 and over, have no mathematical chill and no thermodynamical abstractions about them.¹ But he was a man possessed from youth to age with a passion for knowing the ultimate truth. Not having found that in religion, he turned to science, and when science, through Lord Kelvin, revealed to him the law of the dissipation of energy, he believed that in that law he touched ultimate truth. And so he exerted himself to trace the operation of that law in organic nature, including man, not less than in the inorganic world.

Your own view of life and human destiny must be greatly affected if, instead of believing in the upward progress of mankind as it develops on the earth and in its limitless perfectability in other worlds, you interpret Kelvin's law as Henry Adams did; that is, if you regard the energy of the universe as a clock that is slowly running down with the certainty that after millions, or it may be billions, of years its last ounce of power will be dissipated and there will be absolutely *nothing* left. The prospect does not cheer; and yet I submit that even the historian who holds this view has no more business to mix it up with the history he writes, than the painter who believes in annihilation has to let that belief interfere with the portrait he is painting of a beautiful woman.

No matter what a man does, he will doubtless reveal himself in ways he little suspects; I insist, however, that the historian should no

¹ To be strictly accurate, Henry Adams, in the final chapters of the *Education*, refers to his excursions into science: but these chapters are hardly read with the most profit or remembered with the most pleasure.

more convert his history of a period or episode in the life of a people into a proof of Kelvin's law of thermodynamics than into a disproof of quadratic equations. The time may come when human affairs may be described no longer by words and sentences, but by a system of symbols or notation similar to those used in algebra and chemistry. Then it may be possible, as Mr. Adams suggests, to invent a common formula for thermodynamics and history. I once had sent to me by a stranger a conclusive demonstration, which I could not refute, in the form of a combination of trapezoids, polygons, and paralleloipedons, of the doctrine of the Trinity. Perhaps I ought to add that the man was crazy; but his diagram taught me never to assert that anything is impossible.

You may say that no sensible man would attempt to write history as a demonstration of Kelvin's law of dissipation; and yet you may insist that history is, nevertheless, a science and should be written as a science. You may, for instance, have been fascinated by that remarkable philosophic guesser, Giovanni Battista Vico, whose fertile and luminous suggestions lighted up a murky age as a shower of meteorites lights up a November evening. Convinced that his law of cycles in human development is well founded, you may wish to show this by your treatment of some historical theme. How will you do this? Where will you find the inevitable sequence of events which alone could make your proof scientific? What right have you to assume that progress is a regular moving forward? How do you know that it may not be an advance like that of the knights in chess? Is Vico's series of cycles, which so captivate the imagination, more than a glorified metaphor? Is it really more scientific than the old, old simile that this life is like the chrysalis, and that death is the happy liberation of the imprisoned butterfly into another ampler life?

But why should we seek farther for evidence of the danger of trying to fit history to any theory when we, and the whole world, have been struggling to break loose from the coils of a misinterpreted phrase? I do not believe that the atrocious war into which the Germans plunged Europe in August, 1914, and which has subsequently involved all lands and all peoples, would ever have been fought, or at least would have attained its actual gigantic proportions, had the Germans not been made mad by the theory of the survival of the fittest. The Germans are the most amazing doctrinaires the world has ever seen; they are also the greatest pedants. Whatever subject attracts their attention, obsesses them, and to be obsessed means to lose contact with the normal measures and perspectives of life.

So the phrase, "the survival of the fittest," obsessed them. Studying only the animal kingdom, they concluded that fitness was won

by and depended upon brute force. The species possessing the greatest amount of force was, therefore, the fittest. Any of us, though we be not naturalists, can see how untrue this conclusion is, even when applied to the animal world. Frail creatures survive in spite of all the efforts of the strong creatures which prey upon them; and some of the frail have a far longer geologic ancestry than has the lion or the elephant. Insect tribes which flit hither and thither at the will of a passing breeze, date back aeons on aeons to conditions when no mammal trod the earth. If brute force alone were the test of fitness to survive, how could this be?

But we see, of course, that the vital consideration is, what do you mean by fitness? The fishes have a certain fitness which enables them to swim and to live under water; snakes have another by which they glide; insects and birds are fitted to fly; animals and man to walk and run. If you examine all these creatures, on the physical side alone, you find that something besides strength, physical force, has accounted for their being able to adjust themselves to their environment. Now, when we discover that at a certain point in mankind's evolution *moral* considerations come in, we see that as the race develops morals play a more and more important part in determining fitness to survive. The higher races, like the higher individual types, cease to regard the possession of power—brute power, enabling them to kill or enslave their neighbors—as their final aim. In a family the brothers who are physically stronger do not beat their weaker sisters; in society, we do not allow the brawny man of 6 feet 2, merely because he is big, to persecute or destroy the little man of 5 feet. Civilization lives by ideals, by standards with which the girth of a man's chest or the thrust of his thighs has nothing to do.

The Germans, however, in their obsession, left all this out. If Hindenburg, colossal in form and brutish in nature, could knock down, trample, and destroy Goethe, shall we say that he thereby could prove that he was fitter than Goethe to survive? At any rate, in the imaginary conflict he survived, and Goethe didn't.

This obsession it is which underlies the German ambition to rule the world. Being a very conceited and a very envious people, the Germans were easily led by their masters into believing that they were the fittest of all peoples to survive. Their men of science assured them that biology established that, and they were too devout materialists to question a supposed biological law, especially one which so flattered themselves. To convert them through education and military training into a warlike people, to persuade them that war is the highest duty, the noblest pursuit of man, to poison their conscience by teaching them that in war neither morals nor humanity have any place, these were easy tasks for the ambitious Prussian

war lords and their docile servants. Thus, we see the damnation into which those are led who misinterpret a phrase, or a law if you will, and would make history and biology their accomplices in the most frightful crimes ever committed against laws human and divine.

Let us rather strive to redeem history from the bonds of scientific formulas, and of scientific purposes. Let us strive to humanize it. In so doing the historian will abdicate no high and hard-won office; on the contrary, he will rise to the full glory of his mission. If he must have some watchword to guide him, let that watchword be "Man the Measure"—*man*, not the laws which apply to the animal kingdom, or to unthinking and soulless matter. Human nature is the substance in which the historian must work. He must try to discover how the human will—that force more mysterious than electricity—shapes and directs the deeds of men. These deeds it is which make up the web of history. In this web, one deed leads to and determines the next, one event succeeds another in what seems to be a fated chain of cause and effect.

May we not say that there are three classes of historians? First, those who fix their attention on externals, that is, on deeds and events which are visible to everyone; next, those who search for the inner motive, the operation of the will behind the outward acts; and finally, those who, through their description of the outer, interpret the inner causes. I do not mean to imply that an historian deliberately, or even consciously, enrolls himself in one or another of these classes. His case is like that of a painter who expresses his temperament through color or through line according to his native talent. Of course, I would not imply that the division between one class of historian and another is always rigid; on the contrary, the classes often overlap.

As every historical student who has done more than scrape the surface of his subject knows, he encounters his chief difficulty when he deals with motives. It is easy enough to epitomize or paraphrase a file of consecutive documents; the real task is to search out the motives which gave rise to them. These are often unrecorded, or elusive, needing to be deduced or divined by some special instinct in the historian. This power of divination distinguishes the physician who is a master in diagnosis from his fellows who may be even more learned than he, but who lack it; this truth applies to historians also.

Those who regard history as the manifestation of will reap the richest compensation in its study. The very uncertainty of its operations, the gaps in the evidence, the *impasses*, the contradictions which need to be adjusted, keep the mind continually on the alert, and tease the wits to discover a solution. When we deal with history in the mass, over long periods of time, we are less likely to discern

manifestations of will. Multitudes seem to move by a collective momentum, as a flood does, without foresight or choice, at the mercy of brute, material laws. Only when we come to that stage in human development where individuals emerge from the vast indistinct masses and lead them, or at least visibly influence them, does will confront us. This is what makes the history of Athens so much more significant and interesting than that of ancient Assyria or of Egypt; this is what gives modern and contemporary history, abounding in many well-defined individuals, its absorbing attraction for us; this is what makes biography the crowning flower of history, as portraiture is of painting.

Even if we were able to search the hearts of men to the bottom, and to know all their motives, there would still remain what we call chance, or fortune, to disconcert and puzzle us. Sometimes we can see plainly enough from what quarter the stroke of chance comes, but we never can *foresee* it, and it is this inability of the historian to foresee which differentiates him from the students of exact science. The Athenian general, Nicias, refused to withdraw his army from Syracuse at a time when it might have been saved. His reason was that an eclipse occurred, and he regarded this as a bad omen. If the Greeks had known more astronomy, they could have predicted the eclipse; further, the Athenians might well have known how Nicias was influenced by such portents, so that there was really no chance in the affair; but at the time it seemed as if the Athenians were the sport of unpredictable fortune. If President Wilson, or Mr. Lloyd George, were to die to-night, the course of world events would inevitably be deflected, but in what direction, or how far, we can not foresee. Thus, the caprices of fortune, added to the difficulty of fathoming human motives, increase the labors and pique the zest of the historian.

It may be that Sesostris was as great an individual as Napoleon, and that his conquests and government were as significant as Napoleon's; but we shall never believe it because we shall never know about Rameses the Second a thousandth part of what we know about Napoleon. I am aware that among some historical students to-day who regard history as the interaction of impersonal, abstract laws, Napoleon is looked upon as a "negligible quantity," but I am unskilled in using either the telescope or the microscope when it comes to examining human deeds and motives. A man's eyes are the only proper instrument for scrutinizing men. Not merely Napoleon, but mankind, and our earth itself, must seem negligible, if their existence is known at all to the other denizens of the sidereal wilderness; but the historian has no more to do with the limitless perspectives of astronomy than with the elusive intricacies of thermodynamics.

Let me repeat that "Man the Measure" should be the guiding motto for those who would write history in human terms.

We historians have the noblest of callings. Unlike the dramatist or the epic poet, we do not invent our plot nor create the characters in the play. The Creator of all things supplies these. It is for us to discern them accurately, to describe them with all the truth there is in us, and to make them live again; for *life* is the one indispensable God-given essence, and it must throb through our copies as it did through their models. Years ago, Bonnat, the French painter, was making a portrait of an American, and he came so unpleasantly close and looked so hard and intently that the American drew back and asked what it meant. "Good heavens!" replied Bonnat, "I am competing with God, and I must see everything which He has put into your face."

We historians also compete with God, and we must leave nothing undone to make our poor transcripts of His masterpieces true to the divine originals.

III. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN
THE UNITED STATES.

By L. G. CONNOR.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
IN THE YEAR 1776

BY J. G. COOPER

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By L. G. CONNOR.

FIRST PERIOD (1609-1807).

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY PART OF A SELF-SUFFICING ECONOMY.

INTRODUCTION OF SHEEP INTO THE COLONIES.

Sheep were introduced into the English colonies almost as soon as those parts of the New World were settled. The first sheep to reach the colonies were brought to Jamestown in 1609. In 1648 there were 3,000 in the colony of Virginia. English longwool blood evidently was present to a considerable extent in both the Virginia and Maryland sheep, intermingled with that of many other types. The Virginia flocks seem also to have contained considerable Dorset blood (1)¹.

Sheep were introduced into Massachusetts between 1624 and 1629. Many of those first reaching Massachusetts probably were of the old Wiltshires, a fairly large type giving 2 to 2½ pounds of moderately fine wool per fleece. It seems likely that Romney Marsh sheep also appeared in this colony soon after its settlement. Later a number of Dutch (probably Texel) sheep were introduced (2). In 1642 there were 1,000 sheep in Massachusetts, and 3,000 by 1652 (3).

The Dutch settlements of New York obtained sheep as early as 1625, but the animals did not thrive there as well as elsewhere (5). There were a few in the colony in 1643, and a good ewe sold for as much as \$8 to \$10 in 1650. More attention was paid to sheep in New York after that colony was taken by the English in 1664 (11A).

The Swedish emigrants settling in New Jersey brought sheep there in 1634, and they increased fairly rapidly, soon appearing in similar settlements in Delaware. The Quakers in Pennsylvania had sheep in 1683. Rhode Island had sheep soon after its settlement in 1636-37, and Southdown blood evidently was present to a considerable degree. This colony seems to have exported numbers of sheep to other colonies at an early date, and was particularly drawn on by Connecticut for breeding stock before 1650 (8). By 1700 the Dutch and

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to literature cited at the end of the essay.

Swedish strains had practically disappeared from New York, New Jersey, and Delaware (11).

The animals brought into the colonies must not be confused with the modern English breeds, however. None of the remarkable breeding improvements which started in England in the eighteenth century had even been thought of when the colonies were settled. The English sheep then were all relatively coarse, leggy, late-maturing animals, with good foraging qualities. With the probable exception of the longwools—the marsh (fen) types—they usually clipped but $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 pounds of wool. The wool usually was of only indifferent quality. Many centuries of more or less unconscious selection, attended with some conscious efforts at improvement, had resulted in the formation of numerous local types practically unknown beyond the limits of their own country or minor geographical division, but the general quality of the animals had been little affected. Strictly speaking, in the present use of the term, there were then no distinct breeds of sheep in England. At the time of colonial settlement the small, light-fleeced, finewools of Herefordshire—the Ryeland type—were at one extreme in wool production while the large, ungainly longwools of the marsh regions of Kent, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire stood at the other. The Ryeland fleece was much the more valuable. The sheep of the southern downs—the later Southdown—was an intermediate type, very hardy and prolific, and highly valued. As late as 1790 the old Warwickshire strain had a large, heavy, loose-jointed frame—“his chine as well as his rump was as sharp as a hatchet, his skin might be said to rattle on his ribs, and his ‘handle’ to resemble that of a skeleton wrapped in parchment.” It was these old, unimproved types which were sent to America in the seventeenth century.

It is interesting to note that the sheep which appear most prominently in the colonies were usually of the types considered the most valuable in England at that time or which took a foremost place in the breed improvements of the following century. These were the finewooled Ryeland, the hardy and prolific Dorset and Southdown, the larger Wiltshire, and the large longwools of the eastern marsh districts. Evidences of Ryeland blood were discernible in parts of New York and Massachusetts as late as 1810, while the “English” or “Irish Smuts” of the Connecticut Valley clearly trace to an old Down foundation (10). The Kentish or Romney Marsh sheep were a particularly good type for that time. Although used in connection with other longwool blood, they appear to have taken a dominant part in the development of the Texel (Dutch) sheep which appeared in Massachusetts and New York. The latter were the result of a cross between native Low Country stock and Guinea (West African) sheep (10A), greatly improved with English longwool blood.

COLONIAL SHEEP HUSBANDRY.

Sheep had a hard time getting a foothold in the colonies. They were all good rustlers for their forage and able to stand considerable hardship, but conditions were far from favorable for any rapid increase. Predatory enemies (particularly wolves), Indians, and severe winters made serious inroads on their numbers. In all the colonies they had to be placed under the care of herders to secure some degree of protection. One or more common herders for the flock of the entire settlement was the rule in the northern colonies as soon as the number of sheep made it impracticable to keep them within the town inclosure. As far as possible the animals were grazed on islands and peninsulas, the more easily to protect them (12). The Isle of Nahant, and islands in Massachusetts Bay were among the first grazing grounds for Massachusetts sheep (14). Noddles Island was leased to Samuel Maverick in 1633 for "a fat hog, a fat wether, or 40 shillings in money each a year" (15) and evidently was used for sheep raising. A long, low peninsula or "neck" near Boston, called "Rumney Marsh," after the famous Romney Marsh in Kent, was largely devoted to sheep after 1640. Following the old English practice, towns not able to graze sheep, as above described sent them in charge of the common herder, who often folded or penned them with movable gates or "hurdles" at night on the cultivated land of the proprietors in more or less regular order. A small fee per sheep and per lamb was paid the shepherd, who usually was boarded by the man whose land was being grazed at the time (17).

Efforts to increase the flocks to a point adequately to clothe the people, at least with everyday wear, quickly resulted in discrimination in favor of sheep on the pasture areas of the different towns (13). In Connecticut in 1666, sheep were exempted from taxation and given exclusive pasture rights on part of the land. Every male resident of 14 years or older was required to work one day each year clearing away underbrush to extend the area of sheep pasture (13A). Numerous other regulations were adopted from time to time for the better control and increase of the sheep industry.

Stringent measures taken by the authorities in Massachusetts to increase the number bore fruit relatively quickly, and by 1662 sheep in that colony were worth only one-fourth as much as in 1645, when they had been valued at nearly \$10 each (40 shillings) and had been assessed at 25 shillings per head for adults. In 1662, in order to encourage sheep raising, the assessment was lowered to 10 shillings. In 1673, when the value of sheep again had fallen, the assessment was lowered to 5 shillings (4).

THE COLONIAL WOOL MARKET.

The wool market² was limited almost entirely to the demand for wool for household industry. As a result of encouragement offered by the colonial authorities, supplemented in many instances by stringent regulations limiting intercolonial trade in sheep, wool, or home manufactures of wool (regulations promulgated both by the English and the local authorities), the greater part of the population had to rely on local household manufactures for such part of the clothing needs as was not imported. Domestic manufacture of woollens was one of the first activities, aside from the purely agricultural, to be fostered by the colonial authorities. This was a necessity, as the supply of clothing from England was often inadequate and usually relatively expensive, and there was not much with which to pay for it (18).

The first fulling mill³ in the colonies was erected at Rowley, near Ipswich, Mass., in 1643 (19). This town was settled in 1638 by persons from Yorkshire, many of whom were skilled at weaving. Weaving was done in the colonies both by members of the family and by itinerant weavers. At times, as in Chelmsford in 1655, a substantial grant of land was given a weaver to settle in the town (20). A considerable proportion of the towns, particularly north of Maryland, had fulling mills by 1700, and a large part of the ordinary wearing apparel was made in the home or the home of a neighbor (21). England strove to limit the industrial growth of the colonies by fostering other enterprises, and the development of the factory system was delayed, largely because labor, particularly skilled labor, was scarce in the colonies, as was also capital. Greater profits were made along other lines than were possible in wholesale cloth manufacture. British efforts to limit the growth of the domestic phase of this industry, however—an activity which offered work for the only cheap labor present in the colonies (women and children)—had but little effect (22).

EFFORT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF SHEEP JUST PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION.

For both economic and political reasons, the colonial authorities strove to increase the number of sheep and the output of domestic manufactures of wool in the decade preceding the Revolutionary War. Both ends were attained, and some slight advance was made in the production of factory-made (or semi-factory made) cloth.

² Mutton was usually a minor consideration, except in the vicinity of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as there was virtually no market for it. The flesh of the old sheep, if butchered, was far from delicate.

³ Fulling mills were establishments where, with the aid of fuller's earth, woolen cloth was cleansed of oil and grease and was also shrunk and thickened.

Persons who had previously worn British woollens abstained from them from patriotic motives and wore the coarser homespun. Merchants in many cases ceased importing English woollens in retaliation for unpopular British regulations (23). The domestic manufacture increased markedly, along with an increase in the number of sheep.

In Philadelphia alone, in 1775, 20,000 fewer sheep were butchered than in 1774, in order that the supply of wool might be increased (24). Incidentally, such a decrease in the Philadelphia mutton supply is a striking illustration of the size of the mutton market in that city. A large part of this supply evidently came from New Jersey, which went into this phase of the sheep industry quite early, owing to its favorable location between Philadelphia and New York (25).

During the Revolution the domestic industry, although growing rapidly, was entirely inadequate to meet the abnormally increased demand for woollens. Large quantities of woollens were smuggled in from England by way of France as the war proceeded (26).

IMPROVEMENT IN THE WOOL MARKET AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

For some years after the close of the War of the Revolution the few small factories were unable to meet British competition (29), but the wool market was considerably stronger than before the war. This was due to an acceleration in the household production of woollen goods. The first woollen mill to use more than one loom, one at Hartford, Conn., was not erected until 1788, and there were only four mills in the country worthy of the name until several years after 1800 (30). Virtually the only market for domestic wool, therefore, continued to be furnished by domestic manufacturing. But this market was far more important than before the Revolution, especially in the South, where as large a percentage of the family needs seems often to have been thus supplied as was the case in the North. It is said that in Virginia, where before the war seven-eighths of the clothing supply had been bought, the household industry supplied three-fourths of the people's needs in the decade after the cessation of hostilities (31). It is estimated that in 1790 from two-thirds to four-fifths of the clothing worn was manufactured in the households in many parts of the country (32). "With few exceptions the spirit of a self-dependent industry animated more or less every household." This represented an expansion in the wool market over that of colonial times, but it was a local market only, and did not encourage the growing of wool as a commercial proposition. The enterprise remained merely part of a self-sufficing economy.

LOCAL DEPRESSION IN SHEEP AND WOOL GROWING (1793-1808).

Although the number of sheep had decreased somewhat during the War of the Revolution (32A), this falling off undoubtedly was corrected in the years immediately thereafter, as indicated by the increased importance of the household industry. Following 1793, however, the sheep industry in some sections suffered a relapse. This was due principally to a growth in foreign trade. Former restrictions on American trade, which had virtually eliminated the United States from foreign markets, were no longer a serious deterrent after 1793, when war began between England and France. The foreign market picked up at once, and prices for farm products in general advanced enormously. Though exposed to some dangers on the sea, American agricultural products, other than those of the sheep industry, found a ready market at high prices (33). Farmers close enough to waterways therefore neglected sheep and concentrated on enterprises whose products were in greater demand. Sheep, as yet relatively unimportant, thus were forced farther into the background as a farm enterprise in many localities within easy reach of the seaboard. In view of the crude transportation facilities then existing, however, this depression in the sheep industry would seem to have been decidedly a local condition. The number of sheep in the country as a whole probably did not decrease, since population moved steadily westward, necessarily carrying along the self-sufficing economy. At the same time a very large part of the seaboard section was too far from market to engage profitably in the production of bulky or perishable products and was forced to continue the old system for economic reasons.

THE "OTTER" SHEEP.

During this time the "Otter" or "Ancon" sheep originated. The progenitor of this monstrosity was a sport, a ram dropped in the flock of Seth Wright, near Boston, in 1791. The body was unduly long, or seemed so from the exceedingly short legs. The forelegs were crooked outward like the human elbow, whence the appellation "Ancon." The original ram was unable to move faster than a walk, could not jump fences, and for that reason was bred to Wright's ewes. He bred true to type and the Otter sheep became somewhat diffused in New England, where fence-jumping proclivities were not valued. They never became very popular, however. So far as is known, the last representatives of the breed, a flock of eight head, were located in Rhode Island in 1876 (34).

LOCAL EFFORTS FOR BREED IMPROVEMENT.

Although the farmers in general were indifferent to any attempt to improve the common sheep of the country, this could not be said of many public-spirited men who actively interested themselves in that project. Theirs was a thankless task, but it was willingly pursued through patriotic motives. It has been stated that at that time the American sheep in general, while showing local differences, was very like a coarse, unimproved Leicester. In some sections it also was likened to the old, unimproved Southdown. There was a wide admixture of blood in the common animals of the country (27).

George Washington was a leader in sheep improvement. He was a careful breeder and, with the aid of some of Bakewell's "New Leicester" blood, secured in lambs bought from friends who were able to import the English breed in spite of the British restrictions, he wrought a striking improvement in the Mount Vernon flock. In 1788 he had a flock of 800 head which clipped an average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of long wool per head, wool adjudged equal to the Kentish clip by a qualified English critic. The Mount Vernon animals deteriorated rapidly after Washington became President, owing to his almost continuous absence in Philadelphia and New York. In 1797 there were only 200 head, and the wool clip averaged only $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. This fact merely illustrates the habitual disregard of quality and selection for improvement by the general run of farmers at that time. President Washington's farm manager was undoubtedly a good farmer, but he lacked the personal interest necessary to maintain or continue the improvement already made.

After his return to Mount Vernon, Washington began to breed up his sheep again, and among other good animals secured a pair of fine Persian sheep for that purpose, but the General's untimely death ended his efforts before anything had been accomplished along this line.

On the disposal of the Mount Vernon flock in 1802, the grandson of Mrs. Washington, G. W. P. Custis, of Arlington, seems to have taken the lead among the sheep improvers of the time. He secured some of the best of the Mount Vernon flock, including the Persian ram and two pure Leicester ewes, and before long had a well-known strain of animals called "Arlington Improved" or "Arlington Longwools." In 1803 he instituted the Arlington Sheepshearing, an annual affair held thereafter for a number of years. Among others, prizes were offered for the best sheep, and many good animals were exhibited each year. From the records it would seem that for several decades no one was able to surpass the clip of the Mount Vernon flock at the time of Washington's first inauguration, particularly when the size of the flock is considered. The Arlington sheep were widely diffused among

the southern gentry, but with the introduction of the Merino the soon passed into the background (28).

Another strain which attracted considerable attention at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the Smiths Island sheep, a wild strain first noticed about 1800 on Smiths Island in the Atlantic, just east of Cape Charles. Evidently they were the progeny of common Virginia or Maryland animals placed there by their owners long before, just as cattle, horses, and hogs had been so placed by or soon after 1800. Among the original animals there must have been some English or Irish longwool blood, as the fleece of the wild strain was from 5 to 9 inches in length. At the time many persons became enthusiastic over these animals, but they received no more attention after the introduction of the Spanish Merino (28A). None of the above-mentioned strains interested the majority of the farmers, who desired animals requiring a minimum of care and feed and which clipped a coarse, strong wool suited to the local domestic needs.

In addition to the forementioned efforts to raise the standard of our sheep, heterogeneous local infusions of foreign blood into the flocks in colonial and later times had resulted from spasmodic importations by sea captains and others, but with small effect in most cases and little or no permanent effect at all. The most striking of these infusions was the introduction of Tunis or broad-tailed Barbary sheep just before 1800. The good mutton qualities of this type gave them a temporary vogue in Pennsylvania, whence they spread somewhat, principally southward. But the Merino craze, which presently (1807-15) developed, and the difficulties in breeding the broad-tailed animals, together with the increasing popularity of the improved English mutton breeds then and thereafter, displaced the Tunis sheep in the popular estimation and they virtually disappeared in a short time (28B).

Much had been accomplished in England by 1770 in the way of getting earlier maturity and greater weight of carcass and fleece, largely through the more or less general adoption of clover, cultivated grasses, and turnips into the British cropping systems. But the improved English mutton breeds owe most of their excellence to the revolutionary breeding improvements of Bakewell and his disciples. Bakewell's New Leicesters placed their stamp on most of the valley (vale) types in England by or soon after 1800, were also used on many of the smaller down (hill) types, and even somewhat on the mountain sheep. Ellman and Webb did with the Southdown what their illustrious contemporary and teacher did with the Leicester. Small numbers of these improved English breeds were imported prior to and for some years following 1800, in spite of English prohibitory export regulations. Although of considerable impor-

tance, this influx of mutton blood was very small compared to that which occurred in later decades, when the breeder's art in England had been further refined and its sphere of activity greatly extended.

ADVENT OF THE MERINO.

The most noteworthy achievement of the early improvers was the introduction of the Spanish Merino. This breed first appeared in this country in 1793, when William Foster smuggled two ewes and a ram out of Spain and took them to Boston. Having to go abroad again in a short time he gave them to Andrew Craigie, of Cambridge, who butchered them, having no idea of their value. Craigie paid \$1,000 for a Merino ram a little more than a decade later.

In 1801 Dupont de Nemours and M. Delessert, a Paris banker, sent over four Merino ram lambs, three of which died on the voyage. The fourth—"Don Pedro"—one of the finest Merinos ever imported, did much to better the flocks of his different owners. In 1802 Robert Livingston, a prominent farmer and statesman of the State of New York and at that time Minister to France, sent two pairs of Merinos to his estate on the Hudson. They came from the National flock at Chalons, France, and were typical of the Merino breed, not yet having been modified greatly by the French system of breeding. In 1802 Col. Humphreys, Minister to Spain, sent a flock of 100 Merinos to his home in Connecticut. The flock contained 25 rams and 75 ewes, but 4 rams and 5 ewes died en route. It is believed that the blood predominating was that of the Infantado "cabana" or flock. In 1801 Seth Adams, of Dorchester, Mass., who later emigrated to Ohio, imported a pair of Spanish Merinos by way of France, and was voted a premium of \$50 by the Massachusetts Agricultural Society for being the first in the State to do so. Col. Humphreys was voted a gold medal of that value at the same time. A few more Merinos were landed at various ports during the first decade of the nineteenth century, but the breed in general was but little valued by farmers until 1808.

These fine-wooled sheep had little or no effect on the common animals of the country (35). Any fine wool which was needed by the half dozen small mills operating in 1807 was imported free of duty (36), and there was no economic ground for an attempt to supply this trifling demand with a home-grown product. In general it seems quite safe to say that the common sheep of the country were of the same quality at this time as those of a century earlier, and that they occupied the same place in the farm economy—that of a minor enterprise supplying purely home needs. Outside of the domestic industry the market for wool was practically non-existent, and wool was the principal object for which sheep were kept. Farmers in

general kept only enough sheep to supply wool for their household needs, with an occasional small amount for sale or barter at the local store (36A). The flocks rarely were allowed to enlarge. The typical New England farm flock in 1800 contained from 10 to about 20 animals. The average clip was about two pounds per fleece. Prior to 1807 common wool sold for 25 cents or less per pound (51A).

SECOND PERIOD (1808-1830).

WOOL GROWING BECOMES A COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE.

EFFECT OF TRADE RESTRICTIONS ON THE WOOL MARKET AND THE SHEEP INDUSTRY — MULTIPLICATION OF WOOLEN MILLS — EXPANSION OF HOUSEHOLD MANUFACTURES.

The year 1808 witnessed a striking change in the status of the sheep industry. European restrictions on American commerce were followed by our Embargo Act of December, 1807 (37). Woolen mills began to multiply very rapidly to supply the demand for grades of cloth better than homespun, hitherto supplied by importation (38). At the same time the domestic industry grew very rapidly, with regard to both quantity and quality of output. This was due in part to encouragement in the form of premiums and prizes given by the various States (39). When the embargo was replaced by the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, the situation remained virtually unchanged, as this act was directed against Great Britain and France. Factories continued to multiply, and the market for raw wool to improve. Only a few of the mills were engaged in fine cloth manufacture, the majority producing coarser fabrics (40), but the supply of fine wool was entirely inadequate even for the existing demand. The fine wool used in the new factories making the higher grades of fabrics came almost entirely from the Merino sheep previously imported from Spain and France, and from their offspring, and a few men who had secured them reaped large profits.

In the spring of 1808 Livingston, then chancellor of the State of New York, clipped 29 common ewes, 83 half-blood Merino ewes, 30 three-quarter bloods, 27 seven-eighths bloods, 7 full-blood ewes, and four full-blood rams, besides 74 half-blood wethers. From the common ewes he clipped 3 pounds 15 ounces of wool per head, twice the average clip of the time. The grade Merino ewes gave an average of 4.9 pounds of wool per head, and the full bloods 5 pounds 2 ounces, all unwashed. The rams averaged nearly 8 pounds each, and the grade wethers a little over 5 pounds. The common wool sold for 37½ cents per pound, the half-blood clip for 75 cents, the three-quarter blood for \$1.25, the seven-eighths blood for \$1.50, and the pure Merino wool for \$2 per pound. With prices like these Merino sheep were in demand. Livingston was then selling his rams for

\$150 each. For a choice ram of his own raising he refused \$1,000. Half-blood rams and ewes brought him \$12 each, while the common sheep of the State sold for \$2 each. In 1810 the average clip of his flock was somewhat larger and brought the same prices as noted above (41). His flock later did much to improve those in western Massachusetts and Connecticut, as well as in the State of New York (42). By 1810, the price of Merino sheep had risen greatly, \$1,000 per head often being paid for pure-bred rams. Livingston sold several at that price while Humphreys sold two rams and two ewes for \$1,500 each, besides a number at lower prices. Occasional fresh importations frequently brought \$1,000 per head. (Ewes often sold for that price, pure-bred rams selling for \$1,000 to \$1,500 each) (43). It is stated that one ram sold for \$3,000 during the height of the craze for these sheep.

SHEEP IN 1810.

Not only the market for fine wool, but that for all wool was greatly improved after December, 1807. The former ready market for general farm products was gone, cloth was with difficulty imported, capital was idle to a considerable extent, and wool prices were soaring. Men, of course, turned their attention to sheep and the number of animals began to increase immediately. The earliest known estimate of the total number in the country was made in 1810, when there were about 7,000,000 sheep in the United States. They clipped an average of 2 pounds of wool per head (43A).

The census return for 1810, admittedly incomplete, gave 24 woolen mills in operation, their output selling at \$1 to \$10 per yard. Their total production was placed at 200,000 yards. The returns for the household manufactures were still more incomplete, but the output returned was 9,528,266 yards of woolen cloth, or practically 98 per cent of the recorded national total (50).

THE MERINO IMPORTATIONS (1810-11)—EFFECT ON THE SHEEP INDUSTRY.

At this time conditions in Spain, owing to the Peninsular wars, became such that the Spanish authorities were eager to dispose of many of the best flocks (cabanas) to prevent seizure and slaughter, and to secure ready money. The American consul in Lisbon, William Jarvis, of Vermont, for several years had been endeavoring to secure some good Merinos, but without success. He immediately took advantage of his opportunity, and in conjunction with other enterprising Americans who followed his lead, a total of 19,651 Spanish Merinos were landed in this country between April 1, 1810, and August 31, 1811.

The earliest importations sold for as much as \$1,000 per head, but prices soon fell to from \$300 to \$100, sometimes less, as the Merino

deluge continued (44). The importations ceased after August, 1811, but the breed was then well distributed throughout this country from Maine to Georgia and from the sea coast into the Ohio Valley. The less wealthy farmers thus were able to lay the foundation for a vast improvement in their flocks, and this began immediately.

The Southern States as a whole were so little interested in sheep raising that this breed secured but slight footing in that section, but the Merino found a ready welcome in the West. In 1807 Seth Adams had moved to Muskingum County, Ohio, taking with him between 25 and 30 Merinos descended from his pair imported in 1801. In 1810 he drove 176 sheep from Col. Humphrey's flock into Kentucky and Tennessee. He was largely instrumental in placing the Merino blood in the Ohio Valley (45). In 1814 George Rapp moved his fine-wooled flock from Economy, Pa., to New Harmony, Ind., in Posey County. The blood of his flock spread slowly through southwestern Indiana, southeastern Illinois, and also into Kentucky. In 1817 George Flower, an Englishman, took 12 fine Merinos to Edwards County, Ill., from his father's flock in England. These were the first in that State, and were bred with great success for many years (46). In 1807 Wm. R. Dickinson, of Virginia, moved to Steubenville, Ohio, where he began to breed sheep in 1812, using Humphrey Merinos for foundation stock, along with some fine animals secured from a prominent New Jersey breeder. He continued in the sheep business until 1830, when his flock was dispersed, following business reverses. He developed a very fine strain of Merinos, one of his rams taking a first prize at Baltimore in 1826 over a fine Saxony buck, in spite of the latter's slightly finer fleece. After 1830 his flock was mentioned prominently by the agricultural press as a factor in the improvement of the Ohio sheep (47).

FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE WOOL MARKET DUE TO STIMULATION BY THE WAR OF 1812—SHEEP TEMPORARILY A MAJOR ENTERPRISE.

The War of 1812 was attended by a mushroom growth in the American woolen manufactures, due to the exceedingly high protection afforded the industry, largely the result of trade restrictions. During part of the war, owing to the blockade of the Atlantic seaports, foreign commerce practically ceased to exist, and our woolen manufactures virtually had a monopoly (49). Almost any kind of factory could make good profits at the prices then prevailing. Broadcloth sold for \$8 to \$12 and as high as \$18 per yard. The Army demand for woolens undoubtedly raised the price of coarse cloth somewhat, and it was necessary to import some cloth for military use. With the increased war demand the household industry produced as much more than the family needs as possible, while

the factory system is stated to have increased two to three fold by 1816 (50A), and the value of the finished product from 4 to 19 million dollars.

The price of pure Merino wool rose to \$2.50 per pound during the war, and is stated to have reach \$4 per pound locally, although common wool did not rise above 50 cents per pound (51). It is not to be wondered at that the farmer, with a very limited market for his other products, which a few years before had brought very high prices but which now were little in demand, should have gone to an extreme in an endeavor to grow wool, especially fine wool. He had a monopoly of the home market. The number of sheep increased to about 10,000,000 (an increase of 40 per cent) by 1812 (52), and the wool clip was 50 per cent larger than in 1810, when it was not over 14,000,000 pounds (from 7,000,000 sheep). In New Jersey, out of 285,000 sheep reported to the State authorities in 1814, 3,800 were pure Merinos and 25,800 were grades (52B). Any grower of fine wool could make money at the prices then prevailing. Sheep during this period were a major enterprise on a considerable proportion of the farms in the North Atlantic States. There was also a marked improvement in the quality of the animals and their fleece at this time (52A).

DEPRESSION IN THE WOOL MARKET AND WOOL GROWING (1815-1820).

When the country reverted to a peace footing in 1815 the highly artificial character of the woolen industry was exposed. British manufacturers flooded the American market with woollens before the tariff of 1816⁴ went into effect, and in spite of the tariff they continued to ship heavily to this country (53). Most of the factories soon shut down or operated but a part of the time for several years. Only those managed with some degree of ability were able to keep going, and many went bankrupt. Conditions were accentuated by the domestic panic of 1819, the effects of which were seen in some sections for three or four years (55).

The household manufacture held its own during this period, however, and probably did more than that with the movement of population westward into the less accessible sections. In New York State alone nearly 6,500,000 yards of woolen cloth, valued at more than \$3,600,000, were made in 1825 in the household industry (57). The output of the New England homes was equally extensive. Poor transportation facilities were an important factor in the continued prominence of household manufacturing, and as this was a by-industry on the farm, it was but little hampered by the competition of factory-made goods, owing to the slow application of power

⁴ See appendix, table of tariffs on wool.

machinery to the woolen industry (57A). The wool used in such goods continued to be that of the common clip.

With the general depression in factory production, the market for fine wool suffered a tremendous slump, as but a slight demand existed and the fiber could be imported under a 15 per cent duty. The average Boston price for fleece wool in 1815 ranged by grades from 50 cents to \$1.50 per pound. In 1816 the average was 20 to 75 cents (54), and within another year Merino wool appears to have sold for no more than 35 to 40 cents per pound, washed (59A). The Merino breed, formerly so popular, accordingly fell into disrepute and was almost entirely neglected for more than a decade after 1815. Only a few of the more farsighted farmers made an attempt to keep the blood pure. The wool market was so poor that no general effort seems to have been made to improve the common sheep or to increase the weight of fleece, and the animals were slaughtered in large numbers for some time after the close of the war, or were driven westward into the new settlements (56). Half-blood Merinos were sold to the butchers for \$1.25 per head, and extreme statements have been made as to the extent to which pure-bloods were sacrificed. The quality of the great bulk of the flocks probably declined very rapidly, as the domestic manufacture, which constituted the chief market for wool, largely used only the common grades. In general, within a few years after 1815, sheep once more dropped to the place of a minor farm enterprise. Instead of being merely a universal factor in a self-sufficing economy, however, the sheep industry retained the character of at least a minor commercial enterprise in many sections.

TEMPORARY IMPROVEMENT IN THE WOOL MARKET (1821-1826)—INTRODUCTION OF THE SAXON MERINO.

Following 1820, when the stress of the panic abated and the influx of British woolens slackened, the woolen industry began to pick up, and seems to have been in a fairly prosperous condition by 1824, or at least making good progress in that direction, as shown by the increasing volume of raw wool imported (58).

The higher duties under the tariff act of that year (1824) led both manufacturer and farmer to increase their activities (59), and the latter turned his attention once more to fine wool. But he desired to grow the finest wool possible, and paid scant attention to the home possibilities. The much modified Merino of Saxony, which for practically half a century had been bred for a fine, silky fleece, with no attention to constitutional vigor or weight of clip, was then famous as a fine-wooled breed, and broadcloth made from its fleece was a fabric of striking beauty. Our manufacturers had been importing a little Saxony wool for several years, and they encouraged

the farmer to get animals of this type. In 1818 such wool sold in Boston for double the price of Merino wool, and for three times that of the common clip (59A). The price probably was 75 or 80 cents per pound.

Accordingly, the desire to grow fine wool was again given an impetus, but it was not as widespread as in the case of the Merino before and during the war of 1812 (60). Although a few Saxony sheep were imported in 1822 and 1823, the introduction really dates from 1824, when 77 reached Boston in charge of an experienced German shepherd, H. D. Grove, who stated that only two-thirds were full-blooded. All were sold as pure-bloods at an average price of \$69.35 per head. Later importations often constituted gross frauds on the American public, animals with little or no pretensions to Saxon blood being sold as purebloods along with quite a number of excellent specimens of the breed. The highest prices paid were \$465 for a ram, and \$235 for a ewe. One cargo sold for an average of \$158.80 per head at Boston. Grove at first had refused to tend this shipment because the average quality was so poor. He was glad that 15 of the poorest specimens died at sea. German and American speculators unloaded a large number of scrubs on the purchasers, though they sometimes lost money. In 1826, when the farmers' expectations from the tariff were not realized, one shipment of low-grade Saxon sheep sold at an average of only \$18.64 per head, the German shippers losing \$3,000 on the venture. In 1826 a total of 2,288 head of this breed were imported, but only 398 came in in 1827. In this year some Saxony rams sold for as low as \$5.25 per head, and some ewes for as low as \$6. The highest price then paid for any animal in a number of these shipments was \$72. A total of 3,400 were imported from 1824 to 1828, after which the importations ceased. Some farmers had remembered the Merino craze, while a pronounced slump in prices, in spite of the tariff, rendered the outlook for fine wool very doubtful. This slump was the result of conditions in England.

THE ENGLISH CRISIS OF 1826—EFFECT ON THE AMERICAN SHEEP INDUSTRY.

Following the Napoleonic wars there had been a fairly continuous period of stress in English agriculture and industry, and especially in the woolen manufacture. The latter was put under an additional strain by enhanced import duties on the raw material. The duty on wool was placed at 12 cents (6 pence) per pound in 1819. Continual agitation for a reduction of the duty, to favor the manufacturer rather than the woolgrower, bore fruit in 1824, when the duty on wool imported into England was lowered to 2 cents (1 pence) per pound. In 1825 it was placed at 1 cent on wool costing less than 24 cents per

pound, at 2 cents on more valuable fiber. At the same time prohibition of export of British longwools, which had been in force for a long period to protect the worsted manufacture, was removed in the interest of the growers of such wool. Manufacturers of such fiber outside Great Britain were relatively unimportant at that time. American woolen manufacturers saw in the English tariff reduction an attempt to cripple their business, which had been slowly though steadily gaining in strength for several years, and was causing some uneasiness in England. The fact that the reduction occurred at the same time that our import duty on woolens was increased from 25 to 33½ per cent strengthened their belief, although the British manufacturers sadly needed the measure. As a result of a largely inflated currency and attendant wild speculation since 1823, however, conditions in England reached a climax in the panic of 1826, and the manufacturers there were forced to dispose of their stocks at almost any price obtainable. America was the most available dumping ground, and English goods were sold in our markets at ruinous prices, often below cost. The foreign shippers gladly paid the duty in order to reduce their stocks. Considerable quantities of woolens imported into this country were the product of mills which had become bankrupt (61).

The manufacturers in this country suffered severely from this abnormal foreign competition. Those specializing in the finer woolens, those who used the Saxon and the finest of the Merino wools, were especially hard hit, and many mills were forced to close down or greatly to curtail their production. In any case the reversal of British policy with reference to the wool trade would have depressed wool prices in this country considerably, but with our mills curtailing their demands to a marked degree, the price of wool fell farther than would otherwise have occurred. In the eastern markets fine wool from January, 1824, to April, 1826, averaged 58 cents per pound (washed Ohio clothing). Medium averaged 43.6 cents.⁵ From July, 1826, to October, 1828, fine averaged 42.3 cents and medium 34 cents per pound, a relative gain of 6 cents per pound for medium wool (i. e., the price of medium fiber fell 6 cents less per pound than fine) (62). As was the case after the war of 1812, fine wools again showed the greater loss, and consequently the boom in the sheep industry was short-lived.

Under these conditions the value of the Saxony sheep fell considerably. Merino sheep had advanced slightly in price, not because they were deemed of much intrinsic value, but because it was believed they would make a good cross with the Saxon (63). When prices fell sheep were once more slaughtered in large numbers to get them out of the way, half-blood Merinos along with the common animals.

⁵ This and following references to wool prices refer to wholesale prices only.

At the same time they were driven westward in large numbers (64). It was estimated that in 1827, 20,000 sheep were sold in Kentucky from droves passing westward. The price ranged from $37\frac{1}{2}$ to 75 cents per head. A considerable proportion of those bought were grade Merinos.

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN 1830.

In 1830 there were probably 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 sheep in the United States (72A), though contemporary estimates place the number considerably higher. This was practically the same number as in 1825 or 1827, when New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont seem to have had nearly half the sheep in the country (73). The increase since 1814, when the number was estimated at 10,000,000 head, had in large measure resulted from growth in newly settled sections more than counteracting the general decline in the older wool-growing regions. In the latter this decline appears to have been checked in the early twenties. Perhaps there had been a movement in the other direction, but the decline had begun again in 1826 and continued for at least two more years.

The growing factory manufacture of the coarser woollens had become important by 1830, the producers of such goods suffering less from English competition in the later twenties than the manufacturers of fine woollens, but the chief market for coarse wool still appears to have been furnished by domestic industry, with the factory demand making rapid strides and steadily gaining on its household competitor. The market for coarse and medium wools had been fairly good when compared with that for fine wools, as indicated by smaller fluctuations in the price of the coarser fiber. In 1830 at least one-half of the domestic wool clip (which is said to have totaled about 32,000,000 pounds, but probably was no more than 25,000,000), was used in the thriving household manufacture (74).

This, considered in connection with the number of sheep, not only indicates that sheep as a farm enterprise had on the whole made little or no gain in the preceding decade and a half, but that they had in general constituted but a minor enterprise in the farm economy in a large part of the country. The animals had been kept principally for wool, and the bulk of the wool in most sections utilized in a by-industry which offered profitable work to the farm family.

THIRD PERIOD (1830-1845).

THE EAST SUPREME IN WOOL PRODUCTION.

RAPID GROWTH OF WOOLEN MANUFACTURES—THE WOOL MARKET GREATLY STRENGTHENED—GROWTH OF EASTERN FLOCKS.

Following 1830 conditions were changed. A general application of power and introduction of improved machinery greatly lowered the

cost of cloth manufacture, and the tariff of 1828 had a marked stimulating effect on woolen manufactures after a year or two (66). Necessities of the English manufacturers caused them to maintain their cut-throat competition until 1830, by which time foreign conditions were mending rapidly. The period of prosperity which set in at that time (67) was attended by a rapid growth in woolen manufactures, and steady inroads were made by the American factory product into the market formerly supplied by the household industry. In 1835 the household manufactures of New York turned out nearly one-fourth less woolens than in 1825. This was in large part due to growth of the urban population, which drew on the factory-made goods (76). When transportation facilities improved, the domestic by-industry lost ground very rapidly.

By 1837 the woolen manufacture of the country had doubled in output since 1830 (83), and the wool market was based very largely on the factory demand. Large quantities of wool were now imported, nearly all of it of a grade valued at less than 8 cents per pound and free of duty (84). This wool did not compete with the domestic clip, while the imports of manufactures of wool which did so compete show a relative decrease (85). The average net annual imports* of raw wool from 1822 to 1831 were a trifle less than 2,000,000 pounds. The average value was nearly 21 cents per pound. During the following 11 years the average net importation was nearly 8,300,000 pounds, the average value practically 9 cents per pound. The increase in average annual net imports was 315 per cent. This decade marks a pronounced growth of manufactures of finer woolens, the great bulk of the raw material for which was of home growth. The preponderance of cheap wools in the imports is indicative of the growth in manufactures of coarser materials (86).

With the woolen manufactures growing so rapidly, an important change in the status of the sheep industry took place in the East, and the eastern flocks increased rapidly after 1830. They became quite generally a major enterprise in many sections east of the Alleghenies. A contemporary estimate, admittedly low for several sections, placed the number of sheep in 1837 at nearly 13,000,000. Consideration of this estimate in connection with the census figures for 1840 would lead to the conclusion that owing to mistakes of omission there were about 18,000,000 sheep in the country in 1837 (80). Of these New York had at least one-fourth, and New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont had at least one-half. The average clip per fleece was probably about 2 pounds. Western wool as yet was not an important factor in the eastern market, owing to difficulties of transportation, and the rapidly growing factory demand for wool

* Gross imports of raw wool less exports of imported wool.

during the thirties had to depend almost entirely on eastern or imported wool for its supply.

The price of the clip of 1836 rose to 70 to 72 cents per pound for fine Ohio washed wool, 60 to 63 cents for medium, and 47 to 50 cents for coarse (77). Wool growing was considered the most profitable enterprise on the farm in parts of the East by 1835 (78). In some cases farmers devoted all their energies to wool growing, to the exclusion of other enterprises, and cultivated only enough land to secure feed for their flocks and work teams. Dairying was often replaced by sheep at this time (79). Some general attention was also paid to improvement of the quality of sheep and fleece. The panic of 1837 hurt the woolen factories considerably, and the price of wool fell, though fine Ohio washed wool averaged a little over 54 cents per pound from 1837 to 1840, medium nearly 47 cents, and coarse a little over 37 cents (81). The annual reductions in duties under the existing tariff probably had an appreciable effect on this decrease. But although sheep and wool were less profitable after 1837, the number continued to increase in the East, though more slowly, because of the remunerative price of wool, and in spite of high prices for other farm products following harvest failures in 1836-1839 (82).

REVIVAL OF THE SAXON BOOM—SUBSEQUENT REPLACEMENT BY THE MERINO.

Along with the change in status of the sheep industry in the East there also occurred a change in the breeding operations. The popularity of Saxon sheep had revived after the tariff of 1828, and 550 more animals were imported, but thereafter the importations ceased. The numerous advocates of the breed drew on the domestic supply, and the existing Merino and common flocks were extensively crossed with the Saxon (65).

But although the price of wool had advanced considerably since the decline of the later twenties, the price of the fine wool fell far short of earlier expectations. After 1826 it rarely sold for more than 10 cents per pound higher than medium wool, often less than 10 cents, and sometimes much less. The Merino gave 50 per cent more wool than the Saxon, the Merino fleece was worth more on the market than that of its feeble competitor, and it cost less per pound to produce it (68-69). Men who had crossed their Merinos and Merino grades with the Saxons found that they clipped much less wool from an enfeebled progeny, animals which were poor nurses, of low fecundity, and but poorly fitted to survive in our somewhat "rough and ready" system of farm management. The puny pure-blood Saxons were even less adapted to American conditions (70). It was not long before the more far-sighted breeders discarded the Saxon cross as

far as possible, and worked for the improvement of their remaining Merinos. A controversy as to the relative merits of the Saxon and the Merino waged for a decade after the early thirties, but the Saxon advocates soon found themselves in a minority. The Merino quickly found favor for "breeding up" the Saxon for a heavier clip the status of the breeds being completely reversed (71). Wm. Jarvis one of the largest breeders of Merinos for a generation, had adopted Saxons in 1826, after considerable persuasion by the New England manufacturers, but he got rid of the blood as far as possible soon after 1832 (72). The old "common" stock of the East had been so generally crossed with the Merino and Saxon that the former characteristics of that primitive type had almost disappeared before 1840 (87).

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN 1840.

The census of 1840 placed the wool clip at nearly 36,000,000 pounds, from 19,311,000 sheep⁷ then in the country. Of these, nearly 60 per cent were in the New England and Middle Atlantic States (85A). The Northwestern States had 3,500,000 head, 2,000,000 of which were in Ohio. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia contained 3,000,000 of the 4,500,000 sheep in the South. In 1845 the number of sheep in the country was estimated at 25,000,000 (117A), but this figure would appear to have been somewhat exaggerated.

The decade and a half following 1830 clearly marks the period of supremacy for the eastern wool grower, but changing economic conditions quickly forced a readjustment in the industry.

FOURTH PERIOD (1845-1860).

THE WESTWARD SHIFT IN WOOL PRODUCTION.

EARLIER HANDICAPS—TRANSPORTATION DIFFICULTIES—LACK OF CAPITAL.

Until about 1840 the West had produced wool primarily for home needs, but little of the clip appearing in the eastern markets. What little did appear was largely of a coarse quality, which seems to have brought a higher price in the Eastern States than west of the mountains. On the other hand, local mills in the West, protected to some extent from foreign competition by the mountain barrier, had paid better prices for fine wool than prevailed on the Boston market. Fine wool had often been sent westward to Steubenville, Ohio, from parts of the East (88). Obviously such wool would not usually be sent eastward under these circumstances. Very little wool from west of the mountains came eastward until after the opening of the Erie

⁷ Except in 1850, all censuses until 1900 undoubtedly included a small percentage of spring lambs in the returns.

Canal in 1825, and but a small amount by that route during the following 15 years (89). Most of the sheep in the West were in the Ohio Valley, and a long haul was necessary to deliver the wool to the lake carriers. Accordingly the Erie Canal was of little use to the western wool grower for some time. Following the opening of the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal systems in 1832-4, transportation facilities were very much improved, but without much effect on the movement of wool until the early forties (90). Most of the wool which passed through the Erie Canal prior to 1843 was grown in western New York. Thereafter the clip of the Middle West became an important item in the canal freights (90A). Twenty-eight times as much western wool was carried on the Erie Canal in 1845 as in 1840 (nearly 3,000,000 pounds as against a little over 100,000 pounds).

Another factor in holding back the development of the sheep industry in the West was the aftermath of the panic of 1837. Credit was curtailed for several years, and what could be obtained was used in buying land, as had been the case before the panic (91). It required but little capital in prairie sections to secure teams and implements to break the land for grain, but funds for investment in live stock were lacking. To keep sheep profitably some improvements were necessary. Accordingly live-stock enterprises of any magnitude were postponed by most settlers in the regions then being opened (92). At the same time the accelerated westward movement of population during the late thirties and early forties strengthened the local market for wool west of the mountains, and thus it was some time before there was an appreciable surplus for eastward shipment, save from the older sections in the Ohio Valley.

FACTORS FAVORING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN SHEEP INDUSTRY.

LOW PRICES FOR GENERAL FARM PRODUCTS—HIGH COST OF TRANSPORTATION—
RELATIVE EASE OF WOOL TRANSPORT.

Following 1840 there was a decline from the high prices for general farm products which prevailed during the series of poor harvests of the later thirties. From 1840 to 1846 the price of wheat and flour in New York averaged nearly 40 per cent lower than from 1836 to 1839. In Chicago wheat sold for 20 to 70 cents per bushel, generally below 60 cents, from 1840 to 1844, going as low as 20 cents in 1843. Oats sold in the same market for 15 to 37 cents per bushel, usually below 30 cents, and for only 15 to 16 cents in 1842. Corn sold for as low as 15 cents in 1843, though the price usually was well above that during the early forties. In New York corn sold for 48 to 51 cents in 1844-45. In central Illinois corn sold for 10 cents a bushel in

1840, and corn for 16 cents and oats for 12.5 cents in 1842. Concentrated products like beef and pork sold in the western markets for from 2 to 3 cents per pound, and it cost that much to send them by land and water to New Orleans. Hogs brought \$1.75 to \$2.50 per hundred pounds in Cincinnati in 1842-43 and \$1 to \$2.50 in Chicago. Beef sold for \$2.25 to \$3.25 per hundred pounds in Cincinnati in 1843-44 (105).

The estimated cost of hauling products overland was 15 cents per ton-mile, or nearly half a cent a mile per bushel for wheat. It cost about 20 cents per bushel to ship wheat from Buffalo to New York on the Erie Canal, quite aside from the cost of getting the grain to Buffalo. It probably cost close to 50 cents per bushel to lay down wheat in New York City from a point 25 to 30 miles from a waterway in central Ohio. The difference between the Chicago and New York price of wheat was 57 cents per bushel in 1840-41, the price of spring wheat averaging 45.1 cents and winter wheat 63.5 cents in Chicago, \$1.063 and \$1.165 in New York (106). The cheap and bulky agricultural products of the West were to a considerable degree excluded from the eastern markets by the high cost of transportation, save from localities fairly close to waterways, and the growing southern market was unable to absorb the marked increase in production which was taking place.*

In general, there appears to have been but small profit in most farm enterprises in the West at the time, except in favorable situations. For instance, men at Bloomington, Ind., hauled their wheat 90 miles to Louisville in the fall and, in exchange for a wagon load, considered themselves fortunate to secure enough sugar and coffee to supply the needs of the family (106A). Except from localities situated within about a day's haul from a waterway or railroad, eastward shipment of the bulkier farm products appears not to have been profitable ordinarily, and but a small part of the Middle West was so situated until the later forties.

On the other hand, however, it cost but $2\frac{1}{8}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents to ship a pound of wool from central Illinois to Boston, where grades from fine to coarse Ohio washed wool sold for from 53 to 23 cents per pound during the forties (106B). One pound of the cheapest wool, therefore, carried 10 pounds to market, while a pound of the best carried 20. The time evidently was ripe for a marked growth of the sheep industry in the Middle West. Wool could profitably be

* There were less than 700,000 inhabitants in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana in 1830, and 1,416,000 in 1840. In 1830 there were 1,470,000 inhabitants in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and 2,925,000 in 1840. The producers in the last section increased twice as fast, numerically, as their chief customers.

grown up to 200 miles from a shipping point and over \$1,000 worth be drawn to the place of embarkation with a two-horse team (106C).*

LOW COST OF WESTERN VERSUS HIGH COST OF EASTERN WOOL PRODUCTION.

Another factor in favor of sheep in the West was the difference in cost of wool production. It was estimated that the annual cost of keeping a sheep in the East was from \$1 to \$2 per head for a considerable period prior to 1860. The estimated cost in the West ranged from \$1 down to 25 cents (95). Henry Randall, dean of eastern flockmasters, stated that either the wool or the lamb and manure paid for the annual keep of a ewe. The latter appears to have been the more common reckoning among some eastern sheepmen, while others offset the lambs against all other charges except feed and reckoned on a profit from the wool above the cost of the feed (95A). Randall estimated that it cost 88 cents per head to keep sheep a year in 1850 in flocks of 300 or more. Eastern farmers usually reckoned on \$1 or more a head in small flocks. If such items as depreciation and repairs on fences and buildings, cost of litter, full cost of labor, of supervision, and of extra labor at lambing were included, the cost per head per year in large flocks was very close to \$1.50. In small flocks it was considerably higher on many items, but the total annual cost was not necessarily higher. Accepting the balance of Randall's figures (although his percentage of lambs raised, 80, is certainly generous for large units), the return on large eastern flocks, except in districts most favorable to sheep, probably was but little above the

* In 1840 there was comparatively little through or interstate shipment of freight. The Ohio canals, however, were of great help to those who could use them, and the canal eastward from Pittsburgh was of considerable value to western Pennsylvania, though of relatively little benefit to settlers farther west. The necessity for partial transshipment when the boats were hauled over the divide between Johnstown and Hollidaysburg, and for complete transshipment at Columbia for freight consigned to Philadelphia, made the cost of transportation prohibitively high save for concentrated products. The westward shipments over this route were always far in excess of those moving eastward, owing to the character of the freight, and in great contrast to traffic on the Erie canal, where east-bound shipments were usually four times as large as those going in the opposite direction. In 1840 it cost \$1.55 to ship a barrel of flour from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia via the Pennsylvania route, as against 68 cents from Buffalo to New York via the Erie canal, from 1840 to 1845. The great bulk of the freight of western origin either went down the Mississippi to New Orleans or northward to Buffalo. Until 1851, 97 per cent of the beef and flour, and 96 per cent of the corn shipped from Cincinnati went down the river. The few short lines of railroad in the Middle West in 1840 (less than 200 miles in all) were of little general value in facilitating freight movements, and until well toward 1850 the gradual growth of railway mileage in that section had small effect on the transportation facilities as a whole, though very valuable locally. It was not until 1848 that the gap was closed between Bellefontaine and Springfield, Ohio, and the line from Sandusky to Cincinnati completed. Southern Michigan and adjacent areas in Ohio and Indiana were better served by the railways in the later forties than the remainder of the Middle West, save for a belt across Ohio from Sandusky to Cincinnati. Until well past 1850 the great bulk of the freight from the Middle West moved out via the waterways, for which the railways served as feeders. The opening of the enlarged Welland Canal in 1845 subjected the Erie route to severe competition and forced a marked reduction of transportation charges. Freight shipments eastward were thus encouraged and a marked gain occurred in the western tonnage via the Erie canal during the forties (107).

value of the manure. Randall's percentage of lambs raised is seriously open to question, because the large flocks usually contained a considerable proportion of wethers. Outside of the most favorable situations, on land which carried three sheep per acre and with wool in the market centers averaging 40 cents or less per pound, most wool growers in the East probably netted less than 75 cents per acre (25 cents per sheep), aside from the manure. The cost of keeping sheep in the East was at least twice as great as in the West. In Vermont in 1840 it was estimated that for some years previously the net income on the capital invested was seldom over 6 per cent, and but few flocks returned gross receipts (above losses) of as high as 25 per cent. In many flocks such receipts amounted to no more than 10 per cent of the total investment (108). For some years prior to 1850 many New York farmers figured that they had been keeping wool sheep at a loss, as the wool had not paid for the feed at \$1.34 per head per year. The clip per head probably was about 3½ pounds for these sheep. Many New York farmers claimed that in 1850 it cost 40 cents per pound to produce merino wool (104), which was only 5 cents less than fine wool sold for in Boston. Other cost estimates were considerably lower (69).

WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF SHEEP.

Resulting from the foregoing factors, as pioneer finances worked back to normal in the early forties sheep increased very rapidly west of the mountains, and wool shipments to the Atlantic seaboard placed the cheaper western clip in serious competition with that of the East (94). The accelerated westward movement of sheep in the early forties was likened to a "tornado" (96). In 1844 it was stated that not less than 50,000 sheep were driven into the West from one section the previous year (97). Ohio, as well as States farther eastward, was drawn on heavily by settlers in the western States who desired sheep, and emigrants from the East were particularly desirous of securing them. In 1843 half-blood Merinos were bought in Ohio for 50 to 87½ cents each. One man bought 500 head for an average of 63¾ cents each, and drove them to Lake County, Iowa, for 24 cents per head. At that time sheep sold in the prairie States for \$1 to \$2 each (99). Owing to the western demand, the price of sheep in Ohio doubled within a few weeks in the summer of 1844 (98).

Sheep began to take a position of prominence in Wisconsin in the late forties and early fifties. The census gave that State only 125,000 head in 1850. In 1845 there were not over 30,000 head in the State (93). Large numbers were driven into Wisconsin from Pennsylvania in 1844-45.

It was claimed that 50 per cent of the sheep driven into the prairie States from eastern regions died the first year (100), and during the

forties it was often stated that the western prairies were not suitable for sheep; but the agricultural press of that region gave such claims scant courtesy. The western country was said to be ideal, if suitable care and feed were given (101). The great trouble was heavy losses of stock, and discouragement, before the sheep became acclimated. Poor shelter, or no shelter, and poor feed were prominent causes of loss to careless shepherds (102). On the other hand, there was abundant free range, though it became dry fairly early in the fall, but western flockmasters could often have wild hay delivered at their pens for \$1 to \$1.50 per ton (103). Considering all the facts, it is not at all surprising that the eastern farmer despaired of competing with western wool after the middle forties.

DECLINE IN THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN THE EAST.

As a result of the above a pronounced decline in the number of sheep occurred in the East between 1840 and 1860, particularly between 1840 and 1850, and the West gained as fast as the East lost. In general, land values and feeding costs were too high east of the mountains to permit woolgrowing alone to continue profitable, and so far the production of wool had been the chief aim of the eastern flockmaster. His profits were very low, and flocks in the North Atlantic section were broken up rapidly. Men growing wool on land better suited to other uses abandoned the enterprise as the increasing urban population and changing economic conditions enabled the eastern farmer to produce other things with which the West did not compete so severely (109). This was especially true of the products of the dairy (109A). Most of the decline in the East appears to have occurred after 1845, when the number of sheep in the country was estimated at 25,000,000 (117A). In one county in Vermont the number of sheep decreased between 15 and 20 per cent during the summer of 1847 (108). At that time western wool was making great strides in dominating the eastern market, and the outlet for other farm products was enlarged considerably. The substantial decline in duties on wool in the tariff of 1846 had a discouraging effect on the eastern woolgrower, but the real cause would appear to be as indicated above; sheep appear to have declined because wool sheep as such were without an economic basis in most of the East. Prices for other farm products rose rapidly after 1846, while wool stayed until 1851 at virtually the same level as during the early forties. Other means of making a livelihood were present, and the eastern farmer took advantage of them at the expense of his flocks, save in situations most favorable for the production of wool (117).

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN 1850.

In 1850 there were 21,723,000 enumerated sheep in the United States, of which only 7,900,000 (or 36 per cent) were in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, instead of 11,250,000 (or nearly 60 per cent) in 1840. In 1850 New England had but a tenth of the total instead of nearly 20 per cent as in 1840 (a little over 2,000,000 as against nearly 4,000,000 head). Pennsylvania was the only eastern State where the number increased, due to growth of the flocks in the western counties. Practically a third of the sheep in 1850 were in the North Central States. If Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia (where a large part of the sheep were located in what is now West Virginia) had been grouped with the North Central States, that section would have had practically one-half of the total number in the country. Subsequent study of the census figures has led to the belief that there were about 2,500,000 sheep in the country which escaped enumeration in 1850, and that these animals were distributed in approximately the same ratio as the enumerated sheep, making a total of about 24,000,000 animals (118). It has been estimated that California had 1,000,000 head at that time (1850), nearly all of which escaped the census. This California figure, however, is undoubtedly much too large, as the flocks in that State were just beginning to increase again after having been almost obliterated following the secularization of the missions in the thirties. In 1850 the number in that State was relatively small and over half a million were driven in from New Mexico during the following decade, besides many thousands brought from the Eastern States (119). It is probable that not over 1,500,000 animals were missed by the enumerators in 1850, making a total of 23,223,000 head.

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN 1860.

In 1860 the census reported 22,471,000 sheep, while a trifle over 1,500,000 were estimated to have escaped the enumerators, making the total in the country practically 24,000,000, or but 3 per cent more than were present in 1850 (122). New England had nearly 1,900,000 head, or 7.9 per cent, and the Middle Atlantic States a little over 4,500,000, or 19.3 per cent. That is 6,500,000 head, or a trifle over one-fourth of the total, were in the wool-growing States of the East. The North Atlantic Division, therefore, showed a further decline, both absolute and relative, since 1850. The North Central States still contained practically one-third, the number there having increased but slightly. Most of the limited increase in numbers which occurred in the Middle West was in the newer States or sections, principally in Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Considerable numbers were driven to Texas (128) and, as already noted, to

California. In Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia the number was slightly less than in 1850, while there had been an increase in the Central West and a pronounced gain in the Far West, notably in New Mexico and California. These two territories then contained over 2,000,000 head as against less than 400,000 enumerated animals in 1850. Their wool clip was just beginning to appear on the eastern market in appreciable quantities.

CHARACTER OF THE WESTWARD SHIFT—PARTS OF THE MIDDLE WEST ASSUME EASTERN CHARACTERISTICS BY 1850.

The westward shift was characterized by a partial abandonment of the enterprise in the East and its general adoption in the West, rather than by any great gain in total number of sheep following 1845. In the fifth decade, more particularly between 1846 and 1850, sheep in the Eastern States and locally in the West were slaughtered by thousands for their pelts and tallow or disposed of in droves to rendering establishments. Such disposal also occurred between 1850 and 1860, but to a less degree (134). Wholesale sacrifices of sheep were noted in Ohio in 1844 and 1850 owing to a temporary shortage of feed following a slump in wool prices. In parts of that State, the stronghold of wool growing in the Middle West, sheep were even said to have been kept at a loss after the middle forties, though in most localities the sheep industry in Ohio was quite flourishing (135). In southern Ohio beef cattle displaced sheep in considerable numbers (136). Parts of Michigan had the same experience as Ohio. Sheep had become prominent in the southern part of the State by 1850, and in 1852 farmers were selling pelts at \$1 each and tallow for 10 cents per pound (137).

CHANGE TO MUTTON TYPES IN THE EAST—THE FRENCH MERINO.

Not only did sheep become less numerous in the East following 1845, but the character of the animal gradually underwent a change. Sheep had been kept for mutton as well as for wool before 1800, though in very small numbers. Mutton crosses became fairly numerous locally after 1815, and this change to both wool and mutton had been progressing slowly (110). It was claimed that pure-bred Leicester rams were rented for as high as \$150 to \$200 per season in Pennsylvania as early as 1810 (110A). After 1840 the change took on an added impetus, particularly in sections near or within fairly easy reach of the large cities (111). At one county fair in Massachusetts in 1847 all the sheep exhibited were longwools (110B). As the quality of the mutton improved, owing to the crosses with mutton breeds and disposal of the animals at a more acceptable age, the demand for mutton increased. This would have occurred inevitably

in answer to the urban demand, but the demand was accentuated by this improvement. Mutton breeds were also appearing in the West in favorable localities (112).

Some French Merinos were introduced in the forties in response to the desire to combine wool with mutton, as they were a considerably larger breed than the American Merino. They were weak in constitution, however, and did not fit in with the prevailing system of sheep management in this country (113). Grave frauds were also perpetrated on the farmers at this time, as had been the case with the Saxons. Big, ungainly mongrels were sold as pure Rambouillets, and found eager buyers, as the large size of this breed seemed to hold rich promise for the eastern flockmaster. These animals required so much care and were such heavy feeders that they soon fell into disrepute.

EARLY LAMBS—WINTER FEEDING FOR MUTTON.

The change to mutton breeds in the East was still more marked after 1850 than before. Aside from the Merino breeders and sheepmen distant from market or transportation systems, most of the eastern farmers who raised sheep probably kept the animals for both wool and mutton (139). By 1853 the New York and New England markets are said to have relied largely on mutton types for their supplies (140). A considerable activity had developed in the production of early lambs, common and grade Merino ewes being bought in the early fall from drovers, who brought them in from western Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio. They were bred in September for lambs in February and March. The lambs were sold when about 12 to 15 weeks old at a weight of 40-48 pounds and the ewes disposed of after being clipped or in the fall (141). Rams of one of the mutton breeds or good grade animals were used, and Southdowns were often preferred. The Southdown cross on such ewes for early lambs was an old practice in the East, and the lambs were of a high quality (142). English breeds for early lambs were kept almost exclusively in parts of Massachusetts by 1850, and mutton breeds greatly preponderated in that State (143). The price of mutton between 1850 and 1860 appears to have increased practically 100 per cent over the level of the previous decade (144).

Considerable fattening of mutton sheep (wethers) was done during the winter in the East, the animals often being fed from October or November to February or March, in some instances gaining as much as half a pound per day during the period on full feed, and sold at a considerable advance in price (145). One New York farmer declared that he had been engaged in this enterprise for 30 years, when interviewed in 1863, and that he had lost money but once (146). Mutton breeds seem to have predominated in Kentucky,

where longwools had been the rule on the rich grazing lands. The best sheep for winter feeding in the East were driven in from Kentucky and eastern Canada where the mutton breeds were kept almost exclusively. They were also appearing north of the Ohio, particularly near the cities, and had been introduced into Missouri by 1854 (147). One reason for the widespread change to this type which occurred was the relative enhancement of the price of the strong, coarse wool from such animals. Both medium and coarse wools had been gaining in price on the fine wools, but coarse fiber was gaining the faster (114, 114A).

COMPETITION OF OTHER FARM ENTERPRISES WITH SHEEP.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOREIGN MARKET FOR FARM PRODUCTS—IMPROVEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

The dominant reason for the absence of any appreciable increase in the number of sheep in this country between 1850 and 1860, particularly for such absence in the Middle West, where the greatest numerical gains had previously occurred, was competition of other farm enterprises with the sheep industry. This competition was due principally to a pronounced betterment of the foreign market for foodstuffs. Harvest failures in England and Ireland in 1845 and 1846 resulted in a marked decrease in the duties on foodstuffs imported into the British Islands from 1846 to 1849, while from 1849 on the duties were fixed at a nominal figure. A steady foreign market was opened to the agricultural products of this country. This market was considerably improved¹⁰ by the Crimean War (1853-56), which closed the Baltic to Russian grain (124).

The effect of the open British market on producers in the Middle West was noticeable immediately. In Chicago No. 2 spring wheat had averaged 47.6 cents per bushel from 1840 to 1846 inclusive, 57.7 cents during the next six years and 93.2 cents during the following seven years. During these same periods No. 2 winter wheat averaged 62.2 cents, 73.8 cents, and \$1.161 per bushel in Chicago. Flour averaged \$3.21, \$3.52, and \$4.68 per barrel in New York City; good to choice beef, live weight, averaged \$3.17, \$4.62, and \$5.05 per hundred pounds in Cincinnati, and fair to good packing hogs averaged \$2.78, \$3.67, and \$5.09 on the same market (125). The average price of butter on the Boston market was 16.5 cents per pound until 1847 and 21.3 cents from 1847 to 1859, inclusive, while the price of cheese rose from 6.63 cents between 1847 to 1852 to 8.62 cents from 1853-1859.

¹⁰ The effect of the gold discoveries in California in 1848, and the subsequent discoveries in Australia, was to enhance prices in general. No particular product appears to have been affected more than another.

The general average price of butter first rose 8 per cent and then 13 per cent, while cheese first fell 9.5 per cent and then rose 23.5 per cent.

The price of agricultural products other than wool averaged 32 per cent higher from 1847 to 1859 than during the preceding seven years. Fine, medium, and coarse washed wool on the Boston market averaged 23.7 per cent higher—23 per cent for the first two grades and 25 per cent for the third grade (125A).

During the period of low prices from 1840 to 1845, in spite of the high import duties in England, there was a considerable increase in agricultural exports, though a part of this gain merely counteracted the decline which had occurred during the series of poor harvests and high prices just preceding. With the virtual repeal of the Corn Laws of England in 1846 our export trade increased enormously, and there was nearly a three-fold gain during the decade from 1846 to 1855. A further gain occurred during the next four years. The average annual export of salt pork, hams and bacon, lard and tallow, salt beef, butter and cheese, corn and meal, wheat and flour, was approximately 127,780 tons during the unfavorable period from 1836 to 1840. The average annual export for the next five years (1841-1845) was 225,625 tons of the products specified above, or a gain of 76 per cent. The average for the following 10 years (1846-1855) was 634,150 tons, a gain of 182 per cent. For the four years 1856-1859 the average was 859,430 tons, a further increase of 36 per cent. At this time the shipments of meats and fats, butter and cheese, were stationary, and those of corn and meal decreased somewhat, but exports of flour and wheat increased sufficiently to give the additional gain mentioned (127A). The following tabulation presents the above data in detail:

Average annual exports of specified agricultural products.

Product.	1836-1840	1841-1845	Per cent of gain.	1846-1855	Per cent of gain.	1856-1859	Per cent of gain.
Pork ¹.....bbls., 200 lbs..	37, 214	143, 374	285	212, 316	49	198, 509	- 6
Bacon and hams.....lbs..	1, 329, 645	2, 868, 352	108	27, 786, 109	870	9, 638, 925	+ 7
Lard.....lbs..	7, 046, 842	20, 208, 323	187	35, 032, 786	73	4, 803, 452	- 1
Beef ¹.....bbls., 200 lbs..	27, 533	70, 188	155	107, 506	54	126, 676	+ 18
Tallow.....lbs..	273, 516	7, 089, 114	490	8, 288, 986	17	7, 135, 911	- 14
Butter.....lbs..	548, 138	3, 217, 763	485	3, 265, 020	2	3, 335, 066	+ 5
Cheese.....lbs..	560, 893	4, 585, 911	715	10, 030, 688	109	7, 597, 988	- 24
Corn.....bush..	236, 995	694, 822	193	6, 772, 735	875	6, 070, 935	- 10
Corn meal.....bbls..	168, 786	226, 550	34	361, 516	60	264, 408	- 27
Wheat.....bush..	368, 568	589, 372	60	2, 663, 160	352	8, 663, 355	+226
Flour.....bbls..	818, 586	1, 254, 939	53	2, 543, 435	103	3, 291, 668	+ 29

¹ Salted or pickled.

In any case, the rise in prices and the opening of the British market following 1846 would have resulted in a pronounced increase in agricultural development and exports by widening the zones feeding the lines of transportation existing during the forties, but no such

gain in exports as occurred during the later forties and the fifties could have taken place without a marked betterment of the country's transportation facilities. A betterment was especially necessary in the Middle West. During the late forties and all through the fifties a rapid increase in the railway mileage took place north of the Ohio River. There were about 1,300 miles of track in 1850, and in 1860 almost 10,400 in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. With the same length of haul to the shipping point, eight times the area was served by the railroads in 1860 as in 1850, and over fifty times as much as in 1840 (124A), when there were less than 200 miles of railroad in those States.

LOWERING OF SHIPPING COSTS—OTHER PRODUCTS GAIN AT EXPENSE OF WOOL.

The betterment in transportation facilities was also attended by a marked cheapening of shipping costs. Following the enlargement of the Welland Canal and keen competition between the St. Lawrence route and the Erie Canal, a pronounced drop in the transportation charges over the New York route took place. Wheat was shipped by water from Chicago to New York City in 1857-1859 for 19.72 cents per bushel, less than it had cost from Buffalo to New York in 1840-1845 (20 cents), and at least a third less than the former Chicago-New York all-water rate (30 cents or more). It was shipped by all-rail from Chicago to New York for 36.71 cents per bushel, less than it had cost to send it by water from central Ohio in the early forties (approximately 50 cents). The all-water rate from Chicago in 1862-1864 was but a little over half as high as during the years 1840-1845 (17 cents as against about 30 cents). Cattle were shipped from central Illinois to New York in 1860 for \$155 per car (\$10.33 per head), and the total cost, aside from commission, of marketing 1,400-pound steers in New York from central Indiana in 1861 was \$14 per head, or 1 cent per pound. In the early forties it had cost 2 to 3 cents per pound to market Middle West live stock in New Orleans via the Mississippi River (124B).

Not only did transportation costs decline greatly, but the cost of shipping grain was lowered relatively more than that of wool. In 1840-1846 wheat averaged \$1.04 per bushel in New York, and the cost of transporting one dollar's worth from Chicago was approximately 30 cents. In 1862 the price averaged \$1.29 per bushel and the cost of shipping one dollar's worth was 18 cents, a reduction of 12 cents. On the other hand, medium wool averaged 36.4 cents per pound in Boston in 1840 to 1846, and the cost of sending one dollar's worth from central Illinois was 5.82 cents or more ($2\frac{1}{8}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound). In 1862 the currency price averaged 50 cents per pound in Boston, while the cost of delivering one dollar's worth was 3.34

cents. Thus the reduction on the wheat rate was nearly five times as much as on the wool. Indeed, it would have been much larger save for a temporary rise in the rate on wheat from Chicago in 1862. In 1857 medium wool averaged 42.33 cents per pound in Boston, and at the same rate as in 1862 the cost of shipping one dollar's worth was 3.95 cents. Wheat in those years averaged \$1.29 in New York and the cost of transporting one dollar's worth from Chicago was 14 cents (19.76 cents per bushel), a reduction of 16 cents over the cost from 1840-1846, and nearly nine times that on wool (124C).

SUBSTITUTION OF OTHER FARM ENTERPRISES FOR SHEEP—RISE OF DAIRYING IN THE EAST.

From the above data it seems clear that there was small reason to look for much of an increase in the sheep industry in the fifties. The pronounced gain in railroad mileage, the cheapening of transportation charges, the greater relative reduction in the cost of shipping other products, and the greater rise in price of other products than of wool militated strongly against an extension of the industry in the Middle West, while the cheapness of wool production in the West placed the eastern sheepman under a severe handicap. At the same time, other enterprises were more attractive in the East. Accordingly, while the sheep industry in the West advanced, though but slowly, in the East the number of enumerated animals declined from 7,900,000 to 6,500,000, or nearly 22 per cent. In 1860 the North Atlantic States contained slightly over one-fourth of the national total as against one-third in 1850 and nearly 60 per cent in 1840.

The farmers of the Middle West, therefore, gave greater attention to grain, beef, and hog production, and, in the older settled sections, to dairying, than to sheep and wool, after the late forties. Enormous areas of land formerly practically valueless for grain production obtained shipping facilities during the fifties. Men with sufficient capital to break the prairie sod and put in grain were able to make good profits where before, because of the lack of a market, they had barely made a living. Funds for investment in live-stock enterprises and the necessary improvements to adopt them often were difficult to secure, and the interest rates were high. With wheat selling in Chicago from 1853 to 1859 for twice as much as between 1840 to 1846, the effect on agricultural production may easily be surmised. The rise in price of corn and oats encouraged their production by men unable to secure capital for live-stock enterprises to consume their own crops, while men able to invest in live stock generally adopted cattle and hogs. In 1850 many men in the Middle West figured that there was more profit in selling corn at 25 cents per bushel than in feeding it to live stock (126A). A marked increase in dairying took place in the Western Reserve of Ohio during the

late forties (133). In southern Ohio beef cattle displaced sheep to a large extent (136).

The eastern farmer gave more attention than ever to dairying, grew hay, grew more grain (probably largely for feed), and sometimes fed beef cattle in competition with the West, though uncertain prices attendant on western competition rendered this enterprise somewhat risky (152). As early as 1842 many New York farmers were plowing up sheep pastures for grain because of the low price of wool (129).

The census returns show an increase in wheat production of 13 per cent, oats 10 per cent, corn 50 per cent, and hay 21 per cent, between 1840 and 1850 for New England and the Middle Atlantic States. Settlement in western Pennsylvania would account for but little of this increase. There was only a small increase in the total number of cattle, but probably a marked gain in the number of dairy cows in this section at that time. This is indicated by the gain in hay and corn production, as well as by copious references in the agricultural press to the increase in dairying in the East. Between 1850 and 1860 the number of dairy cows in this section increased nearly 20 per cent (130). Even in Vermont, the old stronghold of the eastern wool grower, in 1848 dairying was gaining as rapidly as sheep were declining, and the same was true of parts of New York (131).

The receipts per sheep (excluding manure) averaged about \$1.72 per head in large flocks kept for wool in 1850 (127D), the farmer being reckoned to receive the average Boston price of wool from 1832 to 1845 (practically 40 cents per pound). About eight wool sheep were considered equivalent to a cow in feed requirements, making the receipts per animal unit¹¹ about \$14. The receipts per cow in butter and cheese dairies ranged from \$20 to nearly \$70, usually from \$30 or \$35 to \$60, or two to four times as much as was secured from an equivalent number of sheep (127E). As early as 1838 the profits per cow in Massachusetts were reckoned at \$12 to \$18, or from 33 per cent to 100 per cent higher than Randall's extravagant estimate as to the profits in wool growing in New York (127F). One dairyman averaged 130 pounds of butter per cow in a dairy of 50 animals in 1857. In 1863 his herd had increased to 80 head and the butter per cow averaged 225 pounds. At the same time, a pound of butter was made from 20 pounds of milk as against 39 pounds in 1857, while the yield of pork made per cow¹² increased from 92.5 to 144 pounds. The receipts per cow had risen from \$37.50 to \$67.50 (127H).

The wholesale price of cheese in Boston rarely varied more than 25 per cent between grades or from year to year after 1840; usually

¹¹ An animal unit is a cow or a horse or as many smaller or younger stock as require as much feed.

¹² Due to feeding hogs with dairy by-products.

the variation was less, and sometimes it was as low as 14 per cent. The changes in butter prices usually were smaller than in the case of cheese. On the other hand, the annual fluctuations in the Boston price of wool from year to year within grades sometimes were as much as 50 per cent, while variations of 25 per cent or more were a common occurrence. Price fluctuations between grades, of course, were far more pronounced (127K). With wool production in the East barely paying the cost of production, and the market very uncertain, as contrasted with the steady, strong, and rapidly growing market for dairy products, there was every incentive for the eastern wool grower to change to dairying. Many of them adopted mutton types of sheep for the growing urban meat market, but the marked decline in number of sheep and the growth of the dairy industry after 1840 indicate the real status of the enterprises. Dairying was almost universally regarded as more profitable and more permanent by the eastern farmer in 1850 (127C). This enterprise also enabled the farmer to utilize the cheap labor of the family to a degree not remotely possible in wool production. The growing city demand for market milk was an added incentive to the substitution of cows for sheep (127B), and improvements in the transportation facilities in the East played no small part in the change which occurred (127).

CONTINUED GROWTH OF WOOLEN MANUFACTURES (1843-1860).

In spite of the fact that the sheep industry virtually was at a standstill by 1850, the woollen manufactures had continued to advance, although there came a change in the character of output during the forties (115). For the years 1843-1850, inclusive, the average net annual imports of raw wool averaged 14,200,000 pounds, an increase of more than 50 per cent over the average for the period 1832-1842. The average value per pound lowered slightly (138). The price of all wools averaged lower during this decade, but a pronounced advance in at least the coarser manufactures is clearly evident. The domestic grower evidently continued to supply the bulk of the demand for grades competing with his clip until about 1850 (116). From 1851-1860, when the sheep industry was stationary, the net annual imports of raw wool were 22,900,000 pounds, and the average price per pound 14 cents, or more than 70 per cent increase in volume and more than 100 per cent increase in price as compared with the previous period (1843-1849) (138). Owing to the growth of his business and the lack of growth in the sheep industry in this country the American woollen manufacturer had to draw more largely on foreign wools similar to the domestic clip than had been the case for 20 years prior to 1850.

THE WOOL CLIP OF 1850 AND 1860—BREEDING FROM FINER TOWARD
MEDIUM WOOLS.

The 1850 wool clip was returned as 52,500,000 pounds, or nearly 2½ pounds per head, as against 36,000,000 pounds, or a trifle less than 2 pounds per head in 1840. Subsequent revision by census authorities has led to the conclusion that the 1850 clip was 11,500,000 pounds too low, and that the true average was 2.7 pounds per head. The average reported for 1840 also is undoubtedly somewhat low. The clip was probably about 40,000,000 pounds, and the average per head slightly over 2 pounds. The wool clip of 1860 was reported as 60,250,000 pounds, or 2.6 pounds per head. Subsequent revision has led to the conclusion that the real clip was 20 per cent larger than the enumerators returned, giving an average per head of practically 3 pounds (123). The gain in the yield of fleece per sheep from 1840 to 1860, therefore, was 50 per cent, from 2 pounds to 3.

Men growing wool after 1840 had worked steadily for a heavier fleece (148). Soon after 1840 the movement on the part of Merino woolgrowers was distinctly away from the finest wools. The larger, coarser-wooled, heavier-fleeced Merinos were by far the most popular. This, of course, was only to be expected in view of the steady advance in the price of medium and coarse wool as compared to fine, which had been taking place since the early forties, due to a change in the manufacturing demand (114, 114A). So far as possible, most men starting new flocks in the West, as well as sheepmen in the East, secured such Merinos in preference to animals giving a finer fleece.

This course of breeding necessitated the decline of the Saxon breed which has been noted, as has the westward migration of Merino animals. The Saxons also showed a strong tendency to move to the west of the Alleghenies. Although they were pretty generally discarded for the Merino before 1860, they were still popular in southeastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and the northern part of western Virginia. For a long period following 1850 this section produced the finest of the domestic clip (149).

BREEDING FOR YOLK.

During the two decades preceding 1860 the Merino breeders made striking gains in the clip from pure-bred animals for breeding purposes. In this period they also strove for an increased secretion of yolk in the fleece. The manufacturers made little difference in the price paid for excessively yolky fleeces and, in general, made the same reduction for unwashed wool whether or not relatively free from that secretion. The woolgrower governed himself accordingly, and the breeder did his full share (150).

INTRODUCTION OF THE SILESIAN MERINO.

In the fifties a few Silesian Merinos were imported from Germany by persons still endeavoring to grow the finest wool. This strain was practically as fine-wooled as the Saxon, but had been bred for sturdy constitution as well as fine fleece for nearly half a century. Accordingly, it had attained all the good points of the Saxon with none of the poor ones. The movement toward heavy fleeces of a medium fiber, relative to the fine clip of the Saxon and Silesian strains, was so strong at this time that but little was done with this breed save by a few men (152).

WOOL DEPOTS.

In connection with the wool trade, wool depots appeared during this period. One was opened at Kinderhook, N. Y., in 1845, one at Buffalo in 1846, one at Springfield, Mass., at about the same time and another in Chicago in 1851. A number of small ones were opened in Vermont in the late forties, and in Ohio before 1853 (153). It seems that they were not well patronized, though the charges were very moderate, and they remained in operation for only a few years. It was sometimes claimed that the managers took advantage of their patrons and operated the depots for their own advantage (154).

SHEEP IN GENERAL A MINOR FARM ENTERPRISE BY 1860.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that after 1845 the competition of other farm enterprises forced sheep into the background in most sections of the East, as well as in parts of the West. On the whole, wool sheep were relegated once more to a position of minor importance save where geographical or other conditions especially favored wool growing. This is evidenced by the failure of the Middle and Central Western flocks to make more than a trifling growth between 1850 and 1860 in spite of continued agricultural settlement. The stationary character of the sheep industry is indicated also by a pronounced increase in imports of wool, and the rise in the average price per pound of such imports, as well as by an increase of practically 125 per cent in the value of manufactures of wool imported annually from 1848 to 1860 as against the annual average for the four years 1844-1847 (138).

FIFTH PERIOD (1860-1870).

THE CIVIL WAR.

DEMAND FOR WOOL GREATLY INCREASED.

The decade between 1860 and 1870, marked by the Civil War of 1861-1865, saw a great change in the sheep industry, due to war

conditions and the scarcity of cotton. A large increase in the domestic demand for wool occurred, due to military necessities and the need to replace cotton with wool. At this time there was a large increase in manufactures of all woolens, especially from medium and coarse wools, due to the military demand. A marked diversification of the factory output also took place (157). The demand for wools below the fine grades was enhanced very much relatively, but a rapid increase in the domestic and world wool supply prevented any pronounced rise in the price of wool on a gold basis, and the average gold price of coarse wool, more largely in demand for military uses, was only 9 per cent higher from 1861-1865 than in 1860 (155). However, the currency prices of all grades increased enormously after the suspension of specie payments in 1862, and this fired the imagination of woolgrowers. At the same time the rise in price of other farm products, due in large part to the loss of the southern market, was less than that of wool during the earlier part of the decade (156). In 1862 wheat in central Iowa was a drug on the market at 50 cents per bushel, currency, and corn at 15 cents (156A). In central Illinois corn actually sold as low as 10 cents a bushel in 1862.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF SHEEP.

In response to the increased demand for wool and the price it commanded, the number of sheep increased rapidly. The States east of the Rocky Mountains and north of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia contained practically 36,000,000 in January, 1867, and the entire country east of the mountains was estimated to have a little over 39,000,000 (158). In 1860 these northern States had contained but 16,000,000 sheep (159). In the old sheep centers of the East the number had practically doubled. In New Hampshire sheep even displaced dairying in some favorable localities (161). In Ohio the number doubled, while in the North Central States as a whole the number increased 160 per cent. In the trans-Mississippi States the number increased 170 per cent. By far the bulk of the increase in numbers occurred in the older sheep-growing States in both the East and the West, as the foundation was already present for it. In the newer States a greater relative gain was made, but lack of capital was often a serious deterrent (162). On the other hand, free pasturage was abundant in many of those sections, and often little capital other than that necessary for the purchase of the sheep was needed for a start. The agricultural press was full of warnings, however, against sheepmen expecting to succeed with nothing but range pasture and no shelter, as many men tried to do. Both feed and shelter were necessary in the winter at least (163). At

this time, with the sheep industry booming, the high value of wool compared with its bulk, and the cheapness with which it could be shipped compared with the cost of shipping grain, received much attention. Many men went into wool production on the prairies as a major enterprise, with flocks of 2,000 to 5,000 head (163A).

THE SECOND MERINO MANIA—SPECULATIVE PRICES.

By far the greater part of the increase which occurred was in Merinos and Merino grades (160). The Vermont Merino breeders reaped a rich harvest at this time, as much as \$3,500 to \$5,000 per head being reported for the sale of fine rams, while \$800 or more often was received. It cost \$2,000 to \$3,000 a season for the service of the most noted Vermont rams. Extra fine ewes commanded from \$100 to \$300 and more per head (164). It is reported that one Vermont breeder refused \$10,000 for his best ram on the ground that he could not risk a deterioration in his flock by letting him go (165). Another breeder in that State refused to sell his flock of 200 head for \$50,000 (166). A common price in Vermont appears to have been about \$25 for ewes and \$100 for rams before the Merino mania reached its height (167).

AMERICAN MERINOS CHAMPIONS AT HAMBURG.

The fame of the Vermont Merino and the demand for them were increased greatly by the showing made by George Campbell's animals (largely of the Hammond strain) at the agricultural exhibition at Hamburg, Germany, in 1863. He exhibited 12 animals, the only American sheep there, against 1,761 European Merinos, 60 of them from the Royal French flock, and took two first prizes and one second, outranking all other Merino exhibits for length of staple and weight of fleece. These sheep were sold later to a Silesian breeder for \$5,000 (168). Soon after this year there also began a movement of pure-bred rams from America, principally from Vermont, into the Southern Hemisphere, to which their fame had quickly spread. South America and Australasia were the principal buyers, though South Africa also entered the field a little later. The movement continued for several decades, slackening first in New Zealand, where the mutton types (cross-breds) became prominent earlier than elsewhere in the Antipodes (168 A).

New York Merinos sometimes were shipped to Vermont and then sold as being of the Vermont strain. Breeders in the other sheep States of the East, as well as in the Ohio district, also reaped large profits from sales of breeding stock. Two or three towns in one New York county sold 1,100 animals to western buyers in the summer of 1864 (169). In Illinois in 1866 ordinary Merino rams sold for \$25

to \$65 per head (164A). Some fine stock was shipped by sea to California (173).

CONTINUED BREEDING FOR YOLK.

At this time the earlier efforts of the sheep breeders for heavy-fleeced animals with an excessive secretion of yolk were accentuated, owing to the high price of wool. For many years prior to 1864, a farmer selling well-washed, clean fleeces secured only 2 or 3 cents more per pound than the man selling excessively dirty, yolky wool, which shrank very much more in cleaning and scouring. Often no difference in price was made (170). A reaction against the excessively yolky animals showed some strength soon after 1860, however (171). Men found that what seemed an inferior animal in the showing, one which did not compare with the black-coated, heavy-fleeced animal so far as the unwashed clip was concerned, was better for breeding purposes and had not suffered a loss in vigor from the forcing methods used by many breeders. Claims were advanced that the purebred Merinos were becoming short-lived as a result of the forcing methods in use (171A).

THE "CORNWALL FINISH."

The Vermont Merinos were characterized by a dark-brown or black tinge in the exterior of the fleece, due to abundant yolk and dirt of various kinds held by it in the last eighth inch or more of wool. In fraudulent imitation of this, what was called the "Cornwall finish," a product of Yankee ingenuity, was often given to inferior animals. A mixture of burnt umber, lampblack, and linseed oil was applied to the fleece to give it the characteristic color of the highly bred Vermont Merino. This often was so cleverly done that none but a flockmaster well acquainted with the breed could detect it. Unsuspecting farmers were easy dupes, particularly in the West. Every animal with the look of a Merino and a greasy fleece had a ready sale (172).

GAIN IN POPULARITY OF THE MUTTON BREEDS.

The Merino, however, was not the only breed to receive marked attention. Retention of sheep for wool operated to better the market for mutton, the gold price of which rose faster and averaged higher than that of beef or pork during the course of the war. Relative to 1860 prices, mutton averaged 62 per cent, beef 22 per cent higher, and pork 9 per cent lower from 1861 to 1864, inclusive (174). For a considerable period prior to 1862, and probably continuously since before 1800,¹² prime mutton had been selling at a higher price than

¹² Prime mutton brought a higher price than beef before 1800 both in this country and in England (174A).

beef in the larger eastern markets, and lamb still higher (175). It was estimated that mutton cost much less to make than pork (176). Lean sheep in the fall following 1860 commonly brought about 3 cents per pound and sold fat in the early spring (February or March) for about 5 cents, often more. The fall market was always glutted with mutton, and the price was correspondingly depressed, as would be expected before the days of refrigeration (177).

The rise in price of mutton during the winter often made it fairly easy to feed at a profit (177A). Accordingly, in the East, as well as in parts of the West, the mutton breeds became increasingly popular, particularly near or within easy reach of the cities and on the higher-priced lands. After a slump in wool prices which occurred in the later part of the decade the increase of mutton blood and of early lamb production in both the East and Middle West was considerably accelerated (178A).

The greater appreciation in the value of coarse wool compared with medium wool, which has been mentioned, also operated in favor of the mutton breeds in many sections (178). The scarcity of cotton and the use of long-combing wools in fabrics where cotton had been combined with wool turned attention to the long-wooled breeds, such as Lincoln, Leicester, and Cotswold (179). In 1860 most of the long wool manufactured in this country was imported, largely from Canada (180). The agricultural press and the reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture gave much space to this phase of the wool production, as well as to mutton breeds in general.

PRICES PAID FOR SOUTHDOWNS.

Fine Southdown animals commanded good prices, though far below those secured by the Merino breeders for choice animals. One New York breeder of Southdowns offered pure-bred animals for \$22 to \$150 per head, depending on age and quality. Another sold ewes for from \$13 to \$95, and rams for \$17 to \$500. The last figure was paid for an animal imported from Webb's flock in England at a cost of \$1,250. In one sale the average for all the animals sold was \$45 per head. At a sale by another breeder ewes and ewe lambs brought as much as \$50 per head, and rams and ram lambs as much as \$160. At a sale of Shropshires the price of ewes reached \$28 and of rams \$125 each (181). Many shipments of Southdowns were sent to California during the sixties. Mutton breeds also began to receive attention west of the Alleghenies and were preferred by some farmers as far west as Minnesota (182). However, the speculative prices commanded by the best Merinos seem to a considerable extent to have retarded the change to mutton blood (128A).

IMPROVEMENT IN THE WOOL CLIP (1860-1870).

During this decade the wool clip increased to a marked degree. The average in 1860 was probably 3 pounds. The number of sheep returned by the census in 1870 was 28,500,000 and the wool clip a little over 100,000,000 pounds, or nearly 4 pounds per fleece. The estimate of the Department of Agriculture for weight of fleece in February, 1870, was practically the same. This gain in weight of the fleece was a logical result of the diligence with which woolgrowers worked for it throughout the decade and of a rigid reduction of the flocks in the late sixties when the weaker and less profitable animals were weeded out. As a result of the increase in number of sheep the domestic wool clip available for manufactures considerably more than doubled during the war (183). But the woolen manufactures grew so rapidly that imports of raw wool, particularly the cheap wools, also doubled. At the same time the average imports of woolens from 1861 to 1865, inclusive, decreased practically one-fifth from the average for 1854 to 1860, inclusive (184).

READJUSTMENT IN THE SHEEP INDUSTRY (1867-1870).

A sharp decline in the price of wool followed the close of the war. The world demand for wool naturally had been increased greatly when the cotton of the South could not reach the market. The price of cotton advanced so much that woolen goods largely replaced cotton manufactures, though cotton production elsewhere was stimulated to a considerable degree. An enormous increase in the growing of wool in the Southern Hemisphere, particularly in Argentina, South Africa, India, and Australia, prevented any marked rise in wool prices, which were fairly steady. The world supply increased more than a third between 1860 and 1870, a large part of the gain occurring in the first half of the decade, when the cotton famine was present. When this famine was removed at the end of the war wool prices slumped, owing to the general oversupply (187).

In 1866, when it was expected that the tariff on both wool and woolens would be raised very much, an enormous quantity of woolen goods was imported to avoid this anticipated advance (185). The net amount of raw wool imported also was largely increased over the imports for the preceding year. The tariff of 1867 was then adopted, but the woolgrower and the manufacturer were hit very hard by these heavy imports and by the sale of large stocks of Army woolens for several years (186). With wool prices falling rapidly, and the largely increased flocks, enlarged on the basis of abnormal conditions, no longer a profitable source of income in most parts of

the country, the woolgrower discovered that a readjustment was necessary in his business.

A general rise in the price of other farm products after the close of the war, due in large measure to the restoration of the southern market, was another factor complicating the situation for the woolgrower. The price of mutton fell slightly, in marked contrast to the rise in price of beef and pork. Wheat averaged 44 per cent higher during the six years following 1864 than for the four ending in that year. Beef averaged 32 per cent and pork 72 per cent higher, while mutton averaged 14 per cent cheaper (191). The currency price of fine, medium, and coarse washed Ohio fleece wool for the clips of 1867-1870, inclusive, averaged 38 per cent cheaper than for the clips of 1862-1866, inclusive (192).

The American woolgrower, therefore, had to shape his enterprise to the new conditions, and a wholesale reduction in the number of sheep followed (188). This was especially the case in the East and in the North Central States. In the States east of the Rocky Mountains which had not seceded, the reduction was more than a third of the total number—from nearly 36,000,000 to 22,500,000 animals between January 1, 1867, and January 1, 1871 (189). It was even estimated that the decline in 1868 was one-fourth of the total number in the country (190). Large numbers of sheep were driven westward and probably to the Far West in the hope that more would be realized for them than could be secured by slaughter for the pelts and tallow (193). The demand for good breeders remained active in that section, as the western ranges were just laying the foundations of the industry that gave them their dominant position of later years. Parts of Missouri appear to have drawn on States eastward as far as Vermont for good stock at this time (194).

In the North Atlantic States the number of sheep was reduced almost two-thirds. In New Hampshire sheep were sold by thousands for from 30 cents to \$1.50 per head and shipped to Boston for slaughter (195). A heavy decrease in numbers was due to poor care and feed following 1867, many thousands dying every winter from exposure and disease in both the East and the West (196). The decline in the North Central States and in the Central West was practically one-third. Wool growing could not permanently compete with other enterprises on the prairies (197). In central Ohio several slaughtering establishments were erected for killing 20,000 to 50,000 sheep each for pelts and tallow. The refuse from the vats was fed to hogs. Sixty cents to \$1.25 per head was paid for the stock. Good animals were sold by thousands for \$1 to \$2 which a year earlier had been held at \$20 to \$40 (198). In Iowa farmers are said to have offered their sheep for sale at \$1 each, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of

ear corn (199). It is interesting to note that at this time, and for the same reasons, sheep were extensively slaughtered in Australia and South America (199A). On the other hand, however, many farmers bought good stock for a song during the panic of reduction and disposed of all their poorest animals. They did not believe the depression would be permanent (200).

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN 1870.

By 1870 the sheep industry was back to normal, the culls had been weeded out (199B), and the enterprise was restored to its former place as a minor activity on most farms outside of the Ohio district and the most favorable sections in the East.

The net gain over 1860 in the States east of the Rocky Mountains which had not seceded was nearly 50 per cent—from 16,000,000 to 22,500,000, according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture for February, 1871 (201). The department figures for February, 1871, so far as the total number in the country is concerned, appear to be more accurate than the census returns for 1870. The census placed the total number at 28,478,951, while the department estimate was 31,581,000. The North Central States showed a net gain of 71 per cent over the census figures for 1860, the Central West a gain of 172 per cent, and the Far West a little over 100 per cent. Aside from the North Central States, this increase in numbers was largely a result of natural growth and settlement. The principal gain in the far West was in California, New Mexico, and Oregon, in the order named. In the other parts of that region any increase was largely due to the demand for mutton in the mining districts (202). The greater number of sheep in the North Central States, in spite of a tendency toward a decrease in that section before 1860 in other than the newer districts of the region, was undoubtedly due in considerable measure to the high tariff on wool. Many growers felt that with the degree of protection offered they could still grow wool with profit on their land, which as yet was cheaper than much of that in the East. The average gain of a pound per head in the wool clip undoubtedly strengthened them in their belief. At the same time, much of this section was new, and at the prices which had prevailed for several years men were able to purchase sheep for their cheap lands who ordinarily could not afford to secure the breeding animals. In the Ohio district—southeastern Ohio, southwestern Pennsylvania, the Panhandle of West Virginia, and southern Michigan—the geographical features were quite favorable for the continuation of wool gathering. In New England, the Middle Atlantic States, and the South the number of sheep in 1871 had declined 24 per cent from the 1860 figures.

SIXTH PERIOD (1870 TO DATE).

CONTINUATION OF THE WESTWARD SHIFT.

BASIS OF THE FLOCKS IN THE FAR WEST.

Following 1870 the outstanding characteristic of the sheep industry was its further shift westward to areas of cheap land. Sheep have always been a frontier enterprise, to a great extent, when wool is the main product, and the industry moves with the frontier. It seems evident that the preceding decade, by the pressure of abnormal factors, had simply arrested this westward movement for a time. After 1870 rising land values and competition with other farm enterprises steadily thinned out the sheep in the East and a large part of the Mississippi Valley.

The shift first showed most prominently in Texas,¹⁴ New Mexico, and California. The foundation stock was the degenerate Mexican breed, yielding from 1 to 1½ pounds of coarse wool (203). These animals were descended from sheep brought into North America by the Spaniards much earlier than they arrived in the English colonies. Sheep and the domestic manufacture of wool were firmly fixed in Mexico fairly early in the sixteenth century. Mendez took some to Florida in 1565 (204). The Chourros ("Choaroes") or Spanish longwooled sheep, and also probably some of what later were called the Merino, or fine-wooled breed, were sent to the New World, where they interbred and rapidly degenerated into the mongrel coarse Mexican breed which furnished foundation stock for the Southwestern and Pacific territories centuries later (205). The sheepmen of this section bred up these mongrels with the Merino, sent in from the older woolgrowing sections.

CHARACTER OF THE WESTERN SHEEP INDUSTRY.

The sheep industry in the far West began and, in most parts of the section, continued on a different basis from that in the East. Sheep were adopted as a major enterprise, or as the sole enterprise, usually the latter, outside of Utah, where the industry also soon took on this character (225). They continued to occupy this dominant position throughout the greater part of the region, though in more recent years a change occurred in some sections in response to agricultural settlement and development of other enterprises in competition with sheep. At first the animals were kept practically exclusively for wool, and the Merino, being better adapted to the range conditions, was the breed adopted.

¹⁴ In the following discussion Texas will be classed with the States of the far West, as the character of her sheep industry was distinctly of the western type.

SHEEP MOVEMENTS AND BREEDING IN THE FAR WEST.

In the case of New Mexico, where the sheep industry dates from about the year 1700, the Mexican sheep were driven to California in large numbers in the fifties, bred up with the Merino, and then sent back in the seventies for the improvement of the New Mexican flocks (206). New Mexico was extensively drawn on for many years for foundation stock in the far West, the animals being steadily improved with Merino blood (207). Considerable French and some Australian, as well as American Merino blood was used in California, besides a strong infusion of mutton blood on the Mexican sheep of that State, but the earlier improvements were made largely with the American Merino (208). In 1880, 75 per cent of the California animals were high-grade Merinos (209). It is believed that in the early seventies virtually all the sheep in the State were half-blood Merinos or better (210).

Sheep first appeared in Oregon in 1829, when some were imported via water from California by the Hudson Bay Co. station at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. The sea captain intrusted with the project was a better sailor than stockman, however, and when the animals were turned out to breed at the fort they were found to be wethers exclusively. There were 200 head at the fort in 1835. Later additions to the flock, with the increase, brought the number to 2,500 in 1841, and some fine-wool blood from Australia was present (210A).

Sheep were first driven in considerable numbers to Oregon from California in 1843, the drives continuing for some years thereafter, but a reverse process set in by 1850, when numbers of Oregon sheep were driven back for mutton sale to the California miners (211). Pure Vermont Merinos and other pure-breds reached Oregon before 1860, but the industry in that State grew but slowly until after 1870 (212). The Merino was the predominant breed for many years, though by 1890 the farmers in western Oregon were turning their attention to the mutton breeds to a large extent. In eastern Oregon the Merino typical of that period held first place much longer, owing to the character of the range (213).

By 1870 some sheep had reached southeastern Washington from Oregon, and also northern Idaho and western Montana, largely from Oregon and California. These were predominantly Merinos, although pronounced admixtures of mutton blood were present in the Montana sheep. This blood was largely bred out in a short time, and 95 per cent of the wool clip in 1886 was fine or fine medium. This was but logical when the character of the range and of the market at that time is taken into account (214). Sheep also appeared in Arizona, following the settlement of the Indian troubles of the seventies, being driven in from Utah, Colorado, California, and New Mexico (215).

Until nearly 1870 there were but few sheep in Colorado. They were in the southern part, of the Mexican breed, and largely owned by Mexicans. Later increases in this State were improved to a considerable degree by improved Merino grades driven eastward from California and westward from the East (223). There were few in Utah in 1870, but these were good animals, with a large proportion of mutton blood, later greatly modified by flocks from New Mexico, which, again, were vastly improved by grading up with the Merino (224).

In 1880 sheep were present in considerable numbers in all the Rocky Mountain States, although the great bulk of the animals in the far West were in the Coast States, New Mexico and Texas.

In Texas the greater part of the sheep are said to have been of the unimproved Mexican type until well on in the seventies (217). Improvements made by early importations from the North evidently had been local in character, and probably were largely nullified during the war period, although quickly resumed thereafter (218). It had cost about 10 cents per head for ferriage, bridge tolls, etc., during the drives into Texas from the North in the sixties. The sheep were wintered in southern Missouri by the conservative drovers, in order not to weaken them by too steady driving, thus saving heavy losses, and making acclimatization easier at the end of the drive. Animals bought in the North for \$4 per head sold in Texas for \$8 and \$10, while the wool shorn in Missouri in the spring paid for the winter keep and the labor of the drive (219). Enthusiasts on the subject of sheep farming in the Lone Star State claimed that the only expense to which a flockmaster was put was the cost of the herding, etc., no feed or shelter being required (220). In 1860 Mexican ewes were bought in Texas for \$1.50 each, while grade Merinos were bought in 1867 for \$2 to \$3 (221). By 1890 the flocks had been vastly improved, and the wool clip is said to have contained relatively little of the coarse Mexican fiber (222).

In 1870 more than 80 per cent of all the sheep in the country were Merinos or Merino grades. The percentage of this breed in the far West was certainly much higher, not counting the degenerate Mexican animals in the Southwest. It was estimated that in New Mexico 72 per cent of the sheep were still of the unimproved Mexican breed (225A). In 1880 it was estimated that more than nine-tenths of the sheep in the far West approximated more or less closely to the Merino standard (226).

PROGRESSIVE ADVANCE IN NUMBER OF SHEEP IN THE FAR WEST.

Since 1880 the growth of the sheep industry in the far West has nearly offset a pronounced decline which has occurred in other sec-

tions. This growth with reference to the United States total (adult sheep to the nearest thousand) is as follows:

Year.	United States.	Far West (230).
1870....	28,478,000	4,666,000
1880....	42,192,000	18,233,000
1890....	40,876,000	19,203,000
1900....	39,853,000	23,669,000
1910....	39,644,000	24,666,000

* See footnote, appendix, Sheep in the United States, for discussion of 1910 census figures.

The national and the far West figures for 1870 are both low, owing to failure to include range flocks in the Central and far West (probably several million head in all) in the census returns for that year. The remarkable increase west of the Rockies by 1880, therefore, seems much greater than really occurred, though very striking, however considered. This gain represents almost the entire increase in the national sheep population during the seventies. The pronounced thinning out of the flocks east of the Missouri during the late sixties, accompanied by similar sacrifices in South America and Australia, had been carried too far. With normal conditions restored in the wool market in the early seventies the undue depletion in the supply was noted immediately. The high tariff of 1867 induced many sheepmen in the older sections to maintain their flocks at about their existing size, while the possibilities of the open range in the far West held out an alluring prospect to the more adventurous flockmaster. The completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 and subsequent extension of railway mileage in the far West enabled the western woolgrower to utilize his opportunity. It is estimated that in 1866 the far West contributed only 15 per cent of the domestic wool clip (137,000,000 pounds). In 1873, 25 per cent of the wool clip came thence, and in 1885 about 45 per cent (228).

In 1880 more than two-fifths, and in 1890 nearly one-half of the country's sheep were in the far West. The slow increase in that region between 1880 and 1890 (1,000,000 head, or 5.5 per cent), as contrasted with the striking gain during the preceding decade, was in part due to lower wool prices during the later eighties. The world's wool production increased nearly 50 per cent between 1870 and 1884, the demand for wool was fully met (229), and for some years there was less pressure for further expansion in the far West.

It is also very probable that wool growing had been started in parts of the western country where conditions were more favorable for other enterprises, and that there was a readjustment of the sheep industry to localities where natural conditions most favored it. Very likely the range in many sections had been overstocked, as in eastern

Colorado (28 A), and financial stringency following the panic of 1879 undoubtedly had some effect in slowing up the growth of the industry.

RISE OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN THE MOUNTAIN REGION.

The continuation of the increase in sheep in the far West after 1890 was almost entirely the result of a concentration of the sheep industry in the Rocky Mountain region. This movement continued to progress during the next decade and marked the end of the westward shift in wool production. The Rocky Mountain region—Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada—is the logical home of the wool grower in this country, owing to the predominance of grazing land of low value unsuited for other range animals. The foraging qualities of sheep, the high value of wool compared with its bulk, and the ease with which it can be transported, are complementary to natural conditions on the western range. Accordingly, tariff revisions and variations in the price of wool have had far less effect on the range flocks than on those elsewhere in the United States. The remarkable growth of the flocks in the mountain region is one of the most striking incidents in the history of the American sheep industry. This growth is depicted in the following tabulation (adult sheep figures to the nearest thousand):

Year.	United States.	Coast and Texas.	Mountain region.	Entire far West (230A).
1870....	28,478,000	3,845,000	821,000	4,666,000
1880....	42,192,000	11,136,000	7,097,000	18,233,000
1890....	40,876,000	9,683,000	9,520,000	19,203,000
1900....	39,853,000	5,684,000	17,984,000	23,666,000
1910....	39,644,000	5,157,000	19,510,000	24,667,000

Sheep in the mountain section have increased much faster than elsewhere in the far West. During the seventies the reported gain was 900 per cent for the mountain section as against 290 per cent for the entire far West. The same factors which retarded the far West as a whole during the following decade were operative in the mountain division, but with less effect. The California flocks declined 2,330,000 head, owing principally to agricultural settlement, but increases in Texas, Oregon, and Washington partly counteracted this loss for the Coast-Texas division. The New Mexican flocks were heavily drawn on for stock sheep by flockmasters elsewhere in the West and declined nearly 1,500,000 head, but this loss for the mountain section was more than compensated by the gain in other parts of that division. A 34 per cent increase in the mountain section gave the entire far West a net gain of 5.5 per cent in spite of the Coast-Texas decline of 13 per cent during the eighties. In 1880 the moun-

tain district contained one-sixth and in 1890 nearly one-fourth of the national sheep total. The concentration of the sheep industry in this section during the period of low wool prices of the nineties was especially rapid. The Coast-Texas division, in spite of increases in Washington and Oregon, suffered a decline of 41 per cent (practically 4,000,000 head). This was principally due to agricultural settlement in Texas and California and to some extent to abandonment of wool sheep by operators who had continued that enterprise on land better suited to other uses. The 23 per cent gain for the far West, as a whole, was principally due to the 90 per cent increase in the flocks of the mountain section (from 9,500,000 to nearly 18,000,000 head). During the following decade the Coast-Texas division suffered a further decline of 9.3 per cent, while the mountain division of the far West experienced a gain of 8.5 per cent. The westward shift in the sheep industry had almost ended by 1900, when the range in most localities had become fully stocked with sheep. Changes during the following decade were virtually only readjustments on the range and in cultivated areas of the far West in completion of the shift.

PROGRESSIVE DECLINE IN THE EAST, MIDDLE WEST, AND SOUTH.

The increase in sheep on the range has been more than offset since 1880 by a decline that occurred east of the Central West. This decline, the result of many factors, is presented in the following tabulation (adult sheep to the nearest thousand):

Section.	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
New England States.....	1,450,000	1,362,000	937,000	563,000	306,000
Middle Atlantic States.....	4,249,000	3,802,000	3,341,000	2,089,000	1,391,000
Southern States.....	4,474,000	5,077,000	5,047,000	3,415,000	3,172,000
North Central States.....	11,165,000	10,566,000	9,450,000	6,900,000	6,535,000
Central Western States.....	2,474,000	3,152,000	2,899,000	3,217,000	3,574,000
United States.....	28,478,000	42,192,000	40,876,000	39,853,000	39,644,000

In New England, owing to local market conditions, the decline became precipitate during the eighties. In the other eastern sections the proportionate decline did not become especially rapid until the nineties, when depressed business conditions and very low wool prices opened the eyes of the eastern wool growers to the real status of that enterprise. The gain in the southern flocks during the seventies was a natural recovery from war-time losses, though probably accelerated by the high protection enjoyed by the wool grower at that time. Nearly half of the decline in the South during the nineties occurred in Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia. These three States contained almost half of the sheep in that section both at the beginning and at the end of the decade. By 1910 Kentucky

and Tennessee experienced a slight gain and contained two-fifths of the sectional total. The flocks in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan shrank nearly one-third during the nineties, while the others in the North Central division (Indiana and Wisconsin) declined much more slowly. The New York and Pennsylvania flocks, which contained over nine-tenths of the sectional total at both the beginning and the end of the decade, lost two-fifths of their number during the nineties.

Since 1910 there has been a gradual falling off in the number of sheep and lambs reported for the country as a whole by the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, until 1914, with slight gain in 1915. East of the Mountain region there has been a net gain in the number of sheep, increases in Texas and in many of the central tier of States east of Colorado having more than offset declines elsewhere. In the Mountain region, however, a striking loss has been reported, the decline having been over seven and one-third million head from the estimated number in 1910 (233). But it seems probable, as will be shown later, that this decline has been more largely in lambs and wethers, and that so far as the stability of the sheep industry is concerned, it has been more apparent than real.¹⁵

FACTORS WHICH AFFECTED THE SHEEP INDUSTRY AFTER 1870.

The change in the geographic distribution of sheep was due in part to the growth of wool production the world over, particularly in regions producing wool which competed with the domestic clip—in South America, Australasia, and South Africa. Owing to the

¹⁵ In considering changes in sheep distribution as depicted by census figures it must be borne in mind that there were intermediate steps which are not shown by them. Estimates of the Department of Agriculture show an advance for all sections but the South and the Middle Atlantic region between 1880 and 1884. The reduction in number of sheep, as shown by the census between 1880 and 1890, would therefore seem to have occurred between 1884 and 1890.

But there seems to be some discrepancy in the figures of the Statistician of the Department of Agriculture with reference to the far West. A rapid gain was reported for the far West prior to and including 1884. A decline of 6,500,000 head is reported to have occurred from the estimate for that section in 1884 to the census figure for 1890, or to the estimated number for 1889. Wool commanded a fair price for those years, though considerably below what had been secured for some time prior to 1884. On the other hand, during the period of hard times and free wool from 1894 to 1897 when prices were but a little more than half the level from 1884 to 1890, the Statistician estimated a decline of only a little over a million head in the far West. Such a disparity in the declines which occurred would seem at variance with the facts, and the evidence appears to indicate inaccuracy in the far West estimates of the eighties. It would seem highly probable that the estimates of the early eighties exaggerated the increases which occurred, and also exaggerated the subsequent decline (231). In 1890 the tariff placed the duties on wool imports at practically the 1867 figure, the small reduction made in 1883 thus being corrected. Between 1890 and 1893 there was another temporary gain corresponding to that of the good times of the early eighties. Following the panic of 1893 and the tariff of 1894, which let in wool free of duty, there came a pronounced decline in the number of sheep in the country. The number in 1893 was estimated at 47,250,000, in 1897 the estimate was 36,800,000, a fall of nearly 10,500,000, or 22 per cent. Although it has been stated that this decline was exaggerated, it appears more reasonable, in view of the economic factors, than that reported during the eighties. The tariff of 1897 restored duties to the 1890 level, and the number of sheep between 1897-1900 increased somewhat in every section except the South (227 and 231).

continued increase in world production following 1870, wool prices fell markedly and forced wool growing out of the less favorable localities. Competition with other farm enterprises and continued development of transportation facilities attended by a pronounced lowering of freight rates, particularly on bulky products, were equally important in furthering the shift in the sheep industry.

EFFECT OF INCREASE IN WOOL PRODUCTION OF THE WORLD ON THE SHEEP INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Wool exported from Australasia increased from an average of 148,000,000 pounds for the five years ending in 1870 to 647,000,000 for the five years ending in 1899, or 337 per cent. South African exports for the same periods increased more than 100 per cent, and South American (River Plate) about 150 per cent. The North American clip increased practically 66 per cent, and the United States clip at the same rate (from an average of 165,000,000 to 276,000,000 pounds) (234). The English and European clip decreased somewhat. The wool production from other regions increased nearly 114 per cent. The world production reaching the great manufacturing centers of Europe and North America increased from an average of 1,293,000,000 pounds for the five years ending 1870 to 2,287,000,000 pounds for the five years ending in 1899. This growth had slowed up somewhat after 1890 (235). The production of the United States, therefore, expanded during this period much less rapidly than that of the Southern Hemisphere, whence came the bulk of the clip competing with our own.

Since 1900 the average annual world production of wool for use in the manufacture of clothing has been practically stationary at about 2,250,000,000 pounds, of which Australasia has contributed about 800,000,000, South America 400,000,000, and South Africa 130,000,000 pounds, or close to two-thirds of the total. Great Britain has contributed about 125,000,000, and the Continent 470,000,000 pounds. North America has contributed an average of approximately 325,000,000 pounds a year (235A). The Northern Hemisphere, therefore, has contributed but a little more than one-third of the total. With the exception of a few years, from 1900 to 1915, the estimated domestic clip of this country has hovered fairly closely around 300,000,000 pounds and has averaged 303,250,000 pounds, 7 per cent above the average for 1891-1900 (283,330,000 pounds) (236-8). Exports from South America for 1912-13 show a slightly larger percentage of gain, from Australia a 30 per cent gain, and from South Africa an increase of 113 per cent (238). The Southern Hemisphere has continued to outstrip this country in the production of competing wools.

A pronounced gain in the average weight per fleece is responsible for the slight gain in wool production in the United States, although

the number of sheep has been declining since the middle eighties. The weight per fleece averaged about 4 pounds in 1870, 4.8 pounds in 1880, 5.6, 6.3, and 6.8 pounds in the following census years. There has been no appreciable change in recent years (239).

COURSE OF WOOL PRICES.

After the slump in wool prices of the later sixties the wool market of the world strengthened in the early seventies and the price advanced considerably. Then, with a steadily increasing world-wide production, a fairly steady decline set in until the late nineties, interrupted by a temporary rise in the early eighties, when business had recovered from the panic of 1879. The gold price in the eastern markets for fine, medium, and coarse Ohio washed wool for the five years ending in 1875 averaged 51.6, 50.6, and 45.7 cents. For the 10 years ending in 1897 the same grades sold for an average of 26.1, 29.4, and 24.8 cents per pound. For the 10 years following 1897 the price averaged 30.5, 32.3, and 29.2 cents, respectively (240). The greater part of this last rise in price was due to the tariff of 1897, which followed three years of free wool under the tariff of 1894. The price of the above-mentioned grades for the clips of 1894, 1895, and 1896 averaged only 19.1, 21.1, and 19 cents, respectively.

EFFECT OF WOOL PRICES ON THE SHEEP INDUSTRY.

With prices declining so steadily after the early seventies, the woolgrowers east of the Rocky Mountains soon found it advisable to place much less reliance on that product. Accordingly, the flocks in the East and the Middle West declined as previously outlined. This decline was predicted in the early eighties (241).

The import duties (241C) on raw wool in 1883 were not sufficiently lowered to do much more than secure a new weeding out of the least profitable animals or a further limitation of the flocks on land better suited to other enterprises. This appears to have been due largely to the psychological effect of the tariff decrease, as the change in the wool schedule appears to have had little or no effect on wool prices (241B). The panic of 1893, and the period of free wool (three years) beginning in August, 1894, opened the eyes of the woolgrowers to the fact that woolgrowing as a principal enterprise had had no economic place in the farming States for some time. Indeed, wool production with such prices as were then received was ruinous save in the most favorable situations, and, except in new sections, sheep east of the Rockies were butchered for pelts and tallow by thousands (241A). Neglect and disease carried off thousands, just as during the years following the Civil War. According to Department of Agriculture estimates, the number of sheep in the New England States decreased 43 per cent, in the Middle Atlantic States 47 per

cent, in the South 31 per cent, in the North Central States 46 per cent, in the Central West 26 per cent, and in the far West 5 per cent between 1894 and 1897. As already noted, the decline in the far West was almost entirely in Texas and California. Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington lost slightly, while the other States of this section (especially Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho) gained in spite of free wool (242). The pronounced decrease which occurred in the Texas and California flocks was undoubtedly influenced by this period of depression to some extent, but continued agricultural settlement was an active factor. Until agricultural settlement curtailed the range, the wool production in the far West evidently was able to compete with foreign production on even terms.

Although wool was protected by the tariff of 1897, it is significant that sheep showed but small relative increases in any of the States outside of the Central West and far West by 1900. In 1896 it was not believed that there would be any general increase of wool sheep in Ohio (242A). The woolgrowers east of the Central West had had their eyes opened to the real economic status of wool production in the farming States and devoted the greater part of their efforts to other enterprises.

COMPETITION OF OTHER FARM ENTERPRISES WITH SHEEP—INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS.

But the competition of foreign woolgrowers and the illuminating experience of the period of free wool were not the only factors involved. Following 1870 this country rapidly assumed a foremost place as a grower and exporter of foodstuffs. The development of the West was very rapid, being facilitated by the extension of railway mileage and by the increased utilization of improved farm machinery. The prices received for other farm products were good and were relatively higher than for wool. The growth in the export trade is shown in the following tabulation, the data representing averages per year per period:

Exports of farm products (245A).

Item.	1866-1870	1891-1900
Total value.....	\$240,440,127.00	\$703,235,192.00
Per capita value.....	\$6.50	\$10.07
Pork (canned, cured, and fresh)..... pounds..	66,058,820	721,175,588
Lard..... do.....	43,594,004	540,681,280
Live cattle..... number.....	15,400	373,806
Cured beef..... pounds..	21,989,373	63,313,544
Fresh beef ¹ do.....	240,729,110	240,729,110
Tallow..... do.....	24,678,343	74,981,904
Wheat (including flour)..... bushels..	27,816,458	173,044,574
Corn..... do.....	9,598,655	111,436,483
Oats..... do.....	559,499	20,799,778
Number of dairy cows in United States.....	9,100,000	² 16,200,000
Number of other neat cattle in United States.....	12,800,000	² 32,900,000

¹Data begin in 1877.

² 1867-1870, inclusive.

Between 1870 and 1900 the population of this country practically doubled (rising from 38,500,000 to 76,000,000 persons). The grain production and the number of meat animals kept (other than sheep) considerably more than doubled, hence the marked growth of agricultural exports. The movement east of the Rockies after 1870 was in general, similar to that east of the Alleghenies between 1845 and 1860. Other enterprises offered larger returns than wool growing and the wool sheep faded into the background.

GOOD PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS OTHER THAN WOOL.

Fairly good prices for farm products other than wool and cheap transportation of them to consuming and export centers characterized this period as a whole, save for the four years following 1894 when prices were very low. The fall in price of the later eighties was much less than that which occurred during the nineties. The course of relative prices for agricultural products in general, with the index number for 1861-62 as 100, is presented below (246), and for purposes of comparison the average course of prices of the three grades of Ohio washed wool is also shown.

Item.	1861-62	1870-1884	1885-1893	1894-1897	1898-1907	1908-1915
Farm products.....	100	128	102	78	104	143
Wool.....	100	102	76	47	73	79

The average level of farm products other than wool in the second series of years was 28 per cent higher than during the first. During the hard times of the later eighties the average was still 2 per cent above that of 1861-62. From 1894 to 1897, however, the level was 22 per cent below that of the first period. From 1898 to 1907 the average was 33 per cent higher than for the preceding four years, and 4 per cent above that for 1861 and 1862. During the eight years following 1907 an average rise of 37.5 per cent occurred in the relative price level, which was 43 per cent above that of 1861-62.

The wholesale price of wool shows up much less favorably, particularly after the middle eighties. The following tabulation, for the sake of greater detail, presents the average price of fine, medium, and coarse washed Ohio fleece in the eastern markets in cents per pound, gold (246B):

Kind of fleece.	1861-62	1870-1884	1885-1893	1894-1897	1898-1907	1908-1915
	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>
Fine.....	44.5	44.6	31.6	19.1	30.6	30.7
Medium.....	42.0	44.7	34.7	21.1	32.3	35.4
Coarse.....	40.0	38.9	30.5	19.0	29.2	33.3

Wool prices averaged nearly the same in the second period as in the first, but in the third there was a drop of 29, 18, and 24 per cent for the respective grades. In the fourth period (1894-1897) the average was 57, 50, and 52 per cent below the 1861 to 1862 level. For 1898-1907 there was an average rise of 11.5, 11.2, and 10.2 cents per pound (60, 53, and 54 per cent), but the respective grades still averaged 31, 23, and 27 per cent below the 1861 to 1862 price. Although the wool market was somewhat depressed from 1911 until 1915, the medium and coarse grades averaged considerably higher from 1908-1915, inclusive. The fine showed virtually no advance. Compared with the 1861-62 level the grades from fine to coarse averaged 31.16 and 17 per cent lower prior to the 1916 clip. The effect on wool prices by the present war demand needs no comment (246C).

Stimulation of wool prices by the tariff had operated to retain wool growing as a prominent enterprise in the farm management of some of the farming States much longer than would otherwise have been the case. The real status of this industry was finally proven between 1893-1897. When high protection was again given, the wool grower east of the Rocky Mountains was in a very small minority—and continued so. The greater profit of other enterprises had been sufficiently demonstrated to retain the flocks practically at the then existing level.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES AND DECLINE IN FREIGHT RATES.

Following 1870 large gains were made in the railway mileage operated in the United States, and striking reductions occurred in the charges per ton-mile for freight hauled. The following tabulation presents the mileage operated and the revenue per ton-mile on a majority of the roads (246D):

Item.	1870	1880	1890	1900
Miles operated.....	49,168	89,753	149,902	.....
Revenue per ton-mile.....	\$1.89	\$1.23	\$0.94	\$0.73

The average rates per ton-mile for a number of the roads were as follows:

Year.	Erie.	Wabash.	Illinois Central.	Union Pacific.	Northern Pacific.	St. Louis & San Francisco.	Denver & Rio Grande.
1870.....	\$1.125		\$1.953	\$3.596			
1880.....	.836	\$0.862	1.543		\$1.959	\$1.997	\$3.617
1890.....	.643	.647	.942	1.138	1.430	1.239	2.054
1900.....	.588	.558	.650	1.050	.988	1.058	1.340

The following tabulation gives the progressive decline in the cost of shipping a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York:

Year.	All rail.	Lake and rail.	All water.
1870.....	<i>Cents.</i> 28.98	<i>Cents.</i> 19.15	<i>Cents.</i> 17.15
1880.....	19.90	15.70	15.70
1890.....	14.31	8.50	8.50
1900.....	19.98	5.05	5.05

¹ For domestic consumption, rate for export wheat was 9.08.

With such declines in shipping costs as are noted above and the rapid increase in railway mileage, the producer of bulky products was steadily placed in a more advantageous position with reference to the wool grower, just as had occurred during the fifties.

RAVAGES OF DOGS—THE EFFECT ON SMALL FARM FLOCKS.

A factor which must not be overlooked in the disappearance of the sheep east of the Rocky Mountains was the continual loss due to dogs. Thousands of farmers who gave up small flocks in years past did so because of dogs. Men with small flocks of pure-bred animals who suffered from ravages of dogs, but who were able to recover from the loss, in the county only the price of common sheep, had good reason to discontinue the enterprise. Farmers with small flocks of ordinary grade from which they expected enough returns to pay their taxes, but who lost the best part of their flocks in a single night, only to find that the county funds were exhausted, were often disgusted with the prospect of success and abandoned them. The large farmer, able to keep a shepherd with his animals, or who herded them at night in dog-proof inclosures, suffered far less, relatively, and the question of sheep-killing dogs usually was not of much importance with him. It was the small flockmaster who suffered most. The agricultural press, the reports of the Patent Office, and those of the Department of Agriculture are full of references to the work of the night-traveling dog and the heavy losses therefrom. The complaints began before 1800. Extravagant claims were sometimes made as to the effect of such losses. It was often stated that the dog caused the decline in the East which set in in 1840, embittered shepherds overlooking the economic factor. Probably losses under this head were often used as an excuse to get out of the sheep business, but small doubt exists that thousands of flocks were sold out as a direct result of such depredations. In a recent investigation conducted by the Department of Agriculture dogs were accused of preventing an increase in farm flocks in 60 per cent of the replies received (246A). Dog-tight fences are expensive and not especially easy to maintain. On

the other hand, the construction of a few small dog-tight inclosures for night herding are not costly, remove much of the danger of parasitic infection from constant use of a single paddock and, to a large extent, nullify the dog question. Adequate dog laws¹⁰ and their strict enforcement would lend an immediate encouragement to the farmer desirous of adopting sheep as a permanent enterprise.

CONTINUED CHANGE TO MUTTON TYPES.

Along with the decline in sheep throughout most of the States east of the Rockies, there was also a pronounced change to mutton types. This phase of the industry, as already noted, had made pronounced gains east of the Alleghenies before 1870, and to a more limited extent east of the Mississippi, but the development thereafter was rapid in most of the country east of the Rocky Mountains, particularly after the early eighties (247). It was especially rapid after 1893, and assumed considerable proportions in the mountain region of the West even before 1900 (247A). In fact, there was a very appreciable adoption of mutton rams in the range country during and immediately following the period of low wool prices which began in the middle eighties.

An important factor in this development was the evolution of the Delaine Merino and other Merino strains which carry a good grade of wool on a fair mutton carcass—wool which became a combing wool with the development of machinery for combing wool shorter than that of the typical long-wool breeds (248). The Delaines were a product of eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and northern West Virginia during the seventies and thereafter, though this Merino strain had begun to attract attention before 1860. They became the predominant breed in the old fine-wool district of the Valley of the Upper Ohio by 1890, largely displacing the finer-wooled flocks (many of which carried considerable Saxon blood) which had persisted in a number of localities in this district. While considerable advance was made toward a mutton type, the greatest gain was in length of wool and weight of carcass rather than in quality of mutton. The Delaines have since given much ground to the purely mutton breeds or to the Rambouillets (incomparably improved as contrasted with the breed when first introduced into this country) as a result of endeavors to secure the largest possible returns from sheep raising. This has been particularly true on the ranges, where, in most sections, little Delaine blood is now present (249). Abundant introduction and crosses of the distinctly mutton breeds on the prevailing Merino foundation of the seventies have also operated to in-

¹⁰ What appears to be an effective dog law if enforced, is that in Virginia, where a man who lets his dog roam abroad unaccompanied by his owner is guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a heavy fine. This merely means that any farmer is at liberty to shoot any stray dog and the dog's owner may have a good reason for keeping quiet about it.

crease the supply of medium and coarse wool as well as greatly modify the type of sheep.

THE HOTHOUSE LAMB ENTERPRISE.

The Southdown cross on Merino grades for early lambs remained popular after 1870 in parts of the East where the old Merino foundation in the flocks was not entirely discarded (249A). This cross was very popular in some sections in the development of the "hothouse lamb" enterprise which became general in parts of the East and Middle West, and which received especial attention during the depression of the nineties. The best feeders "ripened" such lambs in six weeks, while many good growers butchered them by the end of the eighth week after birth. The lambs were dropped late in December or in January, as a rule, and the carcasses usually weighed from 25 pounds up, the best ones usually from 30 to 35 pounds at 6 to 10 weeks of age. When nicely ripened high prices were secured, and good feeders found this profitable. The market was good from the middle of January until the end of April, when early lambs from the South, largely Tennessee and Kentucky, began to reach the northern market. Until then the wholesale price for hothouse lambs in New York was usually \$5 to \$10 per head, depending on quality and appearance. There was also a general development of the early-lamb industry, the lambs being dropped in February and March and marketed in May and June at a weight of about 50 to 60 pounds. The Tennessee farmers already alluded to led in this enterprise (249B). Kentucky lambs not usually appearing on the market before June. With the continued development of the early-lamb enterprise the hothouse lamb season has been advanced considerably. The lambs now reach the market by Christmas and the greater part of them have been disposed of by early March.

Another development at this time was the feeding of range sheep in the corn belt. A few men had been following this practice since shortly before 1880, but it underwent a rapid extension just before 1890. This growth was largely due to the packers who, lacking sufficient mutton supplies at Chicago and Kansas City, sent buyers into the range country to secure fat wethers for slaughter. Animals not sufficiently fat off the range were sent to feeding stations, largely in Nebraska and Kansas, to be grain fed during the winter. Farmers in these States, and in Iowa, quickly followed the lead. In the winter of 1889-90, 625,000 head were so fed in Nebraska, 200,000 head in Dodge County alone. The great bulk fed were 4 and 5 year old wethers and aged ewes, few but cull lambs (except Utah lambs) reaching the feeding yards at that time. The enterprise was quickly found to be as speculative as in later years. In 1891-92 extensive feeding of similar sheep began at the stock yards near St. Paul and Minneapolis, where wheat screenings and mill stuffs were largely fed.

In that winter 49,000 head were fattened (249C). This rapid development of the mutton market undoubtedly was one reason why sheep expanded so rapidly in the mountain region during the nineties.

DISTRIBUTION OF MUTTON BLOOD, 1870 TO 1900.

In 1870, 80 per cent of the American sheep were Merinos or Merino grades. In 1900 the Merinos and the English breeds (with their crosses carrying 50 per cent or more of mutton blood) were about equally important. The former largely predominated in the woolgrowing region of the far West, and the latter in the farming States east of the Rockies. In the range country 30 per cent of the flocks or the offspring from them were of the mutton type, while between 70 and 80 per cent of the animals in the farming country were predominantly of English blood in 1900. The Central West was full of cross-bred sheep of varying degrees of excellence in 1906 (250). Longwools were more numerous than the other mutton breeds in the earlier introductions of such blood into the Middle West, but they were soon replaced by the various Down breeds to a great extent. The Downs proved better adapted to the variable climate (251).

The decline in number of sheep in the Middle and Central West, following 1893, evidently was largely a decline in the Merinos as a wool breed, leaving the mutton types in a large majority, with wool a secondary consideration, except in parts of the Ohio district—eastern Ohio, adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and a few counties in southern Michigan. By 1910, so far as the farming States east of the mountain region were concerned, woolgrowing as a separate enterprise with little or no emphasis on mutton, was virtually limited to parts of the hilly section of southeastern Ohio and near-by counties on the West Virginia side of the Ohio River and in extreme southwestern Pennsylvania (253).

MUTTON BLOOD ON THE RANGE IN 1910.

A temporary scarcity of fine wool for a few years just before and following 1900, principally due to prolonged droughts in Australia, appears to have checked the influx of mutton blood on the American range for a time, but this was short lived (252). The investigators for the Tariff Board in 1910 found that in the flocks on which data were secured—practically 60 per cent of the range rams used in the Rocky Mountains and the coast districts and 10 per cent of those in the Southwest were of the mutton type. In the mountain section they found that nearly 30 per cent of the range ewes in such flocks were of that type (254). On the other hand, two-thirds of the wool clip west of the Missouri River was at that time classed

as of the fine or fine medium grades, while only one-fourth to three-tenths of that east of the Missouri would make such grades (255). Virtually all of this fine-wool clip of the farming States undoubtedly came from the Ohio district. This percentage figure for the wool clip would seem to indicate that at least the range ewes were predominantly of the Merino type. It would also seem that the flocks on which data were secured by the investigators were to a considerable extent typical of the more easily accessible ranges. The flockmasters in such localities were the first to make the change to the mutton cross, because they could market their fat lambs with a comparatively short drive to the shipping point. On the more distant ranges the change to mutton rams was much slower. It has been estimated by persons well posted on the subject that not more than 12 per cent of the range ewes in 1909 carried 50 per cent or more of mutton blood, but that 50 per cent of the lambs marketed were of the mutton type. This would indicate that not more than 40 per cent of the range rams were mutton rams (256).

PROPORTION OF MUTTON BLOOD IN 1915.

Owing to a drop in wool prices after 1910, and a marked rise in the price of mutton, the change to the mutton cross on the range has been hastened in recent years. The subsequent prospect of free wool accentuated it (259). The wool growers were keenly aware of the necessity of securing larger returns per sheep than could be gotten from wool alone. Another factor in the change was the increasing cost of production on the range. It has been claimed that the cost of growing wool has nearly doubled in the 10 years since 1907 (260). It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the range ewes are now of the mutton type (carry 50 per cent or more of mutton blood) and that 80 per cent of the lambs marketed in 1915 were mutton lambs (257). This would indicate that approximately three-fourths of the range rams are mutton rams at the present time. It is believed that only half as many fine-wooled rams were used on the ranges in 1915 as in 1909. There has also been a pronounced increase in the use of longwool blood (258), particularly on the ranges north of Arizona and New Mexico. The half-bred Rambouillet-Cotswold, Lincoln or Romney ewe (principally the Cotswold cross) is the favorite range ewe save in the rougher and less favorable sections. In such localities a three-fourths blood Rambouillet, or a still higher Rambouillet bred ewe, is the favorite, due to its superior herding propensity and hardihood. The smaller Down breeds usually are not as popular with the range sheepmen for crossbreeding as the longwools (263), save in the production of market lambs, where the Hampshire is used in preference to the other Downs.

EFFECT OF IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES ON THE MUTTON CROSS.

The continued development of transportation facilities in the range section of this country was a factor of appreciable importance in the change to mutton types in the far West. Without such extension and the resultant ability to ship the stock after a comparatively short drive, the adoption of mutton blood on the range would have been much slower, in spite of the largely increased demand and higher prices for lamb and mutton of the past decade or more. It must be remembered, however, that the railway development in the far West largely antedates the change to mutton types.

EFFECT OF CROSSBREEDING IN THE SOUTHWEST.

Owing to climatological factors, the ranges of Arizona and New Mexico are much better adapted to the Merino than to mutton sheep, and therefore are deemed the natural home of the fine-wool grower in this country. Elsewhere in the far West the ranges are relatively much better suited for the production of crossbreds and mutton. The relatively slight admixture of mutton blood in the southwestern flocks until 1910 had made the animals popular with sheepmen of the northern and northwestern ranges for maintaining a Merino foundation in their breeding sheep since the advent of the mutton type and attendant difficulty in keeping uniform ewe flocks for breeding purposes. Of recent years, owing to the pronounced mutton crosses, there has often been a deficiency of Merino breeding stock on the range, and the flockmasters north of Arizona and New Mexico have had to draw on the southwestern section for stock ewes to a small extent (262). The rapid increase in crossbreeding since 1910 was quite marked in parts of the Southwest, however, and is said to have presented a problem to some sheepmen on the other ranges because of the increasing difficulty in securing uniform breeding ewes with which to maintain the pronounced Merino foundation usually deemed necessary for the hardihood and foraging and herding qualities generally thought essential for successful management on the open range. It is claimed by some persons that, owing to the character of his range, the southwestern flockmaster probably will not find it permanently as profitable to breed for mutton as for stock sheep, particularly with the rise in price of such animals in recent years. At the same time the high cost of stock ewes undoubtedly has encouraged a large proportion of the sheepmen to breed their own rather than to replenish by purchase. Many men breed a part of the ewe flock to Merino bucks for flock maintenance, and use a mutton cross on the remainder for market purposes. In recent years, however, the breeder's art on the range seems to have taken on a decidedly makeshift character.

DEMAND FOR A NEW TYPE OF RANGE SHEEP.

Changing conditions are now calling for a dual-purpose animal of a type entirely different from any that has thus far been developed in this country, a strain that combines high mutton quality with the herding and foraging qualities of the Merino. Strong hopes are entertained for the Corriedale, recently introduced from New Zealand, as a dual-purpose animal, especially when used on the first cross from Lincoln or other longwool rams on Merino ewes. The climatic conditions in much of New Zealand and the resultant effect on natural and tame vegetation are so different from conditions on much of the western range in this country that the Corriedale, developed for the New Zealand environment, would not seem to be the type best suited to a large part of the mountain section. The strength of its Merino heredity may, however, be sufficient to overcome adverse range conditions. Certainly it should greatly facilitate the evolution of a type peculiarly fitted for the western range (263A).

CROSSBREEDING IN COMPETING COUNTRIES.

The change to the mutton cross is by no means confined to the United States. New Zealand has shipped a preponderance of coarse wool for many years. In 1912, 93 per cent of her wool was of the crossbred or mutton type. In 1885 the Australian wool clip was almost entirely Merino. It is stated that in 1915 as much as 35 per cent was crossbred, representing a development of very recent years. In South America the change to mutton crosses began in the early eighties, at about the same time as in New Zealand, and assumed large proportions by 1904, since when there appears to have been little increase. The development of the frozen-meat trade was responsible for the influx of mutton blood in the Antipodes (261). In the Americas, as well as in Australasia, though less recently true of New Zealand, "flocks of many generations of breeding for wool have been dissipated in a few generations of breeding for mutton" (261A).

THREATENED SCARCITY OF FINE WOOL AND POSSIBLE EFFECT ON THE MERINO BREED.

In many range districts there has been a rapid retrogression in the quality of the wool clip with the advent of the pronounced mutton cross in recent years, but the high price for lambs and mutton has more than offset the relative decline of a cent or two per pound for the wool. Nevertheless, the steady, world-wide increase in production of "crossbred" wool, and resulting decline in the production of Merino wool for many years, would seem to threaten a scarcity of Merino fiber in the near future. In 1914, just prior to the war,

fashion appeared to be turning toward fabrics made of such wool, and there was an increased demand which had appreciable effect on the price. The war demand for coarser wools nullified this tendency, which may have been but a temporary phenomenon (263B). This will be decided by future developments. If the temporary conditions become permanent after the war the threatened extinction in this country of the Merino breed will doubtless be checked if the price of such wool is raised very much. Most range sheepmen, under present conditions of management, prefer a strong Merino foundation in the flock, and will welcome any change in market demands which would react favorably toward flocks having a strong infusion of Merino blood.

CONCLUSION.

The future of the sheep industry in this country seems fairly well indicated by changes which have occurred since 1900. The American frontier has vanished. The advance in land values between 1900 and 1910 proves this point, as does the continued advance since 1910. A greater intensity of culture and fuller utilization of the land area is therefore indicated. There are no more great areas of unused land whither the sheep may be driven, and the present grazing area is now stocked to its capacity. Continued agricultural settlement has operated in recent years to curtail to a considerable extent the range area which is available. The carrying capacity of the ranges may be increased as better control of the grazing activities is adopted, as is admirably exemplified by the improvement in capacity of the national forests, but an extension of sheep raising due to that factor will be of slow growth.

So far as concerns wool production as a dominant enterprise, there seems small likelihood of a pronounced increase in the number of sheep in most other countries, or on other continents, aside from equatorial regions. The only sheep-producing countries of any importance which show an appreciable increase in their sheep population in recent years are New Zealand, British South and East Africa, and Uruguay. British South Africa and Uruguay are the only prominent sheep countries which show an appreciable recent increase in sheep per capita (263D).

In equatorial regions any increase which may develop must undoubtedly take place in the distant future, as existing climatic and hygienic conditions are quite adverse to the sheep industry as now conducted. It would seem that a marked addition to the world's population of wool sheep could occur in central Asia and in China, which contribute a large part of the supply of carpet wool, but there appear to be good reasons against such an immediate possibility. Central Asia is already well supplied with sheep, though improve-

ment in the character of the wool clip may take place in the future, and attention to pasture improvement in connection with better wool strains may confidently be expected to result in an increase in both sheep and wool in the years to come. A large part of the vast territory of China is so densely populated with human beings that there is little rough or waste product left for sheep, and those already there consume the supply, while the inherited opposition of the inhabitants in the more distant Provinces to any change will probably defer a betterment or enlargement of the flocks in those regions for a considerable period. It would, therefore, appear that for a long time to come the principal competition to which American wool will be subjected will be from regions already approximately fully populated with sheep. Soon after the end of the European war there will undoubtedly be a fall in the price of wool from the existing war-time level, but it is quite possible that this decline will be but temporary. In view of the stationary wool production of the world and continued population increase in the past decade, it seems probable that wool prices will experience a gradual rise in the future from the price level which prevailed prior to August, 1914.

THE TENDENCY ON THE RANGE.

On the western ranges the tendency, save as modified by the war, probably will continue toward the adoption of mutton types in spite of earlier insistence on the characteristic foraging and herding qualities of the Merino breed. However, there seems small likelihood that conditions of range management will change enough for a long time yet to come (if ever) to make these qualities distinctly a minor consideration. It is quite possible that a Merino strain will be developed which will hold its own in the most favorable localities against the more distinctly mutton types (253C). The herding quality of this breed will become a matter of less importance if fencing of the range is ever permitted, and under such circumstances the foraging quality also would become but a minor consideration on part of the range area. On the other hand, a very large part of the range country is of so little grazing value, or is so rough that fencing would not appear to be practicable. Sudden and very destructive storms are of such common occurrence in most of the range country, that, even under fence, the herding quality of the Merino will always be an important factor in the type of sheep run on the range. Otherwise losses entirely out of proportion to what would be sustained if the sheep were herded would often occur in times of stress. The widely scattered "bands" would be almost entirely at the mercy of the elements, quite apart from heavy losses due to predatory animals. The extensive fencing done in Texas has to a considerable extent been rendered practicable by more favorable climatological

factors. In any case, however, greater attention to cross-breeding will further increase the size of the range sheep, which will then require more land per head and thus at least in part limit the numerical increase which otherwise would occur as a result of improvement in range management and in the carrying capacity of the range.

POSSIBILITIES OF THE GROWTH OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY.

Any pronounced increase in the number of sheep kept in the United States in the near future does not seem possible on the range under present conditions, and if such a gain occurs in the national sheep population it must take place largely in the "farming" States, the region east of the Rocky Mountains. Such an increase must also be based on the mutton types of sheep with the possible exception of parts of the Ohio district. The time is long since past when wool production as a major enterprise was profitable in the farming States as a whole.

At the present time both the cheap wool and the cheap mutton from the range are things of the past. In 1914 the cost of producing a lamb (including most items of interest charges), after crediting the wool clip, was \$2.18 in California; \$2.46 in Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico; and \$2.45 in the rest of the range country (Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming). The net profit per lamb was \$1.02, \$0.34, and \$1.40 in the three sections, respectively. The net profit per sheep in the flock (excluding lambs) was 78, 20, and 99 cents, respectively (264A).

With a proper correlation of enterprises and selection of mutton types giving high production of lambs per ewe (particularly the Down breeds), the farmer east of the Rockies probably is now able to compete with the range very nearly on even terms. The number of farmers maintaining small permanent farm flocks was on the increase in 1911 in the greater part of the Middle West (264). There had also been an increase in that section in the feeding of range lambs and the breeding of range ewes for early lambs to be disposed of before the range lambs appeared on the market (265). There are indications that the last-named activity has declined in the past few years (266), owing to the scarcity of such ewes attendant on the high prices for mutton. This may or may not be permanent, but its effect seems plainly in evidence at the present time. The recent foot-and-mouth quarantine somewhat accentuated the condition.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MARKETING AND SLAUGHTERING STATISTICS.

A close scrutiny of recent live-stock statistics would seem to indicate that the above-mentioned increase in small permanent breeding

flocks in the farming States has been continuous during recent years. It would also appear that the reported sheep population of the country as a whole has been tending more and more toward breeding animals. Average annual receipts of sheep at the seven principal markets for 1912-1915, both inclusive, were 16 per cent larger than the average for 1908-1911. The average annual shipments from these market centers³⁷ were only 5 per cent larger. This shows a pronounced increase in the percentage of killings on arrival at these markets. The quarantine at Chicago from November to the close of 1914 and during all of 1915 had an appreciable effect on shipments, large numbers of animals being slaughtered at the end of 1914 which otherwise would have been shipped as feeders. In 1915, when the fact of the quarantine was fully known, this was not of so much importance as during the last two months of 1914 (267). The above data would suggest that the number of feeder and stocker sheep fed in the Middle West declined to some extent.

The average shipments of feeder and stocker sheep from the seven principal markets (Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, St. Joseph, Sioux City, and St. Paul) show a decline of 17 per cent for 1912-1915, inclusive, as against such shipments for 1908-1911. This decline is largely accounted for by a pronounced increase in the feeding of lambs in the far West (including part of Nebraska), before they reach the market. The marked rise in lamb prices has encouraged this practice very much. The decline has also been somewhat accentuated by an increase in the direct purchase of range lambs for feeding purposes in some States east of Nebraska. A smaller percentage of the animals reaching the markets of the Middle West have been feeder type, and, as a result, fewer feeders have been fed (268). Also, owing to the price of lamb and mutton, many animals have been butchered which otherwise would have reached the farms as feeders.

The number of sheep butchered under Federal inspection rose steadily from 11,000,000 in 1910 to practically 15,000,000 in 1914, although estimates of the Department of Agriculture show that the total number in the country was slowly decreasing (269). The average price per hundred pounds for sheep on the Chicago market rose steadily from \$3.95 in 1911 to \$5.55 in 1914, and for lambs from \$5.95 to \$8. In 1915 sheep averaged \$6.30 per hundred pounds, and lambs \$9, both figures being high records (270). On the other hand the number of sheep butchered under Federal inspection in 1915 was more than 2,000,000 less than in 1914, the drop being 14 per cent

³⁷ The shipments (duplications in shipment figures are mutually corrective for both periods) from the markets include animals shipped to outside packers and butchers, feeder sheep, and sheep for export. The number exported increased 100 per cent on the average since 1911, but the total exported is so small as to be practically negligible.

(271). As there has been a net increase in number of sheep in the farming States, and the bulk of this gain has been in the Middle West, it would therefore appear that range flockmasters have been selling off the bulk of their increase each year in response to the high prices, without adequate replacement of their breeding flocks, retaining their old ewes to a considerable and unusual extent. The pronounced drop in number of sheep slaughtered in 1915 would seem to indicate that they had reached the point where rehabilitation of the breeding flocks was necessary.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARKET STATISTICS WHEN COMPARED WITH
DEPARTMENT ESTIMATES.

Estimates of the Department of Agriculture as to the number of sheep on farms on the first day of January each year show a slow decrease for the country as a whole since 1910, and for most of the farming States, but in 1915 the reported increases east of the range country have more than offset these decreases. These estimates are made up in December. With the high mutton prices which have prevailed, and the attendant enhancement of the lamb market, there has been a steady tendency for farm-raised lambs to be well out of the way before that time. It seems extremely probable, in view of the greater percentage of killings on arrival at market, and the decline in feeder shipments, that the department estimates of the number of sheep on farms on January 1 have been more and more tending toward returns of breeding animals kept in permanent farm flocks east of the Rockies. It is therefore likely that so far as concerns sheep as a permanent farm enterprise east of the Rocky Mountains, the industry is in a much more flourishing condition than is often supposed. It would also appear that the striking decline in number of sheep in the far West which has been reported since 1910, a decline usually considered predominantly due to agricultural settlement (272C), has been very largely confined to market stock and wethers. High prices have accelerated sales off the range and relatively few lambs are included in the department estimates made up in December. The accelerated change to mutton blood means that wethers retained for wool production have undergone a marked decrease. Evidently the estimates of sheep on the range, as on the farm, have been tending more and more toward covering breeding flocks exclusively. The relative increase in the number of breeding animals means that, when there is a demand for it, an increase in the national sheep population can occur much more rapidly than would be suggested by a mere comparison of present and past numbers of mature sheep in the country, and that as regards the fundamental stability of the industry, it is in a more flourishing condition than would at first seem evident.

AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SHEEP IN THE FARMING STATES PROBABLE—INDICATED CHARACTER OF THE FARM FLOCK.

Considering all the factors, it seems logical to look for a steady, though slow, increase in the number of sheep in most of the farming States east of the mountain district, an increase made up largely of sheep kept in small flocks on general farms as a minor enterprise for the utilization of products of low value which otherwise would largely be wasted or less fully used. In 1914 it was ascertained that, with the possible exception of New England, in 36 States east of the mountain region the number of sheep might be increased 150 per cent without displacing or reducing other live-stock enterprises on the farm and without making appreciable effort to increase the existing supply of feed. In other words, the number of sheep could be increased practically 22,000,000 head and this increase fed largely with forage at present imperfectly utilized or only as litter (272A). This increase would be sufficient to make the United States entirely independent of other countries for its normal supply of new wool of Class II, and in addition, so far as volume is concerned, would make unnecessary the normal importation of Class I wool. Obviously the clip from mutton breeds could not compete in fineness with the wools of Class I which we import from the Southern Hemisphere. The average net annual imports of Classes I and II from 1910 to 1915, inclusive, were 122,000,000 pounds. The average imports of Class III wool were 98,000,000 pounds (272B). Part of the latter is used for clothing, but it is primarily a carpet and blanket wool. At the same time, after the flocks were secured, such an increase in the sheep population would add approximately 4 per cent to the Nation's meat supply—on the 1909 basis. In that year the total of meat and lard produced was 16,952,000,000 pounds. In the farming States 22,000,000 sheep in breeding flocks would give about 18,000,000 (80 to 85 per cent) lambs and cull ewes for slaughter each year. The weight of the dressed carcasses and tallow would average about 40 pounds per head.

The possibilities for an increase in the number of sheep with, or attended by some attention to a greater supply of feed, are very promising indeed. The question of green forage crops for small farm flocks should be easy of solution, and at but small expense. The fertilizing value of sheep when fed such crops on land deteriorated by continued grain growing is unquestioned (271A). The economy and the profit of such an enterprise when given proper care was well stated by a corn-belt farmer in 1861, when he called attention to the fact that men farming a quarter section and selling grain or live stock or both could keep at least 100 sheep on what was wasted (272). The small breeding flock so kept pays high returns where a large

flock would often be kept at a loss, as many farmers in the Middle West have discovered. Such flocks have a high value for weed eradication, and no small value in fertilizing the land.¹⁸

Such was the character of the farm flocks of the Mississippi Valley in 1911, and this has characterized Canadian sheep husbandry for considerably more than half a century. East of Manitoba it is said to be comparatively rare to find more than 40 to 50 breeding ewes on a farm in Canada (274). In the western Provinces, aside from the range district of southwestern Saskatchewan and southern Alberta, the sheep industry is practically entirely on a farm-flock basis, the number of animals per farm ranging from 50 up to 400 head. The great bulk of the Canadian sheep are of the mutton type. Ewe flocks of 40 to 50 or even 60 head would seem to be the most suitable size for general farms of moderate acreage in this country. Such a flock warrants the purchase of a good ram, uses him fully, gives sufficient returns with the high prices of recent years to secure the adequate attention which is absolutely necessary, requires but little time during the busy season if the lambs are dropped early, requires but small outlay for shelter, and, excepting the period from a short time before lambing until the lambs are marketed, calls for a minimum of expensive grain feed to get the best returns from lambs, particularly when green forage crops are used. Two or three small dog-tight inclosures for night herding are relatively inexpensive and serve largely to settle the question of the sheep-killing dog.

The animals which are now so kept, and which must continue to be kept in such flocks, are of the mutton type, with wool a secondary consideration. Wool can not be grown alone under such conditions save at a loss. If the present high price of lamb and mutton is maintained, and there appears every reason to believe that such will be the case, there probably will be an increase in the number of small-farm flocks, or an adoption of sheep in such flocks, in parts of the country where such an increase 10 years ago would have appeared unlikely.

SUMMARY.

The outstanding facts in the history of the American sheep industry are (1) the adoption of wool growing and the remarkable

¹⁸ It seems extremely improbable, however, that any increase which may take place will approach the possibilities for a long period to come. A too rapid gain in number undoubtedly would depress mutton prices (irrespective of the effect on the price of medium and coarse wools) to a point where many sheepmen would curtail their flocks. Then, too, the expense of fencing for sheep is a factor which will strongly tend to prevent the adoption of sheep on farms fenced only for cattle. Another factor which should inhibit a too rapid increase in the number of sheep will doubtless be the adoption of this enterprise by enthusiastic farmers with little or no knowledge of sheep management. Such men, if they invest heavily, in many cases will lose heavily, and thus strengthen the conservatism of their neighbors.

development of the Spanish Merino as a wool-bearing animal by the earlier flockmasters, (2) the decline of the eastern wool industry and the westward migration of the wool sheep, and (3) the change to mutton types both on the farm and the range.

THE ADOPTION OF WOOL GROWING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH MERINO.

Until 1808 wool growing was purely a minor enterprise on the farm. The wool was largely consumed in the household, and the sheep industry was merely a part of a self-sufficing economy. With the period of restricted foreign commerce which lasted almost continuously from 1808 to 1815, the industry became a major enterprise in the North Atlantic States, and much was done toward improving the wool by crosses with the numerous Spanish Merinos which had been imported in 1810-11.

Following 1815, competition with foreign woolen manufacturers greatly curtailed the output of the domestic mills, and in the absence of a good market, wool growing in the North Atlantic States again became a minor enterprise, though to a considerable extent it retained its new character as a commercial proposition. Until the thirties, although there was a gradual advance in the woolen industry, particularly in the factory manufacture of the coarser fabrics, the household manufacture still consumed a majority of the wool clip; its demand was for the coarser fiber, and there was no incentive to extend the earlier breeding improvements. These, and the Merino sheep, accordingly were almost entirely neglected. A temporary craze for the Saxon Merino during the twenties could not be termed a movement for breed improvement.

Following 1830, a rapid growth in the woolen industry, and a forced dependence of the manufacturers on the eastern flocks or on imports for their raw material, reversed the position of wool growing in the East. Immediate attention was given to breed improvement, and after some controversy the Saxon was discarded for the Spanish Merino. Improvement in size, conformation, and wool clip progressed steadily, particularly in Vermont, while the eastern flocks grew very rapidly. Until 1845 the East was supreme in wool production.

DECLINE OF THE EASTERN WOOL INDUSTRY AND THE WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE WOOL SHEEP.

Following 1845 better transportation facilities between the seaboard and the trans-Allegheny region, coupled with much lower costs of wool production on the cheaper land west of the mountains, resulted in a rapid gain in number of sheep in that section and a

corresponding decline in the East. During the fifties the sheep industry for the country as a whole was nearly stationary, increases in newer sections little more than balancing the continued decline east of the Alleghenies. The tendency, however, was for the wool sheep to continue to move into areas of cheap land and to decline in regions where the steer and the hog, or the dairy cow, could be advantageously added to the farm enterprise. The Civil War period and its undue stimulus to wool production was really only an incident in the westward movement of the wool sheep into pioneer regions. The striking increases in the eastern flocks at that time were only temporary, while the permanent net increases in the Middle West were not the result of the war but of the high protection enjoyed by the producers thereafter. At the same time a large part of the increase in number of sheep between 1860-1870 was in the newer parts of the Middle and Central West, where a gain was logically to be expected with the westward movement of the frontier. The rough topography in the Ohio district and the attendant encouragement to grazing, supplemented by the shepherding habits of the farmers, was no small factor in the increased number of sheep kept in that area.

After 1870 the opening of the far West resulted in a marked acceleration of the westward movement of the wool sheep and a fairly steady decline in the farming States, a decline which was greatly accelerated during the hard times and the free wool of the nineties, when the keeping of sheep for wool in the farming States almost disappeared except in the Ohio district and in newly settled areas east of the Rockies.

In the meantime steady progress had been made by the American breeders in the development of the Merino as a wool-bearing animal par excellence. Vermont held first place in this activity, and the much wrinkled, yolky, heavy clipping Vermont Merino was in great demand for breeding up the wool flocks elsewhere. After the wool sheep had practically disappeared east of the Alleghenies the Vermont breeders reaped a rich harvest from the sale of breeding animals to western flockmasters and to those in Argentina and Australia. Following 1870 the Delaine breeders of the Ohio district, with their smooth-bodied stock, steadily encroached on the field of their Vermont fellows, but the latter were in first place until about 1890. The last factor in the maintenance of fine wool flocks in Vermont virtually disappeared when the range sheepmen adopted Delaine and Rambouillet blood in his breeding stock during and subsequent to the nineties. At this time, too, the flockmaster in the Antipodes began to abandon the Vermont for other Merino types in his breeding operations.

CHANGE TO MUTTON TYPES ON THE FARM AND THE RANGE.

As wool sheep declined in the farming States mutton types steadily appeared as a more or less important farm enterprise. By 1860 the bulk of the sheep east of the Alleghenies were kept chiefly for mutton, with wool a secondary consideration. The mutton breeds also received considerable attention during the Merino mania of the sixties, but the speculative prices paid for fine wool stock concentrated the desire of most farmers on the Merino. Thereafter the wool sheep steadily gave way before the competition of more profitable farm enterprises west of the Alleghenies. Wool production could not hope to endure in the face of the cheap grain, beef, and pork production of the Middle West. Mutton types, therefore, slowly replaced sheep kept chiefly for wool in that section. The mutton sheep, particularly the high grades of improved breeds, was well able to compete with the beef steer.

The heavy lamb marketed at 6 months of age or less, a later development of the change to mutton types, had nothing to fear from competition with beef production. But the combination of the steer and the hog, and the superior reproductive powers of the latter, obscured the value of the mutton sheep on the rich farming land of the Middle West, while the attempt of many men to maintain the wool sheep and their complete failure resulted in the common belief that the sheep was not a farm animal. As a result the distinctly wool type of sheep practically disappeared in most of the farming States by 1900, while the mutton type was kept in relatively small numbers save in the more favorable locations. The Delaine was developed just before and subsequent to 1870 in an effort on the part of breeders in the Ohio district to secure fine wool on a mutton carcass. The somewhat limited improvement made in the mutton quality was an important factor in the continuance of fine wools on the rough lands of that section, and later made that area a source of pure-bred stock for the range country. The Rambouillet was developed in France, Germany, and this country, on the same principle as the Delaine.

The widespread adoption of Delaine and Rambouillet blood on the range during and after the nineties was in part due to the desire of the range sheepmen to secure more saleable carcasses to supplement the low wool prices, while the rapid crossing of Merino types with purely mutton breeds in recent years (a result of curtailment of the range), rising production costs, low wool prices, and an enhanced demand for lamb and mutton (with resulting rises in the price of such meat), marks the last phase of this change in the American sheep industry. A majority of our sheep now carry 50 per cent or more of mutton blood—i. e., are of the mutton type; and in most sections the wool clip, though still an important consideration, has become secondary to lamb.

In recent years, too, the cost of production on the range, where sheep are kept usually as the sole enterprise, has become so high that the farmers east of the Rocky Mountains are now able to compete with the range on nearly even terms by using mutton sheep as a minor enterprise on the farm and keeping the wool clip subordinate to the lamb crop. Since 1910 there has been a net increase¹⁹ in the number of sheep kept east of the range country, and most of this increase has occurred in the Middle West, where the idea that the sheep was not a farm animal had previously been strongly held. The economy of small mutton flocks fed largely with forage which otherwise would be less completely used, and the production of heavy lambs with a minimum of expensive grain feed, has finally become plain to the American farmer. A new phase in the history of our sheep industry is now developing. This is the return of sheep to the farm. In the future an important and increasing percentage of our meat and wool supply will undoubtedly come from the small farm flock.²⁰

¹⁹ The increase in number of sheep in certain States has more than offset decreases in other States.

²⁰ In this connection, however, it seems probable that New England, except locally, will prove an exception. That section is so densely populated that extensive farm enterprises would seem distinctly out of place save in the more remote parts. (The sheep-killing dog is another deterrent to sheep raising, and a most serious one in a region so densely populated.) Owing to the urban demand, the dairy cow and the truck patch, and to a less extent the orchard, are and must continue to be the basis of New England agriculture. There is much unused pasture land in New England which could carry sheep nicely during the summer months, but the hay land is almost entirely used for the winter keep of milch cows, which experience has shown to be much more profitable than sheep and nearly as efficient a consumer of rough forage. There is room for a considerable increase in the number of sheep in New England to utilize such parts of the pasture area as are too rough for cows, but the scarcity of roughage for winter feed will greatly limit any future increase in the flocks. It seems probable that future gains in number of sheep in New England will be in the form of small flocks, grazed largely as scavengers on surplus pasture areas, for the production of lambs to be marketed from pasture in the fall, or in small flocks kept for the production of the highest grades of early or winter lamb.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from its discovery to the present time. The second part is a history of the individual states, and the third part is a history of the federal government. The author has written in a clear and concise style, and the book is well adapted for use in schools and colleges. It is a valuable work for all who are interested in the history of the United States.

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APPENDIX.

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58. Ford, Wool and Manufactures of Wool (1894), p. 316-17, Table of Net Imports; before 1822 the amount of raw wool imported was too small to be separately recorded by the Treasury Department; see also Bishop, l. c. vol. 2, p. 269-70; Niles Register (1822), vol. 22, p. 225; Bulletin N. A. W. M., vol. 30, p. 146.

59. See Appendix for the different tariffs on wool; see also Randall, l. c. p. 17 and fol., 33; Sheep Husbandry (1848), p. 158-9; Bulletin, N. A. W. M., Vol. 31, p. 206-7.

59A. Massachusetts Repository, l. c. vol. 5, p. 169; Hunt, l. c. vol. 4, p. 287; Ford, l. c. p. 304.

60. Randall, l. c. p. 159; Fine wool, l. c. p. 17 and fol., 34 and fol.; B. A. I., l. c. p. 231 and fol.; Niles Register (1827), vol. 33, p. 17, 146.

61. Ford, l. c. Table of total imports of manufacturers of wool, p. 336. The value of the imports of 1825-30 is no criterion of the amount imported, due to depressed prices; Special Report, l. c. p. 58; see also Wright, p. 39-40, 46 and fol., 56, for a good discussion. Bishop, l. c. p. 313-15, 321-22, and note.

62. See Appendix 6; also B. A. I., l. c. p. 236-7; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 37, 41 and fol.; Bishop, l. c. p. 313-14. Randall shows a greater relative gain in the price of medium wool, but many quotations are lacking in his price table.

63. Randall, l. c. p. 37.

64. Niles Register (1827), vol. 33, p. 277; vol. 66, p. 386; vol. 41, p. 214; B. A. I., l. c. p. 499, 236.

65. Randall, l. c. p. 35 and fol. Sheep Husbandry, p. 159.

66. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 36-7; Bulletin, N. A. W. M. Vol. 9, p. 20, 43-4; vol. 31, p. 277-8.

67. Bogart, l. c. p. 240-242.

68. Randall, l. c. p. 41 and fol., 47 and fol., 37, 61 and fol., 72 note: B. A. I., l. c. p. 239; New York Report (1842), p. 29.

69 Patent Office (1850), p. 211.

70. Randall, l. c. p. 17-18; Sheep Husbandry, l. c. p. 159, 160-3. B. A. I., l. c. p. 237-8 and note; Patent Office (1849), p. 242; (1851), p. 157; American Agriculturist, vol. 24, p. 43; Niles Register (1835), vol. 49, p. 128; vol. 41, p. 477.

71. New York Report (1843), p. 445-67; (1841), p. 271-2; B. A. L., l. c.: Randall, Fine Wool, p. 48-9 Cultivator (1844), vol. 1, p. 128; Niles Register, l. c.

72. B. A. I., l. c.; Randall, l. c. p. 27-8 and note; 72 (note).

72A. Wright, l. c. p. 75; Niles Register (1831), vol. 41, p. 219, 324; Bishop, l. c. p. 360. It does not seem possible that there could have been any more than were present in 1825, considering the number slaughtered thereafter and the lack of a market for the wool other than largely for domestic manufactures. The furor had been all for fine wool.

73. New England Farmer, vol. 6, p. 155; Niles Register (1825), vol. 29, p. 402, 88; Bishop, l. c. p. 315. Contemporary estimates place the number of sheep in 1825 at 15 million. Considering the way the animals were butchered and neglected following 1815, and the poor wool market until the early 20's, this estimate appears quite high. A recuperation to 12 or 13 million head between 1820-25 seems ample when it is remembered that the rage of the time was for quality of wool rather than quantity; while wool manufacturers were flourishing in the West, the number of mills was very small, the output small, and the sheep industry hazardous on account of indifferent care of the ordinary animals in a new country, to say nothing of deprecations on the part of wolves.

74. Wright, l. c. p. 75-76; Pitkin, l. c. p. 490-91; Bogart, l. c. p. 166.

76. Bogart, l. c. p. 166-7, 176; Wright, l. c. p. 58-9.

77. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 42. See also Table of prices based on returns of Mauger and Avery in Appendix, this essay.

78. Niles Register, vol. 49, p. 221, 68.

79. Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts, 1838, p. 5, 45, 136; see also Hazards Register, vol. 1, p. 48.

80. Benton and Barry, Statistical View (1837), p. 106 and preceding.

81. See Appendix for tables of wool prices (from Mauger and Avery); also see Tables of wool prices in Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 42 and fol. (from transactions of Livermore).

82. From tables of prices for New York market in Report of the Secretary of the Treasury (1863), p. 304 and fol.; Patent Office (1847), p. 212-13.

83. Wright, p. 86.

84. Ford, l. c. Table, p. 307 and fol., net imports of raw wool by countries of origin, and table, p. 316; see also Appendix for table of wool imports.

85. Wright, p. 84; Bulletin, N. A. W. M., vol. 30, p. 153 and fol.

85A. Census (1840), p. 359; see also Appendix for number of sheep in different census years.

86. Ford, l. c. Table, p. 316. See also Appendix.

87. New York Report (1841), p. 304-7.

88. B. A. I., l. c. p. 427, 499; Prairie Farmer, vol. 5, p. 252; Niles Register (1829), vol. 36, p. 399. Compare the Steubenville prices with those in Appendix.

89. Niles Register, vol. 69, p. 54; vol. 29, p. 166; vol. 33, p. 155; Pitkin, Statistical View, l. c. p. 579. Andrews, Report on Trade and Commerce (1853), p. 92, U. S. Senate, Exec. Doc. 112.

90. Op. cit. Bogart, l. c. p. Niles Register, vol. 69, p. 54. Ringwalt, Transportation Systems (1888), p. 111; Patent Office (1847), p. 584, 656. Andrews, l. c. p. 92-3.

90A. Andrews, l. c.

91. Bogart, l. c. p. 241-3, 246-7.
92. Patent Office (1849), p. 191. Hall, Notes on the Western States (1838), p. 128, 130.
93. Patent Office (1849), p. 191; Wisconsin Agriculturist (1851), p. 46, 131, 167, 171, 179, 201, 213, 228; (1852), p. 114; Patent Office (1847), p. 212.
94. Patent Office (1848), p. 552; (1847), p. 212, 584, (1854), p. 53; Cultivator, vol. 3, p. 21-22; Country Gentleman, vol. 5, p. 25; Patent Office (1849), p. 512; Niles Register, vol. 70, p. 21; Andrews, l. c. p. 92, 93; Mass Report (1849), p. 256; Niles Register, vol. 69, p. 54.
95. Patent Office (1847), p. 404; (1851), p. 157; (1854), p. 51, 54; (1849), p. 88, 92, 120, 256, 242-44; (1850), p. 277; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 106; Practical Shepherd (1863), p. 97-8; Prairie Farmer, vol. 3, old series, p. 3, 207; Department of Agriculture (1862), p. 303; Cultivator, vol. 3, p. 21-2; Cultivator (1850), p. 294.
- 95A. Patent Office (1850), p. 137 and fol.; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 42-3, 106 and fol.; Cultivator (1850), p. 294.
96. Prairie Farmer, vol. 5, old series, p. 204, 230, 274; vol. 3, p. 218, 238; Niles Register, vol. 66, p. 387; Hazard's Register (United States Commercial and Statistical Register), vol. 5 (1841), p. 352; Patent Office (1849), p. 245.
97. Patent Office (1844), p. 156.
98. See Ref. 96, l. c.: Prairie Farmer, vol. 9, p. 139, 296, 362; (1851), p. 408, 412; Wisconsin Agriculturist (1851), p. 14, 69.
99. Prairie Farmer, vol. 5, p. 205; vol. 4, p. 133, 161; Patent Office (1849) p. 245.
100. Prairie Farmer, vol. 7, p. 213.
101. Op. cit., vol. 3, p. 39; vol. 12, p. 35.
102. Department of Agriculture (1862), p. 301-2; Iowa Agric. Society (1860), p. 275 & fol.; Prairie Farmer, vol. 3, p. 276.
103. Cultivator, vol. 3, p. 21-22; Hall, l. c. p., 81; Amer. Agriculturist, vol. 1, p. 237.
104. Patent Office (1850), p. 407; Cultivator (1850), p. 294.
105. Bogart, l. c. p. 243; Aldrich Report, Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation, Senate Report 1394 (1893). Part 2, p. 7 and fol., 24 and fol., 34 and fol., 60 and fol., 80 and fol. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury (1836), p. 306 and fol. American Agriculturist, vol. 1, p. 237. Western Farmer, vol. 1, p. 157.
106. Andrews, Trade and Commerce, etc., (1853), Senate, Exec. Doc. 112, p. 330. Patent Office (1847), p. 566; Aldrich l. c. p. 60-63.
- 106A. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 68; Census (1910), vol. 1, p. 30.
- 106B. Prairie Farmer, vol. 3 (1843), p. 102; American Agriculturist, vol. 1, p. 176-7.
- 106C. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 286-7.
107. Patent office (1849), p. 252; Andrews, l. c. p. 4-5, 52, 55-6, 289, 355, 310 & fol., 411, 887, 711, 441-2; Ringwalt l. c. p. 51, 53, 75, 77, 109, 110-11, 120, 113-17.
- Report, Chamber of Commerce of New York (1868), p. 131-5, 136-7.
- See also Transac. of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, etc., vol. 17, part 1, No. 4, p. 243. and fol.
- Patent Office (1847), p. 577 and fol.; Tables of canal, lake, and river commerce.
108. Patent Office, 1848, p. 367.
109. Massachusetts Report (1838), p. 45; Patent Office (1850), p. 139.
- 109A. See 95A, also Patent Office (1849), p. 243-245, 16; Dept. of Agriculture (1865), p. 456-7; Patent Office (1850), p. 405 (1855), p. 24, 28; Country Gentle-

man, vol. 7, p. 237, 268; vol. 17, p. 162, 273; vol. 20, p. 111; Cultivator (1850), p. 291.

110. Cultivator, vol. 7, p. 93, 43, 153, 136, 142, and fol. 149; New York Report (1841), p. 307, 317, 134, 319, 158; B. A. I., l. c. p. 239 and fol.

110A. Bishop, l. c., vol. 2, p. 136.

110B. Transactions of the Worcester County Agricultural Society (1847), p. 38.

111. B. A. I., l. c. p. 240 and fol.; New York Report (1843), p. 395, 440, 445 (1841), p. 134, 158; Cultivator, vol. 9, p. 146-147 (1850), p. 291; Patent Office (1849), p. 92, 102, 119-20, 256, 244; (1848) p. 394, 450; (1850) p. 209, 139-40, 306; (1852) p. 222, 236; (1854) p. 52-4; (1851) p. 137.

112. Patent Office (1849), p. 183-4; (1850) p. 139, 200, 280.

113. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 56 and fol. 62 and fol. 66-8; B. A. I., p. 486.

114. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. table, p. 41 and fol.; Aldrich, l. c. part 1, p. 38. See also Wright, l. c. p. 116, 121, and table, p. 354 (based on Report of Secy. of the Treasury (1863), p. 284 and fol.).

114A. See ref. 115.

115. Wright, l. c. p. 108 and fol. 121; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 40, 46-7; Special Report, l. c. p. XLVIII, L, LIV.

117. Patent Office (1852), p. 222-4-6; (1848) p. 367; Patent Office (1849), p. 112, 245; (1854) p. 53. Transactions of the Agricultural Societies in the State of Massachusetts (1849), p. 256; (1847) p. 212-13.

117A. Patent Office (1847), p. 212-13; Cultivator (1849), p. 234.

118. Census (1900), vol. 5, p. CXXIII.

119. Census (1880), vol. 3, p. 1029, 1035; B. A. I., l. c. p. 947 and fol.; New York Daily Tribune, Nov. 8, 1862, p. 7. See also Dept. of Agriculture (1864), p. 478.

120. Census (1900), vol. 5, p. ccxvi, 708-9; Prairie Farmer, vol. 10, p. 262.

121. Patent Office (1849), p. 244; Cultivator (1852), p. 79.

122. Census, l. c. p. ccxiii, 708. See also Appendix.

123. Census, l. c. p. ccxv-vi, 709.

124. Prothero, Past and Present of English Farming (1912), p. 274, 371, 447.

124A. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 69; also Ringwalt and Trans. Wis. Acad. Science, etc., in ref. 107.

124B. Chamber of Commerce of New York (1858), p. 131-5; Andrews, l. c. p. 411, 441-42. Patent Office (1847), p. 566; Dept. of Agric. Div. of Statistics, Miscel. Series Bul. 15, p. 45, 55-6. Prairie Farmer (1860), p. 361; (1861), p. 407; Western Farmer (vol. 1), p. 157.

124C. See ref. 106B; also Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 286; Div. of Statistics, l. c.; Aldrich, l. c. part 2, p. 61-3; Wright, l. c. p. 347-8; Randall, l. c. p. 42-3.

125. Price averages calculated from Aldrich Report, l. c. part 2, p. 24, 27, 60 & fol., 80, also p. 9 & 34.

125A. See appendix 6; also Randall, l. c. Fine Wool, p. 42-3; Aldrich, l. c. part 1, p. 106-731, part 2, p. 73-4; Bogart, l. c. p. 244-5.

126A. Andrews, l. c. p. 382.

127. Patent Office (1851), p. 136, 138.

127A. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 600 and fol.

127B. Dept. of Agriculture (1872), p. 332; Patent Office (1854), p. 21; (1861), p. 213 and fol.; (1855), p. 29.

127C. Patent Office (1850), p. 139.

127D. Op. cit. p. 137 and fol.; see also refs. 95, 95A, 104, 108.

- 127E. Op. cit. (1850), p. 405; (1849), p. 16; (1851), p. 171, 149, 235, 243; (1853), p. 24; (1854), p. 20 and fol.; (1855), p. 22, 24, 28.
- Country Gentleman, vol. 1, p. 133; vol. 7, p. 237, 268; vol. 21, p. 236; vol. 20, p. 111; vol. 17, p. 162, 273; vol. 24, p. 105; Cultivator (1849), p. 112, 234; Mass. Rept. (1838), p. 46 and fol.; New York Report (1843), p. 439; Cultivator (1849), p. 234.
- 127F. Mass. Report (1838), p. 46 and fol.
- 127H. Dept. of Agric. (1865), p. 456-7.
- 127K. Aldrich, l. c. part 2, p. 73-4; Randall, l. c. p. 42-3; Wright, l. c. p. 347-8; Mass. Rept. (1860), p. 94-95.
128. Country Gentleman (1860), p. 156, 284.
129. Cultivator, vol. 9, p. 147.
130. See Census. (1840), p. 358-9; (1860), p. 184-190.
131. Patent Office (1848), p. 368, 403-4; (1852), p. 189; (1850), p. 435; (1849), p. 242-3, 245, 112. Cultivator (1850), p. 291; (1852), p. 80. Country Gentleman, vol. 7, p. 237.
- 131A. Patent Office (1850), p. 139.
132. Patent Office (1849), p. 112, 242; Mass. Report (1860), p. 205, 292, 94-95, see also Cultivator (1852), p. 80; Patent Office (1852), p. 155, 170.
133. Ohio Report (1848), p. 9; Cultivator (1849), p. 157; Patent Office (1847), p. 653; Dept. of Agric. (1862), p. 262.
134. Cultivator (1849), p. 157; (1850), p. 291; Patent Office (1848), p. 409; (1850), p. 139; Dept. of Agric. (1862), p. 261-3.
135. Patent Office (1849), p. 243; Cultivator (1845), p. 117; Cultivator (1851), p. 325.
136. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 262-3.
137. Patent Office (1852), p. 281; Prairie Farmer, vol. 10, p. 37.
138. Ford, l. c. p. 305 and fol., 316-17, 336-7. See also Appendix.
139. Patent Office (1854), p. 52-4; (1851), p. 137, 179, 233; (1853), p. 40; (1849), p. 127, 245; (1855), p. 52-3; Mass. Report, 1860, p. 94-5; Country Gentleman, vol. 5, p. 25; Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 252.
140. Patent Office (1853), p. 39; Country Gentleman, vol. 7, p. 28-9; Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts (1837), p. 43 and fol.
141. Patent Office (1853), p. 39; Dept. of Agr. (1862), p. 282; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 104-5 and note; New York Report (1860), p. 65; Prairie Farmer (1861), p. 273; Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts, l. c.
142. American Agriculturist, vol. 23, p. 5; Prairie Farmer, l. c.; Country Gentleman, vol. 228, p. 10.
143. Massachusetts Report (1849), p. 331; Patent Office (1850), p. 273. See also ref. 139 and 140.
144. Aldrich Report, l. c., part 1, p. 107.
145. Patent Office (1853), p. 39; (1852), p. 224; (1849), p. 127; Dept. of Agr. (1862), p. 252 and fol., 275, 279, and fol.; Farmers' Register, vol. 6, p. 267; Country Gentleman (1861), p. 396.
146. American Agric., vol. 22, p. 365.
147. Ohio Report (1849), p. 47, 106; Patent Office (1850), p. 200, 280; (1852), p. 265; (1854), p. 53; Ohio Report (1855), p. 175; (1860), p. 4; Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 280; Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 101 and fol.
148. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 55, 73, and fol.; 80, 88, 99; Sheep Husbandry, l. c. p. 160 and fol.; Cultivator, vol. 2, p. 220; vol. 3, p. 252.
149. B. A. I., l. c. p. 484, 503-5, 515, and fol., 518; Dept. of Agriculture, (1863), p. 232; (1871), p. 190-91; Randall, Sheep Husbandry, l. c. p. 160-61; Cultivator (1851), p. 324; Dept. of Agriculture (1864), p. 506.

150. Randall, Practical Shepherd, l. c. p. 28 and fol.; Patent Office (1849), p. 256; Prairie Farmer (1861), p. 152; see ref. number 148; Dep. of Agriculture (1864), p. 507; (1866), p. 344.

151. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 55-6; 88-94, 99-100, and letter in Country Gentleman, vol. 26, p. 204; Dept. of Agric., 1866, p. 344-345.

152. Randall, l. c. p. 59-61; Practical Shepherd, l. c. p. 38 and fol.

153. Randall, Sheep Husbandry, l. c. p. 289 and fol.; Patent Office (1847), p. 364; (1849), p. 242, 246, and fol., 251, 257; Prairie Farmer, vol. 2, p. 334; vol. 7, p. 301; Cultivator, vol. 4, p. 231; Country Gentleman, vol. 2, p. 173.

154. Patent Office (1849), p. 257; Prairie Farmer, vol. 10, p. 161, 165, 193.

155. See Appendix.

156. Op. Cit.: Aldrich Report, l. c., Part 1, p. 106-7.

156A. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 286, 300.

157. Dept. of Agriculture (1862, p. 256-258; (1864) p. 242, 508-9; (1871) p. 38.

158. Op. cit. (1866), table, p. 67.

159. Census 1900, vol. 5, p. ccxiii, 708. See also Appendix.

160. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 300 and fol.; Prairie Farmer, vol. 18, p. 214, 265, 331; vol. 19, p. 379; Country Gentleman, vol. 24, p. 385; American Agriculturist, vol. 23, p. 233-4; Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 40; Special Report, l. c. p. XL-XLI; Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 342; (1862) p. 252.

161. Country Gentleman, vol. 21, p. 236; vol. 24, p. 106.

162. Dept. of Agriculture (1864), p. 178-9; (1862) p. 301.

163. Country Gentleman, vol. 20, p. 111; Prairie Farmer (1867), p. 379, 182; (1863) p. 309; Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 301-303 and fol.; see also earlier references on cost of keeping sheep and the movement to the West.

163A. Dept. of Agric. (1862), p. 287; Ia. Agric. Soc. (1860), p. 280.

164. Country Gentleman, vol. 21, p. 145, 177; vol. 22, p. 257; vol. 24, p. 385; vol. 25, p. 268; vol. 29, p. 84; Prairie Farmer, vol. 13, p. 266, 296-7; American Agriculturist, vol. 23, p. 330; vol. 24, p. 43; Dept. of Agriculture (1865), p. 484-5; Prairie Farmer (1864), p. 84, 322.

164A. Prairie Farmer, vol. 18, p. 111.

165. American Agriculturist, vol. 24, p. 43.

166. Op. cit., vol. 22, p. 330.

167. Country Gentleman, vol. 19, p. 348.

168. Dept. of Agriculture (1863), p. 28-9; American Agriculturist, vol. 22, p. 332; New England Farmer (1863), p. 347.

168A. J. R. Dodge, Sheep and Wool (Dept. of Agric. Report 66, 1900), p. 23; Bull. 94, Dept. of Agric. (1914), Domestic Breeds of Sheep, p. 87-8.

169. Country Gentleman, vol. 24, p. 385.

170. Randall, Fine Wool, l. c. p. 87 and fol., 90 and fol., also p. 98 and fol.; Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 344-5; (1864) p. 507; Country Gentleman, Vol. 26, p. 204.

171. Prairie Farmer (1866), p. 147; Dept. of Agriculture (1864), p. 507; Country Gentleman, l. c.

171A. Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 345-6; also ref. 151 here, and Country Gentleman, l. c.

172. American Agriculturist, vol. 24, p. 43; Randall, Practical Shepherd, l. c. p. 81; Country Gentleman, vol. 26, p. 204.

173. Prairie Farmer (1862), p. 372; B. A. I., l. c. p. 950, 953; Country Gentleman, vol. 15, p. 48, 80; vol. 17, p. 113.

174. Aldrich Report, l. c., Part 1, p. 106-7.

174A. B. A. I., l. c. p. 55.

175. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 254; (1866), p. 348; Randall, *Fine Wool*, l. c. p. 102.
176. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 242.
177. Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 323-4, 279 and fol., 281, 258.
- 177A. Op. cit. (1862), p. 323.
178. Op. cit., p. 254-6, 293, 258 (1866), p. 341 and fol., 349 and fol.; *Prairie Farmer* (1866), p. 214, 265; *Country Gentleman*, vol. 27, p. 141; vol. 30, p. 241, 205; vol. 22, p. 10; *Prairie Farmer* (1861), p. 207; Dept. of Agr. (1865), p. 479-80; (1864), p. 245.
- 178A. Dept. of Agriculture (1869), p. 381 and fol.
179. Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 196-7; *American Agriculturist*, vol. 22, p. 234.
180. Dept. of Agriculture (1864), p. 508-9.
181. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 15, p. 48, 80; vol. 22, p. 257; vol. 24, p. 289; *American Agriculturist*, vol. 22, p. 283, 299.
182. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 19, p. 253; vol. 27, p. 141; Dept. of Agriculture (1862), p. 256.
- 182A. Dept. of Agriculture (1865), p. 482.
183. Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 39 and table, p. 40; see also Wright, l. c. p. 176 and note.
184. Ford, l. c. p. 305 and fol., 317, 337.
185. Dept. of Agriculture (1867), p. 119 and fol.; (1866), p. 90; (1871), p. 41; Ford, l. c.
186. Dept. of Agriculture (1867), p. 119; (1871), p. 40-42.
187. Op. cit., both vols.; see also Wright, l. c. p. 160 & fol., table, p. 338-9.
188. Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 40-41; *Country Gentleman*, vol. 30, p. 330, 173; *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 19, p. 200; see also *Country Gentleman*, vol. 34, p. 14; Dept. of Agriculture (1869), p. 378.
189. Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 67; (1870), p. 48.
190. *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 41, p. 1.
191. Aldrich Report, l. c. p. 106-7 (currency prices).
192. See Appendix (currency prices).
193. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 30, p. 93; *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 40, p. 178; vol. 41, p. 1, 50; Dept. of Agr. (1869), p. 381; (1871), p. 34, 40; (1868), p. 524.
194. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 30, p. 93.
195. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 30, p. 404.
196. Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 76; (1867), p. 98; (1868), p. 41; (1869), p. 42; (1870), p. 44; (1871), p. 34, 40-41; *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 19, p. 379; *Country Gentleman*, vol. 33, p. 517.
197. See *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 18, p. 347-8, 331-2.
198. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 30, p. 396.
199. *Prairie Farmer*, vol. 40, p. 40.
- 199A. *Bulletin, N. A. W. M.*, vol. 2, p. 463, 466.
- 199B. Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 34.
200. *Country Gentleman*, vol. 33, p. 374.
201. Dept. of Agriculture (1870), p. 48; Census (1900), vol. 5, p. 708. See also Appendix II.
202. Census 1880, vol. 3, p. 1025, 1058-9, 1063, 1071-2.
203. Patent Office (1853), p. 46.
204. B. A. I., l. c. p. 18 and fol.
205. Brockett, *Our Western Empire* (1881), p. 181; B. A. I., l. c. p. 947.
206. Census 1880, vol. 3, p. 1035-6 and note; Brockett, l. c.; B. A. I., l. c. p. 948 and fol., 919, 921, 923, 914, 917-8.
207. Brockett, l. c., B. A. I., p. 914.

208. Country Gentleman (1859), p. 288; vol. 35, p. 457; vol. 27, p. 267
Prairie Farmer (1861), p. 226; Dept. of Agriculture (1866), p. 599; (1864), p.
478-9; Brockett, l. c. p. 608-9; B. A. I., l. c. p. 950. Copious references have
already been given dealing with the introduction of Merino and mutton animals
into California.

209. Census (1880), vol. 3, p. 1036.

210. B. A. I., l. c. p. 954.

210A. Bancroft, H. H., History of the Northwest Coast, vol. 1, p. 443; vol. 2,
pp. 442, 443.

211. Op. cit., p. 976 and fol., 948; Census, l. c. p. 1084.

212. B. A. I., l. c. p. 977.

213. Op. cit., p. 979-80.

214. Census, l. c. p. 1027, 1036; Brockett, l. c. p. 991-2; B. A. I., c. l. p. 706
and fol. See also p. 10, Thesis of J. S. Cotton (1904), presented to the Wash-
ington State Agric. College.

215. Census, l. c. p. 1053, 1056; B. A. I., l. c. p. 935, 941.

216. Op. cit., l. c. p. 954-5; Brockett, p. 425.

217. Brockett, l. c. p. 1139.

218. Country Gentleman, vol. 13, p. 284; vol. 29, p. 12; vol. 15, p. 156, 284;
vol. 31, p. 262.

219. Country Gentleman, vol. 15, p. 284.

220. Op. cit., vol. 31, p. 262. See also ref. 121.

221. Op. cit., vol. 13, p. 284; vol. 29, p. 12.

222. B. A. I., l. c. p. 897, 899, 902, 905, 908-9.

223. Op. cit., p. 788-9; Brockett, l. c. p. 712-13; Census (1880), vol. 3, p. 1006.

224. Op. cit., p. 1071, 1072; Brockett, p. 1174-5; B. A. I., p. 805.

225. Wool and Manufacture of Wool, Report of the Tariff Board on Schedule
K (1912), p. 302. Hereafter referred to as Schedule K.

225A. Census, 1880, vol. 3, p. 991.

226. Brockett, l. c. p. 182.

227. Dept. of Agriculture (1884), p. 445; (1892), p. 443; (1896), pp. 576-7;
Census (1900), vol. 5, p. 708.

228. Ford, l. c. p. 42.

228A. Census (1880), vol. 3, p. 1007.

229. See table in Wright, l. c. p. 339; Bulletin. N. A. W. M., vol. 15, p. 274-5.

230. For above cited increases and decreases based on Census figures see
Census (1900), vol. 5, p. 708; (1910), vol. 5, p. 394 and fol. 402-3. See also
Appendix which summarizes these data by States.

230A. Op. cit.

231. See ref. 227.

232. See ref. 230.

233. Dept. of Agriculture (1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915), see index for number
of sheep by States.

234. Dept. of Agriculture (1893), p. 552; (1914), p. 634; Bulletin, N. A.
W. M., vol. 46, No. 1, p. 12; figure for 1894 from Wright, l. c. p. 336; The De-
partment accepted the estimates of the National Association of Woolen Manu-
facturers after 1894; Wright, l. c. p. 338-9.

235. Op. cit.

235A. Dr. S. W. McClure in the Country Gentleman, May 13, 1916, p. 1016.
See also Bulletin N. A. W. M., vols. 40-47, Annual Wool Review.

236. Dept. of Agriculture (1914), p. 634; (1915), p. 532.

237. Census (1910), vol. 5, p. 496.

238. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 532, 534-5; (1914), p. 634.

238A. Op. cit. (1914), p. 634; (1915), p. 532.

239. Census (1910), vol. 5, p. 493; (1900), vol. 5, p. CCXV-VI. See also Appendix for estimated annual gain in clip per sheep by States.
240. See Appendix.
241. Special Report, l. c. p. XLIII.
- 241A. Country Gentleman, vol. 59 (1894), p. 313, 821; vol. 60 (1895), p. 332; vol. 61 (1896), p. 806; American Agriculturist, vol. 53 (1894), p. 228, 256.
- 241B. Bulletin, N. A. W. M., vol. 20, p. 148-51; vol. 13, p. 236-8; vol. 15, p. 272 and fol.
- 241C. See Appendix.
242. Dept. of Agriculture (1892), p. 443; (1896), p. 576-7.
- 242A. Country Gentleman, vol. 61, p. 806 (1896).
243. Census (1900), vol. 5, p. 708.
244. Census (1910), vol. 5, p. 402-3.
- 245A. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 412, 421, 432, 519, 535; Bull. 75, Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Agriculture, p. 10-13, 28-30; Census (1910), vol. 5, p. 389; (1900), vol. 5, p. CCXX-XXI.
246. Aldrich Report, l. c. p. 106-7; Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. 181 (1915), p. 111 and fol. 266.
- 246A. Farmers' Bulletin 652 (1915), p. 6.
- 246B. See Appendix, wool prices.
- 246C. Chart Bull. N. A. W. M., Jan., 1917, for an excellent presentation of the war's effect on wool prices.
- 246D. Bull. 15 (Revised, 1901), Div. of Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, p. 14-16, 21 and fol., 45 and fol., 55 and fol.
247. Ford, l. c. p. 19; Special Report, l. c. p. XLI. Breeders' Gazette, Dec. 30, 1915, p. 1245.
- 247A. Country Gentleman, vol. 59 (1894), p. 821; vol. 60 (1895), p. 332; vol. 61 (1896), p. 806. Farmers' Bull. 117, U. S. Dept. Agric. (1900), p. 9; J. R. Dodge, Sheep and Wool, p. 21 (Report No. 66, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1900). B. A. I., l. c. p. 712-13, 725-6, 760, 772-3, 787-8, 790-91, 800-01.
248. Special Report, l. c. p. XVII, XXV, XLI-XLII, LIII. Dept. of Agriculture (1871), p. 196-7; B. A. I., l. c. p. 500-1, 505, 508 and fol., 511 and fol.; Bulletin, N. A. W. M., vol. 3, p. 265-7; vol. 10, p. 328-9; vol. 16, p. 101.
249. The National Wool Grower (April, 1916), p. 28.
- 249A. Dept. of Agriculture (1876), p. 427; (1869), p. 381; Bulletin, N. A. W. M., vol. 2, p. 469-70.
- 249B. American Agriculturist, vol. 56 (1895), p. 578; Country Gentleman, vol. 58 (1893), p. 212, 452; vol. 59, p. 332. B. A. I., l. c. p. 859, 667, 672, 675, 679, 825, 831, 839.
- 249C. B. A. I., l. c. p. 774, 778, 782-3, 791, 803, 806-7, 817-8, 822, 837-8, 846, 851, 879. Census Report, 1880, vol. 3, Special Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine, p. 64, 57.
250. Census (1900), vol. 5, p. CCXIII-IV. Breeders' Gazette, Dec. 30, 1915, p. 1245.
251. Schedule K, p. 552, 568, 559.
252. Dept. of Agriculture (1914), p. 424; Census (1900), vol. 5, p. CCIII.
253. Schedule K, p. 300.
254. Op. cit., p. 348.
255. Op. cit., p. 300.
256. Statement of Dr. S. W. McClure, Secy. Natl Assn. of Wool Growers, and concurred in by others.
257. Op. cit.
258. The national wool grower.

259. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 533-4; Bulletin Natl. Assn. Wool Manufacturers, Jan., 1916, p. 5-6; Jan., 1914, p. 2, 4, 5-7.
260. Statement of Dr. McClure.
261. National Wool Grower, l. c., p. 27, New Zealand Official Yearbook (1914), p. 600; Bulletin, N. A. W. M., l. c., vol. 46, No. 1, p. 54; Dept. of Agriculture (1914), p. 381; Annual Wool Review (1914), N. A. W. M., p. 8; Schedule K, p. 347.
- 261A. F. R. Marshall: Address, Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Wash., D. C., Dec.-Jan., 1916.
262. Schedule K, p. 347. Breeders Gazette, Dec. 30, 1915, p. 1245-6.
263. The National Wool Grower, l. c., April, 1916, p. 28; also statement of persons well versed in range conditions.
- 263A. Marshall, l. c.: Also Marshall in the journal of Heredity, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 88 and fol.
- 263B. Bulletin N. A. W. M., vol. 46, no. 1, p. 33; Annual Wool Review, N. A. W. M. (1914), p. 8.
- 263C. Marshall, address, l. c.
- 263D. Rept. 109, Office of the Secy. Dept. of Agric. (1916), p. 45 and fol.
264. Schedule K, p. 545 and fol.; 553 and fol.; 568 and fol.
- 264A. Report 110, Office of the Secy. Dept. of Agric. (1916), Part II, p. 44 and fol.
265. Schedule K, p. 556.
266. Bulletin, N. A. W. M., April, 1916, p. 27.
267. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 530; Price Current Grain-Reporter, Statistical Annual (1915), p. 61.
268. Data secured by correspondence with the various live-stock markets.
269. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 538, 529.
270. See Yearbooks, Chicago Daily Farmers and Drovers Journal (1914), p. 69; (1915) p. 69; (1916) p. 69.
271. Dept. of Agriculture (1915), p. 538.
- 271A. Marshall, Address, l. c.
272. Prairie Farmer (1861), p. 199.
- 272A. Farmers Bulletin 652, l. c., p. 6.
- 272B. Bulletin, N. A. W. M., Jan, 1916, p. 12.
- 272C. Report 110, Office of the Secy., l. c., Part 2, p. 6 and fol.
273. Schedule K, p. 302.
274. Craig, Sheep Farming (1913), p. 11, and statement of Mr. Geo. Willingmyre, formerly wool specialist for the Canadian Government.

EXPLANATION OF MAPS.

These maps were kindly loaned for use in this essay by the Office of Farm Management, United States Department of Agriculture, where they were prepared.

MAP 1. In 1840 there were 19,311,000 sheep in the United States. They were concentrated largely in New York and New England, which States contained 46 per cent of the total. New York and Vermont alone contained 35 per cent. Elsewhere in the East sheep were no more numerous than in the settled sections west of the Alleghenies. The dependence of the eastern woolen mills on the flocks of the East had resulted in a concentration of sheep in the sections where soil, climate, topography, and transportation facilities were deemed most favorable for woolgrowing. West of the Alleghenies sheep had increased at about the same rate as the local demand for wool, and western wool had not yet invaded the eastern markets to an appreciable extent. A good start had been

made by the Ohio district, however, toward its later dominance in the sheep industry.

MAP 2. In 1850, 21,723,000 sheep were reported by the census. Of these New York and New England contained only 26 per cent, a striking decline having occurred during the decade as a result of competition with cheaper wool from the greatly enlarged flocks of the West, and with more profitable farm enterprises, particularly dairying. Elsewhere in the North Atlantic section the decline had been less marked because there had been fewer sheep to lose. West of the Alleghenies, in central and eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, the Panhandle of Virginia, and in southern Michigan, rapid gains had been made, particularly in Ohio. The North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), with Kentucky and Tennessee, contained 40 per cent of the national total, and sheep were rapidly becoming prominent in the prairie States.

MAP 3. In 1860 the census reported 22,471,000 sheep, which a subsequent revision raised to 23,977,000 head. Of these only 19 per cent were in New York and New England, where the earlier decline had continued, and for the same reasons. Sheep in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had also declined slightly in numbers, due to competition of other enterprises with sheep as a result of high prices and improved transportation facilities. The North Central States as a whole had gained slightly with increased settlement, but the percentage of the national total in these States, together with Kentucky and Tennessee, had fallen slightly, due to more rapid growth of the sheep industry in newer regions. Sheep had increased rapidly in Texas, New Mexico, and California, where the foundations were being laid for the later dominance of the industry in the Far West.

MAP 4. The census of 1870 reported 28,476,000 sheep. As a result of many factors, not the least of which was the high price of wool, the North Central States had made a large gain in number of sheep, and in spite of a pronounced increase elsewhere in the West contained 39 per cent of the national total. Texas shows a pronounced decline in number of sheep, largely the result of war-time losses, but California had progressed rapidly, and the Far West as a whole (the Pacific and Rocky Mountain States and Texas) contained one-sixth of all the sheep. East of the Alleghenies the earlier decline had continued. New York and New England now contained less than 13 per cent of the national total.

MAP 5. The effect of improved transportation facilities in the far West following the opening of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 are plainly evident in 1880. The far West then contained 45 per cent of the 42,192,000 sheep in the country. They were still concentrated largely in the Pacific Coast States, New Mexico, and Texas; but the industry had also spread throughout the Mountain region (Rocky Mountain States, Nevada, and Arizona) to a considerable extent. Sheep had also increased in the Central West as a whole (the Dakotas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas). Pronounced gains in Wisconsin and Michigan had resulted in only a small loss in the North Central States. The industry in Ohio had been practically stationary. Factors previously noted had caused a further decline in the North Atlantic region.

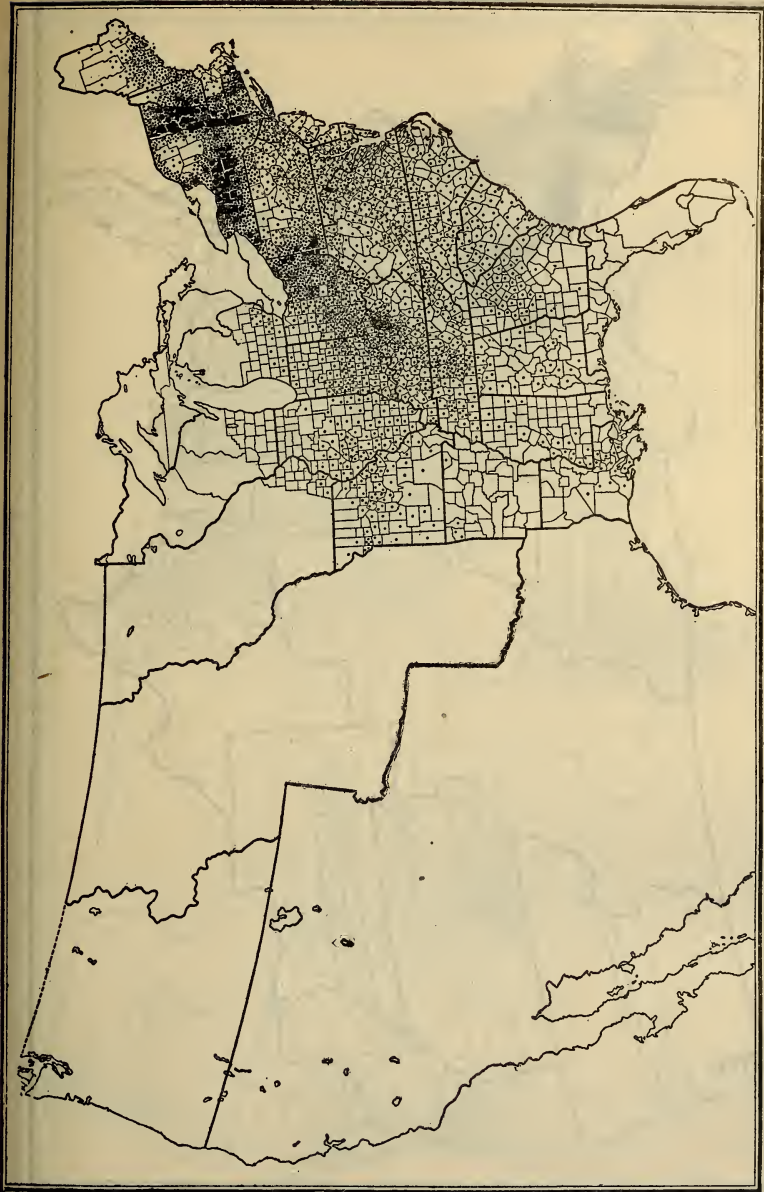
MAP 6. By 1890, after the first rush of expansion, the sheep industry had slowed up in the far West and was beginning to concentrate in the Mountain region following a pronounced decline in California. Texas and Oregon had also increased their flocks considerably. A slight decline in the Central West and a larger loss in the North Central section was the result of continued

pressure from factors previously mentioned. At this time the country contained 40,876,000 sheep, of which 6 per cent were in New York and New England, 23 per cent in the North Central States, and 47 per cent in the Far West. Half of the latter were in the Mountain States.

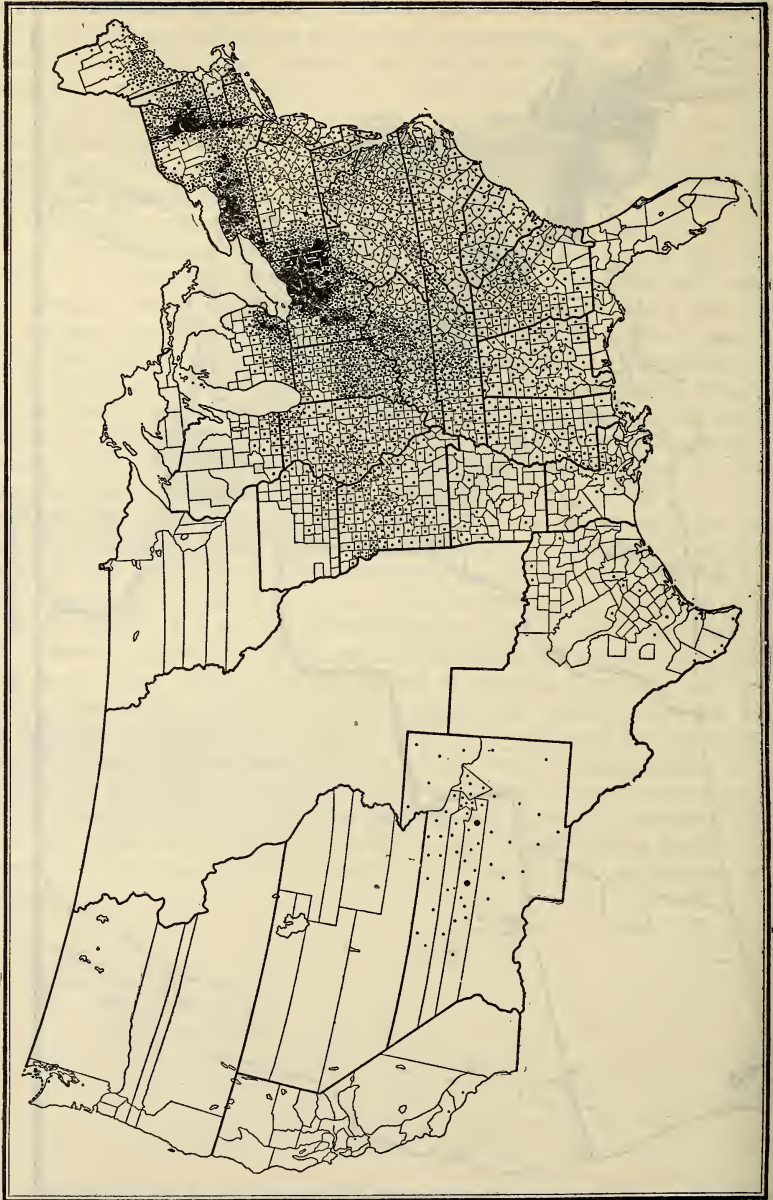
MAP 7. Striking changes had taken place by 1900. Low prices and continued agricultural settlement had caused a pronounced decline in Texas and California, and the sheep industry was finally concentrated in the mountain and plateau regions of the far West. The Mountain States contained 45 per cent of the 39,853,000 adult sheep in the country. In the plains region there was a considerable gain due to an adoption of the sheep industry in the newly settled areas. The North Central States showed a striking decline. This was particularly evident in Michigan and Ohio, the former strongholds of the industry. East of the Alleghenies the decline had also been very rapid.

MAP 8. In 1910 the Mountain States contained 49 per cent of the national total of 39,644,000 adult sheep. The industry in the far West had continued to concentrate in the Mountain States, though much more slowly than during the nineties. With a few exceptions the sheep industry east of the Rocky Mountains had continued to decline. These maps show in a striking manner the westward shift of the sheep industry to areas of cheap land. Wool sheep had in general moved with the frontier, and the great bulk of the sheep in most of the farming States were mutton types. Mutton sheep are well adapted to farm conditions, while wool sheep for over one-third of a century have been raised principally on the range.

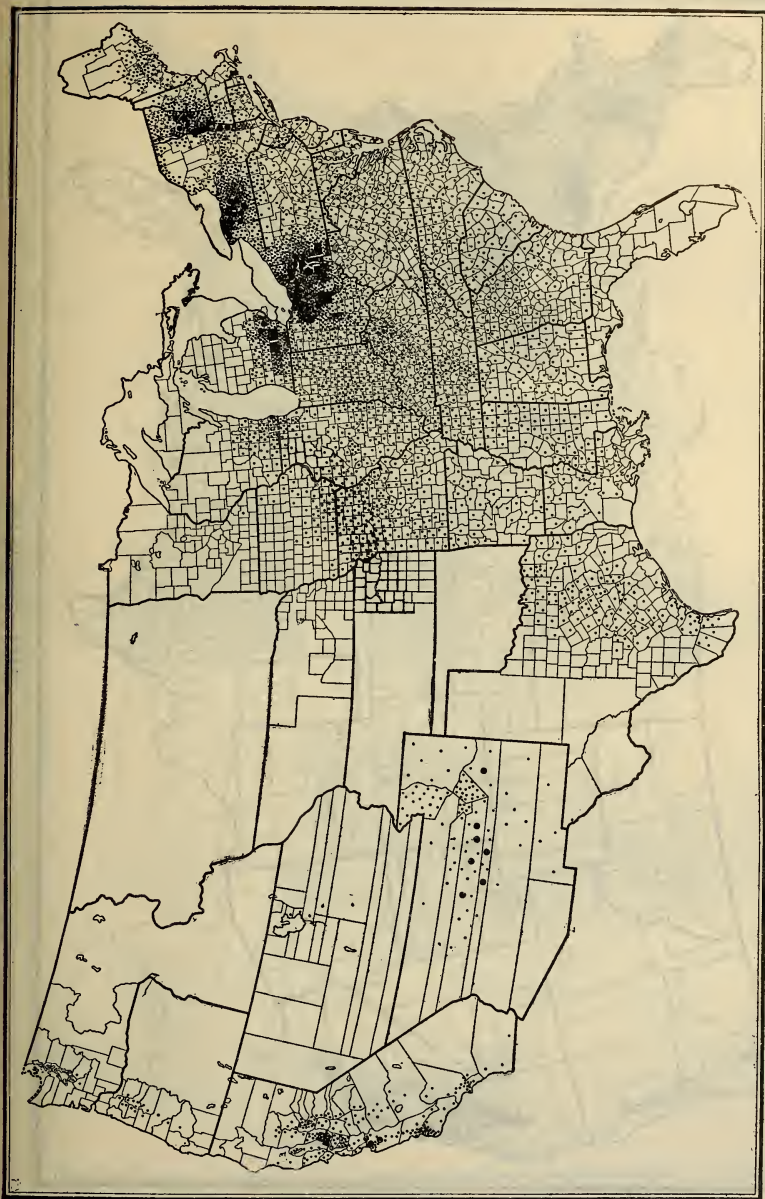
MAP 9. The number of sheep in 1915, based on the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, also includes lambs on hand in December, and for that reason is not numerically comparable with the census figures for number of adult sheep used in the other maps. The importance of the industry in the different regions, however, is accurately shown. Since 1910 there has been a net increase in number of sheep east of the Rocky Mountain States, the principal gains being in the corn belt, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Virginias. The North Atlantic States show a continued decline. Striking declines are reported for the mountain region, where the estimated loss in number of sheep is put at over seven and one-third million head. It is believed that, so far as concerns the fundamental stability of the industry, this decline is more apparent than real, due to the growing tendency on the range to eliminate wethers from the flocks and to market the lambs as early in the fall as possible. As a result, a steadily diminishing proportion of the lambs are now included in the estimates.



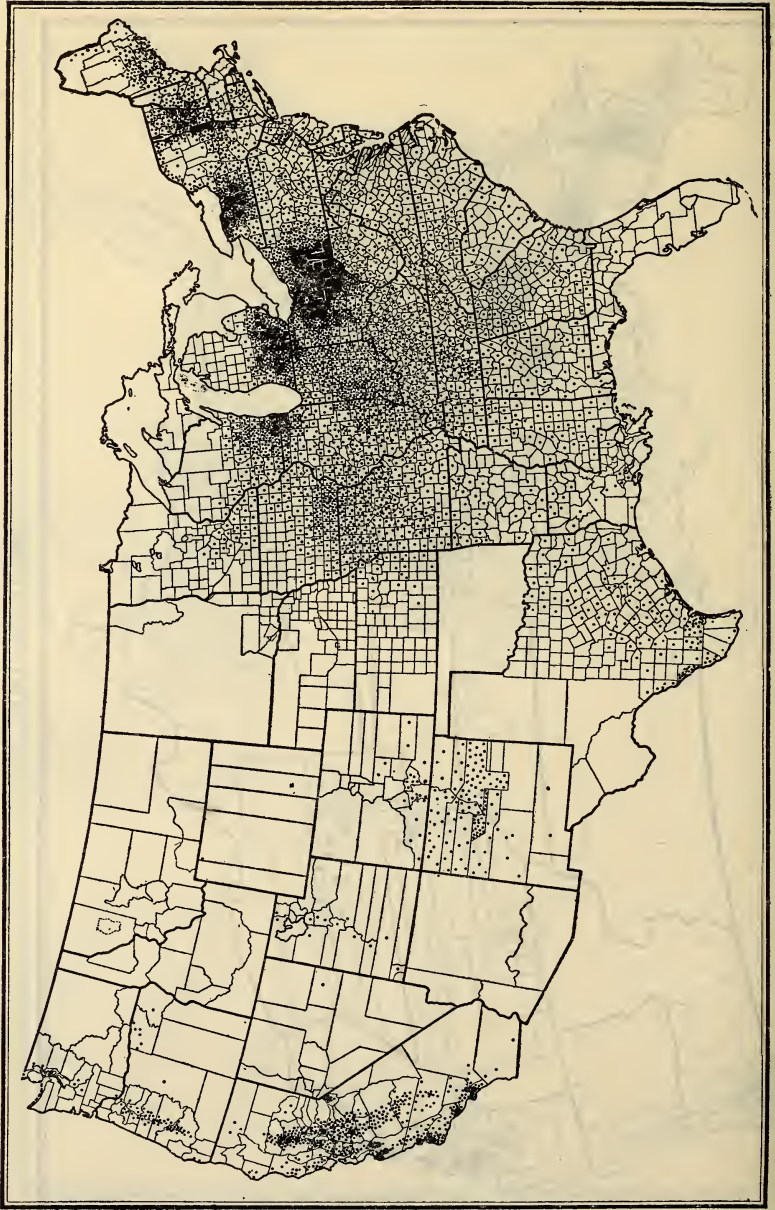
MAP 1.—SHEEP IN 1840.



MAP 2.—SHEEP IN 1860.



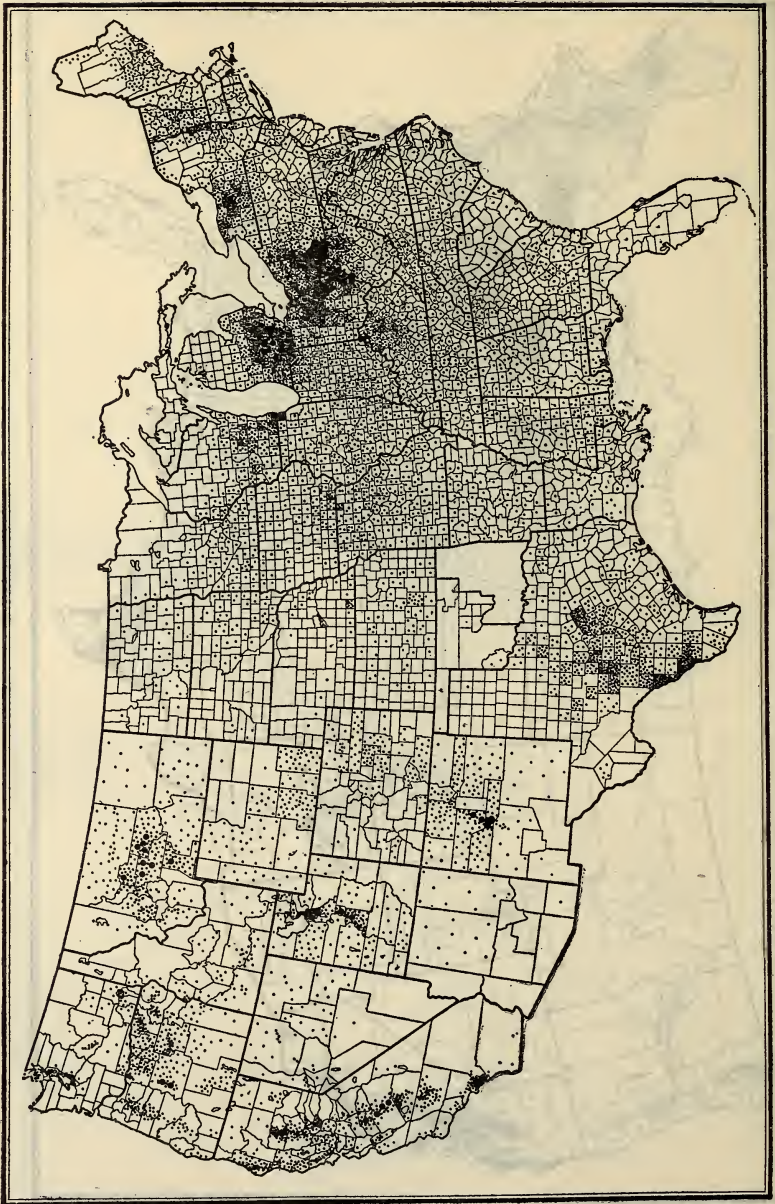
MAP 3.—SHEEP IN 1860.



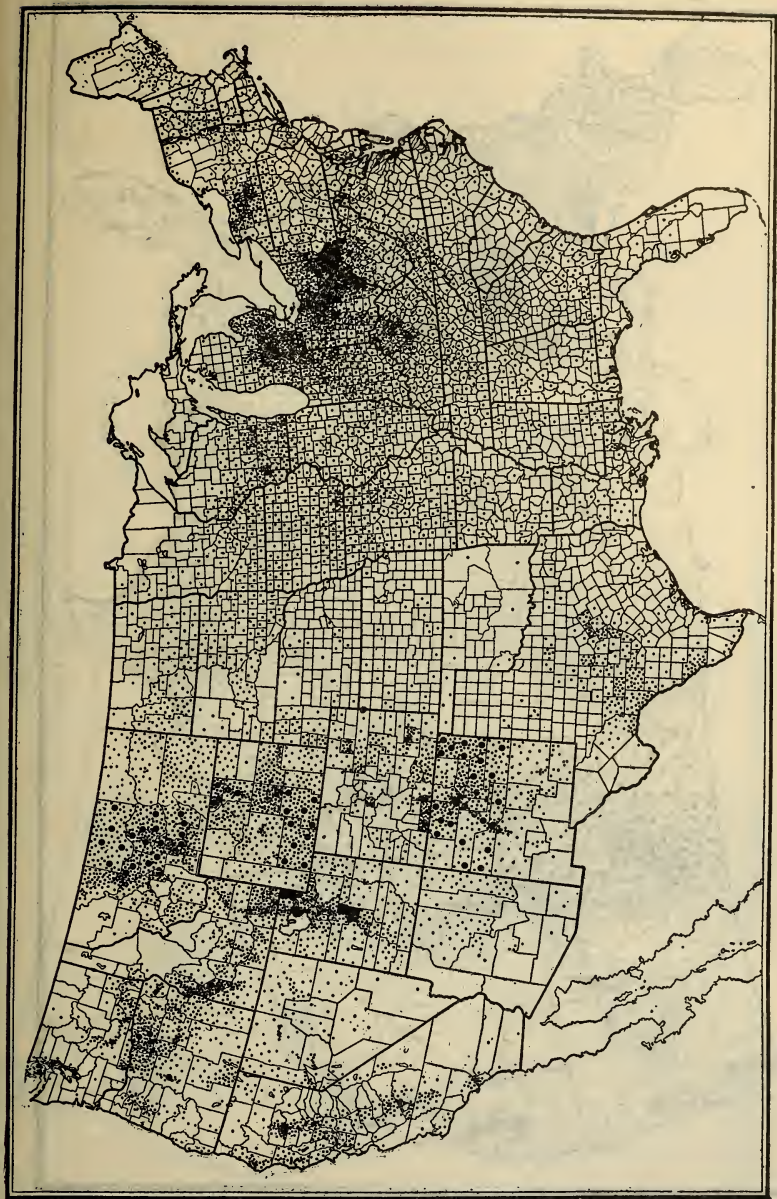
MAP 4.—SHEEP IN 1870.



MAP 5.—SHEEP IN 1880.

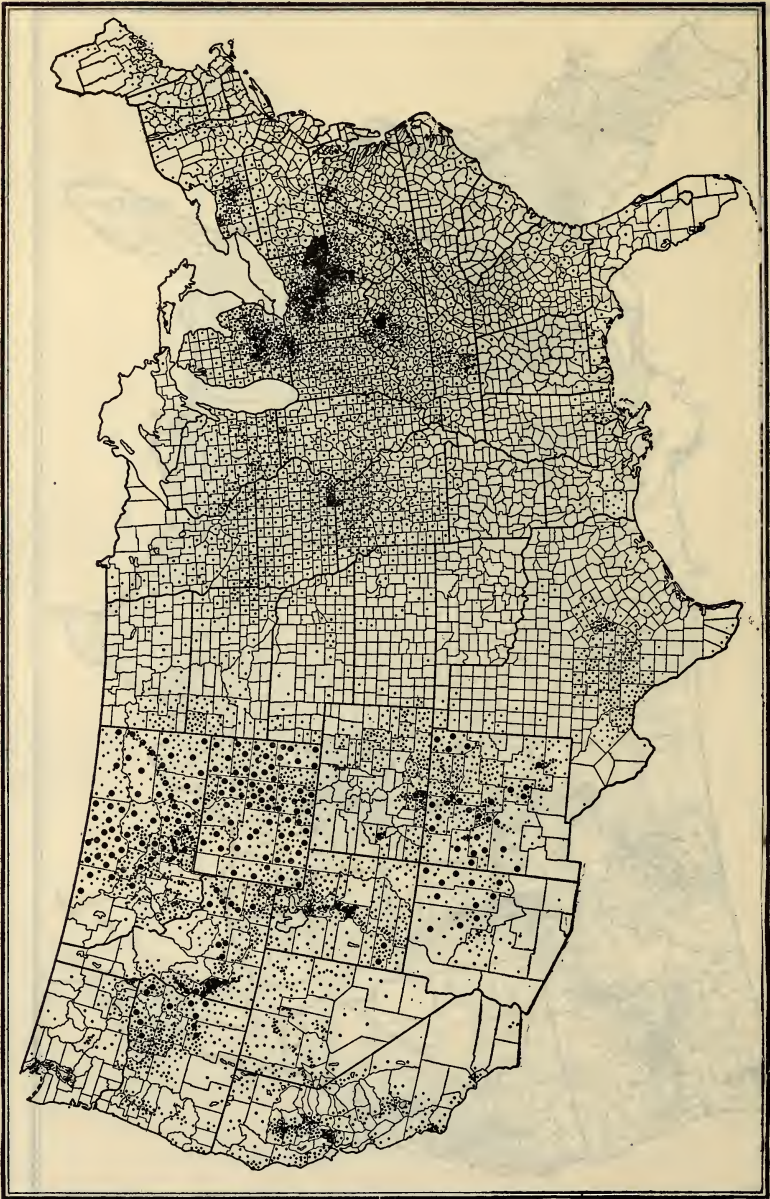


MAP 6.—SHEEP IN 1890.



MAP 7.—SHEEP IN 1900.

MAP 7.—SHEEP IN 1900.



MAP 8.—SHEEP IN 1910.

TABLES.

Sheep in the United States; United States Census and Estimates of Department of Agriculture.

[Number of sheep to the nearest thousand.]

Year.	Total number.	Number of sheep per hundred of population.	Year.	Total number.	Number of sheep per hundred of population.
	<i>Thousands.</i>			<i>Thousands.</i>	
1840.....	119,311	1113.1	1891.....	43,431	68.0
1850.....	121,723	193.7	1892.....	44,938	69.0
1860.....	123,977	176.3	1893.....	47,274	71.3
1867.....	39,385	108.8	1894.....	45,048	66.6
1868.....	38,992	105.5	1895.....	42,294	61.4
1869.....	37,724	99.9	1896.....	39,299	54.5
1870.....	{ 40,853	106.0	1897.....	36,819	51.4
1871.....	128,478	173.9	1898.....	37,657	51.6
1872.....	31,851	80.5	1899.....	39,114	52.6
1873.....	31,679	78.0	1900.....	{ 41,883	55.1
1874.....	33,002	79.2	1901.....	139,853	152.4
1875.....	33,938	79.3	1902.....	259,957	77.0
1876.....	33,784	76.9	1903.....	62,039	78.3
1877.....	35,935	79.6	1904.....	63,965	79.1
1878.....	35,804	77.2	1905.....	51,630	62.6
1879.....	35,740	75.1	1906.....	45,170	53.7
1880.....	38,124	78.0	1907.....	50,632	59.1
1881.....	{ 40,766	81.3	1908.....	53,240	61.0
1882.....	142,192	183.9	1909.....	54,631	61.5
1883.....	43,570	84.9	1910.....	56,084	61.9
1884.....	45,016	85.8	1911.....	{ 57,216	62.0
1885.....	49,237	91.7	1912.....	139,644	142.9
1886.....	50,627	92.2	1913.....	53,633	57.1
1887.....	50,360	89.7	1914.....	52,362	54.9
1888.....	48,322	84.2	1915.....	51,482	53.0
1889.....	44,759	76.3		49,719	50.3
1890.....	{ 43,545	72.6		49,956	49.8
	42,599	69.5			
	44,336	70.4			
	140,876	164.9			

¹ Returned by U. S. Census, including estimate of unenumerated animals in 1860, 1880, and 1890 (adult animals, save for a few lambs probably returned in 1840, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890).

² Department estimates after 1900 include both sheep and lambs, which accounts for the sudden jump, in estimated number between 1900 and 1901. Department estimates probably include range sheep in the late sixties. In 1879 and thereafter the estimates clearly include range animals.

The census in 1900 was taken for Apr. 15 instead of June 1, as in preceding censuses, and allowing for deaths and slaughter between Apr. 15 and June 1, 1910, the total number of adult animals on June 1, 1910, was perhaps more than 1,000,000 less than in 1900.

Distribution of sheep, by States and divisions—1840-1910.

[Adult sheep to the nearest thousand, U. S. Census.]

States.	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Maine.....	649	452	514	435	566	370	252	150
New Hampshire.....	617	385	317	249	212	132	65	31
Vermont.....	1,682	1,014	770	580	440	334	182	84
Massachusetts.....	378	189	123	79	68	51	34	23
Rhode Island.....	90	44	38	24	17	11	7	4
Connecticut.....	403	174	120	84	59	38	23	14
Total New England States.....	3,820	2,258	1,883	1,450	1,362	937	563	306
New York.....	5,119	3,453	2,621	2,182	1,715	1,529	985	606
New Jersey.....	219	160	147	120	117	55	26	17
Pennsylvania.....	1,768	1,822	1,685	1,794	1,777	1,612	959	638
Delaware.....	39	28	19	23	22	12	7	4
Maryland.....	258	178	157	130	171	132	112	126
District of Columbia.....	1			1				
Total Middle Atlantic States.....	7,404	5,642	4,629	4,249	3,802	3,341	2,089	1,391

Distribution of sheep, by States and divisions—1840-1910—Continued.

States.	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Virginia.....	1,294	1,310	1,156	370	497	495	392	439
West Virginia.....				552	675	785	573	567
North Carolina.....	538	595	624	463	462	402	209	140
South Carolina.....	233	286	234	125	119	79	52	28
Georgia.....	267	560	633	419	528	440	259	153
Florida.....	7	23	32	27	106	98	103	95
Alabama.....	163	372	383	242	348	386	229	109
Mississippi.....	128	305	354	233	288	452	236	156
Louisiana.....	98	110	203	119	136	186	169	139
Tennessee.....	742	812	803	827	673	541	308	470
Kentucky.....	1,008	1,102	1,006	937	1,000	937	716	778
Arkansas.....	42	91	209	161	247	244	169	97
Total Southern States, excluding Texas.....	4,521	5,567	5,636	4,474	5,077	5,047	3,415	3,172
Ohio.....	2,028	3,943	3,679	4,929	4,902	4,061	2,648	2,890
Indiana.....	676	1,122	1,023	1,613	1,101	1,180	1,011	812
Illinois.....	396	894	803	1,568	1,037	923	629	658
Michigan.....	100	746	1,320	1,986	2,189	2,400	1,626	1,545
Wisconsin.....	3	125	345	1,069	1,337	985	986	629
Total North Central States.....	3,203	6,831	7,170	11,165	10,566	9,450	6,900	6,535
Minnesota.....			16	132	268	399	359	452
Iowa.....	15	150	281	855	455	547	658	770
Missouri.....	348	763	1,033	1,352	1,411	951	664	1,116
Oklahoma.....						17	49	49
Indian Territory.....					55		13	
Kansas.....			19	109	630	401	180	204
Nebraska.....			2	203	247	209	336	240
North Dakota.....				2	85	136	451	241
South Dakota.....						239	507	501
Total Central West.....	363	913	1,352	2,474	3,152	2,899	3,217	3,574
Texas.....		101	1,074	714	3,652	4,264	1,440	1,378
Arizona.....				1	467	515	668	917
New Mexico.....		377	972	619	3,939	2,474	3,334	2,895
Nevada.....				11	231	273	568	825
Utah.....		3	42	60	523	1,937	2,553	1,671
Colorado.....				121	1,091	897	1,353	1,306
Wyoming.....				6	450	713	3,327	4,827
Idaho.....				1	117	858	1,965	2,110
Montana.....				2	279	2,353	4,215	4,960
Washington.....			10	44	389	265	558	295
Oregon.....		15	97	318	1,368	1,780	1,961	1,958
California.....		18	1,111	2,768	5,727	3,373	1,725	1,525
Total Far West and Texas.....		514	3,307	4,666	18,233	19,203	23,669	24,666
Total United States....	19,311	1 21,723	23,977	2 28,478	42,192	40,876	39,853	39,644

¹ Probably about 23,000,000 mature sheep in the United States.

² Probably about 31,000,000 mature sheep.

Wool production, production retained for consumption, and net imports of foreign wool.¹

[To the nearest thousand pounds.]

Year.	Production.	Production retained.	Net imports of foreign.	Year.	Production.	Production retained.	Net imports of foreign.
1822.....			1,716	1832.....			2,815
1823.....			1,073	1833.....			273
1824.....			1,291	1834.....			
1825.....			2,056	1835.....			7,196
1826.....			2,623	1836.....			12,296
1827.....			3,181	1837.....			10,260
1828.....			2,437	1838.....			6,786
1829.....			1,296	1839.....			7,806
1830.....			664	1840.....	235,802	35,802	9,813
1831.....			5,619	1841.....			14,863

¹ Ford, Wool and manufactures (1894), p. 304 and fol.; Statistical Abstract (1899), p. 334 (1915), p. 511.

² Census figure, pulled wool excluded.

Wool production, production retained for consumption, and net imports of foreign wool—Continued.

Year.	Production.	Production retained.	Net imports of foreign.	Year.	Production.	Production retained.	Net imports of foreign.
1842.....			10,850	1879.....	211,000	210,939	34,901
1843.....			13,497	1880.....	232,500	232,308	124,484
1844.....			14,078	1881.....	240,000	239,929	50,457
1845.....			23,825	1882.....	272,000	271,884	64,034
1846.....			16,505	1883.....	290,000	289,936	66,561
1847.....			8,249	1884.....	300,000	299,990	76,041
1848.....			11,379	1885.....	308,000	307,912	67,481
1849.....			17,822	1886.....	302,000	301,854	122,551
1850.....	² 64,000	63,964	18,695	1887.....	285,000	284,742	107,310
1851.....			32,578	1888.....	269,000	268,978	109,199
1852.....			17,993	1889.....	265,000	264,853	123,222
1853.....			21,404	1890.....	276,000	275,769	102,142
1854.....			20,033	1891.....	285,000	284,708	126,666
1855.....			18,190	1892.....	294,000	293,798	145,663
1856.....			16,729	1893.....	398,534	348,446	168,211
1857.....			18,460	1894.....	325,211	324,691	49,175
1858.....			25,562	1895.....	294,297	290,018	203,691
1859.....			33,030	1896.....	272,475	265,529	242,885
1860.....	² 72,250	71,194	26,126	1897.....	259,153	253,882	347,424
1861.....			31,639	1898.....	266,721	266,600	130,290
1862.....			43,698	1899.....	272,191	270,508	64,323
1863.....			74,413	1900.....	288,637	286,436	150,226
1864.....			91,027	1901 ³	302,502	302,303	99,993
1865.....			43,741	1902.....	316,341	316,218	163,472
1866.....			70,436	1903.....	287,450	286,931	174,145
1867.....	160,000	159,693	37,539	1904.....	291,783	291,463	170,880
1868.....	168,000	167,442	22,665	1905.....	295,488	295,364	246,698
1869.....	180,000	179,556	38,384	1906.....	298,915	298,723	196,238
1870.....	162,000	161,847	47,520	1907.....	298,295	298,080	200,616
1871.....	160,000	159,975	66,753	1908.....	311,138	310,956	120,296
1872.....	150,000	149,859	124,163	1909.....	328,111	328,082	262,914
1873.....	158,000	157,925	78,456	1910.....	321,363	321,315	259,920
1874.....	170,000	169,680	36,123	1911.....	318,548	318,548	129,442
1875.....	181,000	180,822	51,334	1912.....	304,043	304,043	191,681
1876.....	192,000	191,895	43,124	1913.....	296,175	295,405	190,861
1877.....	200,000	199,920	39,082	1914.....	290,192	289,857	246,444
1878.....	208,250	207,902	42,497	1915.....	288,777	280,619	300,823

¹ Nine months only.² Census figure, including revised estimates (census 1900, vol. 5, 8, cc. XV-XVI), pulled wool excluded.³ Data relate only to United States as a whole (1901-1915). Production (if any) for noncontiguous territory is lacking.Tariff rates on raw wool, 1816-1912.¹

Year.	Rates.
1816....	15 per cent ad valorem.
1824....	Value not over 10 cents per pound, 15 per cent ad valorem.
1828....	Value over 10 cents per pound, 20 per cent first year and 5 per cent increase for two years, making 30 per cent ad valorem after June 1, 1826.
1832....	4 cents per pound and 40 per cent ad valorem, first year, with 5 per cent ad valorem increase for two years, making 4 cents per pound and 50 per cent after July 1, 1830.
1832....	Value not over 8 cents per pound, free.
1833....	Value over 8 cents per pound, 4 cents per pound and 40 per cent.
1833....	Duties of preceding act which were higher than 20 per cent to be reduced 1/10 every two years, beginning Jan. 1, 1834. In 1842, $\frac{1}{2}$ the remainder to be removed, and the residue to be removed July 1, 1842.
1841....	Value not over 8 cents per pound free.
1841....	Value over 8 cents per pound 20 per cent.
1842....	Value not over 7 cents per pound, 5 per cent.
1842....	Value over 7 cents per pound, 3 cents per pound and 30 per cent.
1846....	30 per cent.
1846....	Value not over 20 cents per pound, free.
1857....	Value over 20 cents per pound, 24 per cent.
1857....	Value not over 18 cents per pound, 5 per cent.
1861....	Value over 18 cents per pound to 24 cents per pound, 3 cents.
1861....	Value over 24 cents per pound, 9 cents.
1862....	No change.
1862....	Value not over 12 cents per pound, 3 cents.
1864....	Value over 12 cents per pound to 24 cents per pound, 6 cents.
1864....	Value over 24 cents per pound to 32 cents per pound, 10 cents and 10 per cent.
1864....	Value over 32 cents per pound, 12 cents and 10 per cent.

¹ Raw wool imported free of duty until 1816. This table prepared from Report of the Tariff Board of Schedule K of the Tariff Law, table facing p. 247; and pp. 287, 293-295.

Tariff rates on raw wool, 1816-1912—Continued.

Year.	Rates.
1867 ¹	{Value not over 12 cents per pound, 3 cents} Class III, Carpet Wool. {Value over 12 cents per pound, 6 cents...} Class I and II, Clothing and Comb- {Value not over 32 cents per pound, 10 cents and 11 per cent...} ing Wool. {Value over 32 cents per pound, 12 cents and 10 per cent...}
1872....	{Value not over 12 cents per pound, 2.7 cents} Class III. {Value over 12 cents per pound, 5.4 cents...} Class I and II. {Value not over 32 cents per pound, 9 cents and 9.9 per cent...} Class I and II. {Value over 32 cents per pound, 10.8 cents and 9 per cent...}
1875....	Duties of 1867 restored.
1883....	{Value not over 12 cents per pound, 2½ cents} Class III. {Value over 12 cents per pound, 5 cents...} Class I and II. {Value not over 32 cents per pound, 10 cents...} Class I and II. {Value over 32 cents per pound, 12 cents...} Class III. {Value not over 13 cents per pound, 32 per cent...} Class III. {Value over 13 cents per pound, 50 per cent...}
1890....	Class I, wool, 11 cents. Class II, wool, 12 cents.
1894....	Free.
1897....	{Value not over 12 cents per pound, 4 cents} Class III. {Value over 12 cents per pound, 7 cents...} Class I and II, duties of 1890 restored.
1909....	No change.
1913....	Free.

¹ Act of 1867 and following years, double duty on Class I (clothing) wools, when washed. All wools, when scoured, three times the regular duty.

Price of Ohio washed fleece wool, fine, medium, and coarse, at the beginning of each quarter, calendar years from 1824 to 1915, inclusive, eastern markets.¹

[Currency prices.]

Year.	January.			April.			July.			October.		
	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.
1824.....	Cents. 68	Cents. 53	Cents. 40	Cents. 70	Cents. 46	Cents. 31	Cents. 55	Cents. 40	Cents. 30	Cents. 60	Cents. 40	Cents. 30
1825.....	60	43	32	60	42	33	50	41	32	50	42	36
1826.....	55	43	38	52	46	41	37	30	26	43	37	32
1827.....	36	32	28	45	34	30	37	31	25	43	32	25
1828.....	42	30	25	44	36	28	48	38	33	48	40	32
1829.....	54	45	35	45	35	32	46	36	32	37	30	27
1830.....	40	35	30	50	38	32	60	50	40	70	60	48
1831.....	70	60	48	70	60	50	75	65	50	70	60	50
1832.....	65	55	44	60	52	42	50	42	30	50	40	30
1833.....	55	41	33	63	53	38	61	54	40	65	55	45
1834.....	70	60	48	67	56	44	60	50	40	62	50	40
1835.....	63	50	40	65	60	45	63	56	42	65	60	45
1836.....	65	60	45	68	62	47	70	60	50	70	60	50
1837.....	72	63	48	68	56	46	52	52	36	49	40	31
1838.....	50	42	35	50	42	35	46	36	30	56	48	37
1839.....	56	48	38	56	48	38	57	48	40	60	55	44
1840.....	50	45	38	49	43	36	45	39	33	46	38	33
1841.....	52	45	35	53	46	37	50	44	34	48	42	33
1842.....	48	42	35	46	40	32	43	37	30	38	31	25
1843.....	35	30	25	33	28	25	35	30	26	36	32	26
1844.....	37	30	26	43	36	30	45	37	32	50	40	33
1845.....	47	40	31	45	38	32	40	36	30	38	35	28
1846.....	40	35	30	38	33	28	38	32	27	36	30	22
1847.....	45	40	30	47	40	31	46	40	31	47	40	30
1848.....	45	38	30	43	37	30	38	32	28	33	30	24
1849.....	33	30	23	40	36	30	40	35	28	42	36	30
1850.....	47	40	33	45	37	30	45	37	30	46	40	35
1851.....	46	40	33	50	44	36	47	42	37	45	40	35
1852.....	43	38	34	42	36	33	45	38	33	50	42	37

¹ 1824-1853 from Wright, Wool Growing and the Tariff, p. 347; 1853-1915 from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1899, p. 427; 1915, p. 518. Figures for 1824-1861 are also given in Randall, Fine Wool Sheep Husbandry (1862), p. 41 and following.

Price of Ohio washed fleece wool, fine, medium, and coarse, at the beginning of each quarter, calendar years from 1824 to 1915, inclusive, eastern markets—Continued.

Year.	January.			April.			July.			October.		
	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.
	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
1853.....	58	56	50	62	56	50	60	53	48	55	50	48
1854.....	53	47	42	57	52	46	45	37	30	42	36	30
1855.....	40	35	32	43	35	32	50	40	33	52	41	36
1856.....	50	38	35	57	45	38	55	42	36	60	55	45
1857.....	58	50	42	60	56	45	56	50	40	38	30	25
1858.....	40	33	27	42	35	30	43	37	30	56	41	36
1859.....	60	52	45	60	46	37	56	40	35	60	50	42
1860.....	60	50	42	52	45	40	55	50	40	50	45	40
1861.....	45	40	37	45	37	32	38	30	22	47	48	50
1862.....	48	50	50	46	45	43	48	47	45	60	60	63
1863.....	75	68	70	80	85	80	75	70	65	85	80	76
1864.....	80	78	76	78	77	72	100	100	90	103	95	100
1865.....	102	100	96	80	80	75	75	73	65	75	75	65
1866.....	70	65	50	65	60	48	70	67	60	63	60	56
1867.....	68	63	50	60	55	50	55	49	45	48	46	40
1868.....	48	43	38	50	48	45	46	45	43	48	48	45
1869.....	50	50	48	50	50	48	48	48	47	48	48	46
1870.....	48	46	44	48	47	46	46	45	43	48	48	44
1871.....	47	46	43	50	52	47	62	60	55	63	62	58
1872.....	70	72	66	80	80	76	72	70	65	66	60	57
1873.....	70	68	65	56	53	48	50	48	44	54	53	47
1874.....	58	54	47	56	56	47	53	53	46	54	54	47
1875.....	55	56	47	54	52	46	52	49	46	48	50	42
1876.....	48	52	42	46	49	40	38	45	31	45	40	32
1877.....	46	43	36	45	40	33	50	34	37	48	44	36
1878.....	44	45	38	40	43	35	36	36	32	35	37	32
1879.....	34	35	32	34	34	31	37	38	34	41	43	38
1880.....	50	55	48	55	60	52	46	48	42	46	48	42
1881.....	47	49	43	40	44	37	42	44	36	43	46	36
1882.....	44	46	37	42	45	34	42	45	34	42	45	34
1883.....	40	43	33	44	44	37	39	41	33	39	40	34
1884.....	40	40	34	38	38	34	35	34	30	35	34	30
1885.....	34	33	29	32	32	28	32	31	28	33	35	32
1886.....	35	36	32	33	34	30	33	33	29	35	38	34
1887.....	33	38	34	33	37	33	34	37	34	32	36	34
1888.....	31	35	33	31	34	33	29	33	31	31	34	31
1889.....	34	38	33	33	37	31	35	39	32	33	37	31
1890.....	33	37	29	32	36	29	33	37	29	33	37	31
1891.....	33	37	31	32	37	31	31	35	29	31	35	30
1892.....	30	35	31	29	34	31	28	34	30	29	33	29
1893.....	29	33	29	30	32	31	24	26	25	23	24	21
1894.....	23	24	21	21	23	20	20	21	18	19	21	19
1895.....	17½	20	19	16½	20	18	18	21	19	18	21	19
1896.....	19	21½	19	19	21	18	17	18	17	18	19	18
1897.....	19	21	19	21	22½	20	21½	23½	21	27	29	25
1898.....	29	30	26	29	29½	25½	28	29	24½	30	24½	21
1899.....	26½	29	24	25½	28	24	29	31½	27	31	33½	29
1900.....	35	36½	31½	32½	35½	30½	28½	31½	27½	26½	28½	26½
1901.....	27	29	26	25	27	24½	25	26	22	25	26½	23
1902.....	25½	26½	24	25	26½	24	26	26½	25	28	28½	25½
1903.....	30	31	27	29½	30½	26	31½	31½	27	32	31½	28
1904.....	33½	32½	29½	33½	32½	29½	32½	32½	30½	32½	33½	31½
1905.....	34	35	36	34	36	36	36	39	36	35	35	34
1906.....	34	38	36	34	38	36	33	37	36	34	38	33
1907.....	34	39	36	34	38	36	34	36	35	35	38	34
1908.....	34	38	35	33	35	33	34	38	36	34	37	34
1909.....	34	38	35	35	40	37	35	40	37	35	40	36
1910.....	36	40	36	33	36	35	31	34	33	30	33	32
1911.....	30	34	32	30	33	32	28	30	30	30	32	31
1912.....	30	32	31	30	33	31	32	35	33	30	37	34
1913.....	30	36	34	29	35	33	27	34	33	26	33	30
1914.....	25	30	27	26	31	27	28	33	31	27	30	30
1915.....	29	36	34	31	39	36	30	39	37	31	42	40

Price of the above grades, gold basis, 1862-1879, inclusive.¹

Year.	January.			April.			July.			October.		
	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.
1862.....	46 ³	48 ³	48 ³	45 ¹	44 ¹	42 ¹	41 ²	40 ³	39	46 ³	46 ³	49
1863.....	51 ³	46 ³	48 ¹	52 ³	56	52 ³	57 ²	53 ²	49 ³	57 ²	54 ¹	51 ²
1864.....	51 ²	50	48 ³	45 ¹	44 ²	41 ³	38 ³	38 ³	34 ³	49 ³	46	48 ⁴
1865.....	47 ¹	46 ¹	44 ²	53 ³	53 ³	50 ²	52 ³	51 ²	45 ³	51 ²	51 ²	44 ³
1866.....	50	46 ²	35 ³	51	47 ¹	37 ³	46 ¹	44 ¹	39 ²	42 ²	40 ²	37 ³
1867.....	50 ²	39 ²	37 ¹	44 ¹	40 ²	36 ³	39	35 ¹	32 ¹	33 ²	32	28
1868.....	34 ²	31	27 ²	36	34 ²	32 ²	32 ¹	31 ²	30 ¹	35	35	32 ³
1869.....	36 ³	36 ³	35 ²	37 ²	37 ²	36	35 ¹	35 ¹	34 ²	36 ³	36 ³	35 ¹
1870.....	39 ²	38	36 ¹	42 ²	41 ²	40 ³	39 ²	38 ²	36 ³	42 ²	42 ²	39
1871.....	42 ²	41 ²	38 ³	45 ¹	47	42 ²	55 ¹	53 ²	49	55 ³	54 ³	51 ¹
1872.....	64 ¹	66	60 ²	72	72	68 ²	63	61 ¹	57	58 ¹	53	50 ¹
1873.....	62	60 ¹	57 ³	47 ²	45	40 ³	43 ¹	41 ²	38	49 ²	48 ³	43 ¹
1874.....	52	48 ²	42 ¹	49 ²	49 ²	41 ²	48 ¹	48 ¹	41 ²	49 ¹	49 ¹	42 ³
1875.....	49	49 ³	41 ³	47	45 ¹	40	45 ¹	42 ³	40	41 ¹	43	36
1876.....	42 ²	46	37 ¹	40 ²	43 ¹	35 ¹	34	34 ¹	27 ³	40 ²	36	29 ³
1877.....	43 ¹	40 ³	34	42 ¹	37 ³	31	47 ¹	41 ²	35	46 ³	42 ³	35
1878.....	43 ¹	44 ¹	37 ²	39 ²	42 ²	34 ²	35 ²	35 ²	31 ²	34 ²	36 ²	31 ²

¹ Based on statement of average relative values of gold to United States paper currency in the New York market from suspension to resumption of specie payments during a period of 17 years, from 1862 to 1878, both inclusive, prepared by the U. S. Treasury Department.

Nevada.....	5.3	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.0	5.0	6.9	6.3	7.2	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.5	7.2	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.5	7.2	7.4	7.4	7.2	7.2	
Idaho.....	5.0	4.0	5.6	6.0	6.0	6.9	7.8	7.3	5.5	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.0	7.0	7.5	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.5	7.4	7.4	7.4	7.5	7.2
Washington.....	5.2	6.1	6.7	7.3	8.0	7.5	7.8	7.8	7.5	8.4	8.1	8.4	7.3	7.6	7.7	7.5	7.8	7.6	7.6	7.6	7.7	7.8	7.9	7.9	8.3	7.5
Oregon.....	5.7	6.4	8.1	6.9	7.0	7.2	7.3	7.5	7.6	8.0	7.5	8.3	8.2	7.7	7.9	8.2	8.0	7.9	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.0	8.3	8.0	8.3	7.7
California.....	5.1	4.9	5.2	4.5	5.5	5.1	5.2	5.5	5.3	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.3	5.5	5.3	5.9	8.0	8.1	8.1	8.1	8.2	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.1	5.8
United States.....	4.9	5.3	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.8	5.9	6.1	6.4	6.6	6.7	6.7	6.8	6.7	6.7	6.6	6.8	6.8	6.7	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.9

Prepared by Bureau of Crop Estimates, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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IV. DR. JOHN MITCHELL, NATURALIST, CARTOGRAPHER,
AND HISTORIAN.

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DR. JOHN MITCHELL, NATURALIST, CARTOGRAPHER, AND HISTORIAN.

By LYMAN CARRIER.

Brief statements regarding Dr. John Mitchell are to be found in several biographical works. Some of the best of these sketches are in the Dictionary of National Biography, Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, and Kelley's Some American Medical Botanists. All of these agree in the main; but all are equally unsatisfactory in that they give such meager accounts of the principal events of his life and fail to recognize the true value of his labors. Some contain erroneous statements. Blake's Biographical Dictionary gives the year 1772 as the date of Mitchell's death, evidently an error which has been copied by a few other biographers.¹ This appears to be definitely settled by an obituary notice in the Gentlemen's Magazine for March, 1768, where appears this brief item: "Dr. Mitchell, who made the New Map of America." The account in the Dictionary of National Biography is as follows:

Mitchell, John (d. 1768), botanist, born and educated in England, graduated M. D., although at what university is uncertain. There were several John Mitchells at Oxford at the beginning of the 18th century, more than one at Cambridge, and one at Leyden, but none of these can be positively identified with the botanist. Mitchell is said to have emigrated to America about 1700, and resided in Virginia, at Urbanna, on the Rappahannock River, about 73 miles from Richmond.

The account then goes on to enumerate his writings. We find that he was married, but to whom or when is unknown; a note written by Peter Collinson on a letter he was transmitting from J. F. Gronovius (Leyden, Jan. 2, 1746)² to John Bartram, says that:

"Dr. Mitchell is arrived safe with his wife at London and is much recovered."

For several years Dr. Mitchell suffered from ill health, the cause, probably, of his return to England. John Bartram writing to Gronovius (Dec. 6, 1745)³ states that:

"Dr. Mitchell lodged several nights at my house. Last year he came up to town for the advantage of better health. He is an ingenious man, but his constitution is miserably broken and if he don't remove soon from Virginia he can't continue long in the land of the living."

¹ Wm. Darlington, Memorials to John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, p. 363 (Philadelphia, 1849).

² Loc. cit., p. 356.

³ Loc. cit., p. 353.

Collinson, in a letter to Linnaeus (May 8, 1749)⁴, gives the encouraging information that "Dr. Mitchell is well." But Mitchell to Bartram, in letters one and two years later, stated that he had contracted a "vertiginous disorder" from too much writing, which prevented him from even writing "a letter, especially that requires any thought, without being sensibly the worse for it." In view of the subsequent voluminous products of his pen one must conclude that he either recovered from this affliction or labored on in spite of his infirmities.

This fragmentary account of the principal events of Mitchell's life seems to embrace all of a personal nature that is known at present. Fortunately, however, most, if not all, of his writings are preserved, and taken together they show a very busy and useful life.

Dr. Mitchell, like many other physicians of his time, became interested in botany. The first of his writings to be published of which there is any record is entitled "Dissertatio brevis de principiis Botanicum et zoologorum," written in 1738 and dedicated to Hans Sloane. This was followed in 1741 by another botanical paper, "Nova Plantarum Genera." These were offered for publication through that clearing house of botanists conducted by Peter Collinson in London. The second paper was dedicated to Collinson. The disposition of these papers was indicated in a letter from Dr. Mitchell to Linnaeus dated London September 20, 1748.⁵

"Mr. Trew, to whom Mr. Collinson sent a few small papers of mine, informs us that they have appeared in the last volume of the Nuremberg Transactions (Vol. 8 Ephemerides Academiae Naturae curiosum). They consist of a dissertation on a new botanical principle, derived from the sexual theory, which I think accords with your ideas and if I mistake not our systems support each other; also characters of several new genera of plants sent seven years ago from Virginia. I long to know your opinion upon them which I hold in high estimation. Some of these genera have I believe appeared in your last publications and those of Gronovious."

Of the 30 genera which Mitchell described in 1741, 24 were proposed as new; 9 of these were certainly original and have been confirmed as true genera by subsequent botanists. Only two of Mitchell's names have been retained, *Acnida* and *Pentstemon*. Linnaeus changed his *Leptostachia* to *Phryma*, *Memaecylum* to *Epigaea*, *Viticella* to *Galax*, *Chamaedaphne* to *Mitchella*, and *Angiopteris* to *Onoclea*. His *Corion* is now known as *Spergularia* and his *Aphyllon* as *Thalasia*. *Malachodendron* was original when written and a true genus, but the name *Stewartia* was used for that genus prior to the publication of Mitchell's work. It is quite likely that the others, all of which except two are considered as true genera to-day, were original as far as Mitchell was concerned, although described previously, as

⁴ Sir James Edward Smith, *Selections from the correspondence of Linnaeus*, I. 24 (London, 1821).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* II, 448.

it appears, by other botanists. In 1769 these two tracts were combined and published in book form.

Dr. Mitchell did a great deal of collecting of botanical material for other botanists and his skill and knowledge were highly regarded by Linnaeus, Dillenius, and Gronovius. Mitchell was one of the first to recognize the merits of the Linnaean system and to master its technical details. He carried on a very extensive correspondence not only with botanists, but with prominent colonists in all parts of America. He was not acquainted with Bartram when that botanist visited Virginia in 1738, but afterwards several letters passed between them. This correspondence was evidently initiated by Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell in 1744 visited Pennsylvania where he became personally acquainted with both Bartram and Franklin.

Early in 1746 Mitchell sailed for England with a collection of "more than a thousand specimens" on the *St. Malo*. This ship was captured by a Spanish privateer who took all of Mitchell's belongings and landed the owner in England in a "destitute condition." His collections were finally returned to him by the way of France, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and London, but his botanical specimens were ruined, "to the great misfortune of botany," as stated by Linnaeus. Dr. Mitchell immediately tried to obtain a fresh supply of material from America in order to continue his botanical studies. After the death of Dillenius which occurred soon after Mitchell returned to England, Mitchell was commissioned by Collinson to answer a letter Linnaeus had written to Dillenius. Several letters passed between them and Linnaeus frequently referred to Mitchell in his correspondence with other botanists. As a further token of his regard Linnaeus in 1753 bestowed the name *Mitchella repens* on the partridge berry first described by Mitchell.

He became acquainted with the Duke of Argyle and Lord Bute, two of the few noblemen of England who patronized botanists after the death of Lord Petre. We find him in 1747 ordering plants and seeds from Bartram for both of these men, and two years later he made a botanical trip over Scotland with the Duke.⁶ Ill health and pecuniary reasons appear to have forced Mitchell much against his will from his favorite botanical studies. We find him writing to Bartram in 1747 that "Botany is at a very low ebb in England," and in 1755 Collinson wrote to Linnaeus that "Dr. Mitchell has left botany for some time." However, a letter from Mitchell to the Royal Society dated from Kew in 1759 makes one believe that he never entirely lost his interest in botanical matters.

Dr. Mitchell was interested in many sciences other than botany. Of the practice of his profession there is little of record. Dr. Kelley

⁶ Wm. Darlington, *Memorials to John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall*, 365-367 (Philadelphia, 1849).

says, "It is assumed that he practiced medicine and the amount of writing on botanical and other subjects may have been the result of unusually healthy neighbors and much leisure." The inferences in this quotation do not seem to be justified. The low lands of eastern Virginia have never been unusually healthful, and it is difficult to conceive of Dr. Mitchell as ever having any leisure. It is a safer guess that he was very actively engaged in the practice of medicine up until his own health failed and that he took up the study of botany because, as he wrote Linnaeus, he was interested in the "virtues of plants * * * a part of botany to which I have paid particular attention." He wrote in 1744 a lengthy report on the epidemics of yellow fever which prevailed in Virginia in the years 1737, 1741, and 1743, giving his observations on the many cases which he treated. This paper was given to Benjamin Franklin to be presented to a society for the promotion of useful knowledge which had been organized at Philadelphia. Franklin referred the report to Dr. Cadwallader Colden of Albany for criticism. This report, together with Colden's letter of comments and Dr. Mitchell's reply, came into the hands of Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia some years later and was made the basis of Dr. Rush's treatment of an outbreak of that disease which occurred in Philadelphia in 1793. At Dr. Rush's suggestion these papers were printed in the *American Medical and Philosophical Register* (vol. 4). The editors of that publication in commenting on Dr. Mitchell stated: "With Chalmers and Lining of South Carolina and Alexander and Colden of New York he has done much for the advancement of medical and physical science on this side of the Atlantic." Thacher⁷ said, "Few physicians who have lived in our country have been more justly celebrated for originality of genius and accuracy of observation than Dr. Mitchell. He lived to practice his profession nearly 50 years in Virginia."

Before he left Virginia Dr. Mitchell prepared an essay entitled "The causes of the different colors of people in different climates." This was read by Peter Collinson at the meetings of the Royal Society between May 3 and June 14, 1744, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. 43, p. 102). It was written as the solution of a prize problem proposed by the academy at Bordeaux. Another essay on the "Preparation and uses of various kinds of potash" was read before the Royal Society at the meetings of November 17 and 24, 1748 (vol. 45, p. 541), and Mitchell was made a fellow of that society on December 15 of that year. He also became interested in electricity and presented one of Franklin's first papers on the "Sameness of lightning and electricity" to the Royal Society.⁸

⁷ James Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, p. 393 (Boston, 1828).

⁸ Jared Sparks, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. I, p. 209.

He reported to Franklin that it was "laughed at by the connoisseurs." Mitchell, himself, contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions* a paper dated December, 1759, "Concerning the force of electrical cohesion."

Chemistry also claimed his attention. We find him writing to Franklin and Bartram, in 1747, for "a specimen of the water which turns iron to copper and the earth salts, etc., about it which I would analyze." There is no record that he obtained it. Perhaps that spring had gone dry before his request reached America.

Dr. Mitchell does not indicate in any of the letters to his friends the nature of his work after he landed in England and prior to his trip to Scotland except as previously noted that it required a large amount of writing and that it was not connected with botany. He wrote Bartram, "I have been obliged to give over my botanical studies for some time" (letter Aug. 1, 1750).⁹ As it was necessary for him to earn a livelihood it is natural to suppose that he was writing about American affairs. His subsequent publications furnish a clew to his activities of that period.

There had been a company composed of T. Woodward and a number of other gentlemen organized in London to revise and republish the Harris Collection of Voyages and Travels, which had been first issued in 1705. This was an expensive undertaking as the work was issued in two large folio volumes in full leather binding. The first volume of the revised edition was published in 1744, but the second did not appear until 1748. There were several improvements in the new edition over the original, notably "An account of the English discoveries and settlements in America" in the second volume. The name of the author was not given. The exact year in which this account was written is indicated as 1746 in the following extract:

I make no scruple of affirming that if due care was taken * * * all the expense necessary to establish the silk trade there (Georgia) would not amount to above one year's purchase of the profits, five and twenty years hence; by which I mean, that the advantages accruing from this colony to Great Britain in 1771.¹⁰

For the sake of brevity this account will be referred to as "The English in America." Another edition of Harris's *Voyages and Travels* was issued in 1764, and "The English in America" was copied in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels* in 1819. This article on "The English in America" was a comprehensive work and would fill about two ordinary octavo volumes. It was especially strong in the descriptions of the natural products of America and the agricultural practices of the colonists. Several passages will be quoted below which show that the author was a naturalist of no mean ability and that he had first-hand information in regard to those subjects. So

⁹ Darlington, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ John Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 488 (London, 1819).

far as available evidence indicates no one has been given credit for this "English in America." The editor, John Campbell, was a voluminous writer, but in none of his writings does he show any definite knowledge of American affairs, and in some of his later publications he uses arguments in regard to colonial matters directly contradictory to those used in this account.

Without direct evidence bearing on the case, the circumstances indicate clearly that Dr. Mitchell was the author. What has previously been said bears out this supposition and further proof will be given later when extracts from this account are compared with some of Mitchell's other publications.

Two questions naturally arise: Why was he not credited with the authorship and why did he not inform his friends in America about the nature of his work? It is apparent that it would not be to the credit of such an elaborate publication if it were known that a large portion of it was written by a man without any reputation as a historian. It would be safer to let the reading public judge the work on its merits. As the author's name was not to appear he was undoubtedly pledged to secrecy in regard to his part in the matter. The historical portions of that treatise are based largely on the relations and journals of explorers and travelers published many years previously by Hakluyt, Purchas, Churchill, Harris, and Smith.

At the beginning of the hostilities which preceded the French and Indian War, Mitchell was employed by the British Government to prepare a map of North America and to report on the condition of the colonies. This map was first published in 1755. It was 40 by 70 inches in size. A French version was published at Paris in 1756 and a second and improved edition appeared in 1757, which was reprinted in 1782. Mitchell's map needs more than passing notice. Of its preparation John Pownall, secretary for the lords of trade, testified under date of February 13, 1755:¹¹

This map was undertaken with the approbation and at the request of the lord commissioners for trades and plantations, and is chiefly composed from draughts, charts, and actual surveys of different parts of his majesty's colonies and plantations in America; great part of which have been lately taken by their lordships' orders and transmitted to this office by the governors of the said colonies and others.

Smith in his *History of New York*, 1814, page 218, says:

Dr. Mitchell's map is the only authentic one extant. None of the rest concerning America have passed under the examination or received the sanction of any public board, and they generally copy the French.

Richard Jackson writing from England to Jared Eliot under date of February 16, 1755,¹² says:

¹¹ Statement engraved on the original map.

¹² From unpublished correspondence of Jared Eliot in possession of Yale University.

"To these I have added another thing that I hope will be equally acceptable. It is Dr. Mitchells New Map of the English and French possessions in North America. Yours will probably [be] the first that reaches your Province, perhaps, few will get sooner to America for I shall pack it up the Day the Doctor Publishes it. he has had all the assistance the Board of Trade were capable of giving him but this makes but a small part of what his industry has procured for his purpose. As I have been a good deal conversant in Maps in general and am pretty well acquainted with America in Particular, I have some reason to assure you, that whereas till now we have had nothing that has deserved the name of a Map of America, this is superior to most of ye best Improved Maps of Europe. Yet you will not find it perhaps quite so perfect in New England as ye author wd. have made it had he been able to have got a sight of Dr. Douglas's Map of that Country; which ye Doctors Directions in his will preventing his seeing."

In another letter from the same source (London, Aug. 13, 1755) Mr. Jackson states:

"I am uneasy your box should tarry so long at Boston, as I directed it, according to your desire. I was so fortunate as to procure Dr. Mitchells great Map near 3 weeks before it was made publick and that the Day before the Ship Sailed as I earnestly desired your assembly should have the use of it in time. I was much pleased with my good fortune. I should otherwise have had it pasted on Canvass and coloured as you will see some done. You have before this a much better Map of New England, one by Dr. Douglas direction engraved in London and sent over to Boston you will observe by Dr. Mitchells Ingraver Car[e]lessness notwithstanding the great pains ye Dr. took a few errors; among the[m] was the town of Worcester in Massachusetts is called Leicester so there are 2 Leicesters."

Collinson, writing to Linnaeus April 10, 1755,¹³ gives this further information:

"Dr. Mitchell * * * has wholly employed himself in making a map or chart of all North America which is now published in eight large sheets for a guinea and coloured for a guinea and a half. It is the most perfect of any before published and is universally approved. He will get a good sum of money by it which he deserves for the immense labour and pains he has taken to perfect it."

What makes this map of peculiar interest to Americans is the fact that it was the one used at the peace council at the close of the Revolutionary War, and was often referred to in the boundary disputes which followed. Franklin, during his last illness and nine days previous to his death, wrote to Jefferson in answer to an inquiry in regard to this matter, stating, "I remember distinctly the map we used in tracing the boundary was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell above 20 years before." The controversy was not settled until a copy of this map with boundary lines marked with notations in the handwriting of George III was found among the State papers in England many years later.¹⁴ This map confirmed the American contentions.

¹³ Sir James Edward Smith, *Selections of the Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 34 (London, 1821).

¹⁴ Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical Hist. of America*, VII, 181 (New York, 1888).

Accompanying this map a voluminous report was submitted on the condition of the colonies. This was published in book form in 1757, entitled "The Contest in America Between Great Britain and France by an Impartial Hand." The Contest in America has been credited to Dr. Mitchell by bibliographers, but Sabin states: "This book has also been ascribed to Dr. Oliver Goldsmith." As the preparation and publication of *The Contest* correspond in time to the wandering minstrel period of Goldsmith's career and prior to his literary labors, this was a poor guess. It is stated definitely in *American Husbandry* that Dr. Mitchell wrote both *The Contest* and *The Present State*. The *London Monthly Review*, July, 1757, gave an extensive criticism of the book, from which the following is an extract:

An inequality of style a want of method and a disgusting iteration of the same observations manifestly betray too much haste in the present publication * * * It abounds with truths hitherto perhaps not generally attended to and with observations and proposals that indicate the author's knowledge of the subject.

Had the critic known a little more about the circumstances which occasioned the writing of this book and the purpose for which it was written, he might have been more inclined to overlook its literary faults.

Dr. Mitchell realized perhaps better than any other man in England at that time the great possibilities of the regions along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in America and the impossibility of the English colonies existing as a "string to the French bow." He also possessed a remarkable vision of the ultimate importance of America and the great source of power it would give to Great Britain to remain in control of her Colonies here. With his map and this report he showed how the French were gaining control of 19 parts of America north of the Spanish possessions, and leaving the British in possession of but one. He argued for the peaceful, just, and speedy settlement of the boundary disputes among the English colonies and the uniting of these colonies, not in one group, because of the lack of means of communication, but into three—northern, middle, and southern—for their own self-protection. "But at the time," says Mitchell, "when the French made most of their encroachment on us about the year 1730, both Britain and many of the colonies seemed to be in a state of warfare with New England." It was the iteration of such observation which offended the literary taste of the critic on the *Monthly Review*. Mitchell evidently intended to make his report so clear that the dullest mind in the British Government might grasp the true state of affairs in America. To Mitchell as well as to Gov. Thomas Pownall should be given the credit for furnishing the great Pitt his accurate and comprehensive knowledge of American geography. Mitchell's report and map antedate by at

least a year Pownall's Topographical Description of North America, and reproduced Evans's map. Pownall's biographers usually give him exclusive credit for supplying Pitt with his information. The energetic and successful conduct of the war which followed the filing of these reports is well known.

Publishing books anonymously was quite common 150 years ago, and Mitchell seems to have possessed that habit to an aggravated degree. There is good reason for thinking that he was the writer of another publication of which the authorship has never been determined. In his first letter to Linnaeus he wrote, "I am inclined to give the publick something on the natural and medical history of North America, if not a history itself at which I have long laboured."¹⁵ It would be a natural undertaking for a man who had written a partial historical account of America to attempt to prepare a complete history, especially when his future employment gave him access to much useful information along that line. Rich¹⁶ lists a publication entitled "A New and Complete History of the British Empire in America," 1756, on which he comments:

"I have a copy of a work which was commenced about this time and issued in numbers of twenty-four pages each without any title pages, the titles as given above being found on the first page of two of the three volumes into which it is divided. The first volume contains an introduction of 52 pages and an account of Hudsons Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England in 402 pages. The second continues the history of New England and gives that of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 496 pages. The third contains Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina ending abruptly at 272. The volumes contain several very well executed maps and plates, but the work was apparently left in this unfinished state which accounts for its being so little known."

All of which, the scope, title, arrangement, and maps is typically Mitchellesque. A copy of this rare work has been obtained from the Harvard University Library and compared with Mitchell's other publications. The style and text in all these books is strikingly similar, yet it seems necessary to compare it with but one, *The Contest in America and Mitchell's Map*, to prove that he was the author of this *History of America*.

That the author of the history was a botanist will be shown later and that he had some connection with the British Government is indicated by numerous state papers which are reproduced. The maps mentioned by Rich are copies of Mitchell's map reproduced on a much smaller scale, the difference between them being merely the elimination of the names of certain towns made necessary by the smaller size and a few corrections of boundary lines. In addi-

¹⁵ Sir James Edward Smith, *Selections from the Correspondence of Linnaeus*, II, 443-4 (London, 1821).

¹⁶ Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, 1846.

tion to the original Mitchell map is a large red line extending through all the colonies, showing the bounds in which the French, by their encroachments in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys were confining the English. This line coincides exactly with the description of this line given in the text of *The Contest in America*. This evidence would seem to be conclusive that both were the work of one man, as the *History of America* appeared after the publication of Mitchell's map and the filing of his report but prior to the publication of the report as *The Contest in America*.

The date 1756 for the publishing of the *History of America* is quite definitely established in a note to the reader at the end of Volume II. This history is of value now chiefly as a rarity. The historical data dealing with the discoveries and settlements of the colonies evidently are from the same sources and quite similar to those in the Harris account of the English in America. The most interesting parts are those dealing with the French encroachments or the disputes leading to the French and Indian War. Written in the midst of that war, it gives a vivid picture and intimate description of those troublesome times. One point he makes is worth noting and that is that English explorations, contrary to most modern historical accounts, preceded the French in the territory drained by the Ohio River. As these items help identify Mr. Mitchell as the author of the history, they follow:

A large branch of the Ohio called Wood River²⁷ from Colonel Wood, of Virginia, who discovered it first in 1654, and several times afterwards, of which an authentic account is to be seen in the archives of the Royal Society besides the accounts we have of that discovery from our historians; this large branch of the Ohio, I say, rises in the mountains of South Carolina, and runs through that province, and all North Carolina to the middle of Virginia. (*The Contest in America*, p. 176.)

As this country belongs to Virginia, being within its grant, the inhabitants of that province began pretty early to visit it. Colonel Wood particularly, who dwelt at the falls of James River, in 1654, sent proper persons; who, passing the Allegheny Mountains, entered the country of the Ohio, and in ten years space discovered several branches not only of that river, but also of the Mississippi itself.

The Virginians, invited by the fertility of the country and friendly behavior of the Indians, continued their visits thither; and although they made no settlements, yet they traded with the natives, and many private persons went and resided among them for the greater conveniency of carrying on that trade. (*Hist. of America*, vol. 3, p. 195.)

There are no such lands to be found in all the British dominions in North America, but on the Ohio and Mississippi, from which the colonies are excluded by these regulations. Before the war they were settled on the river Ohio, Wood river, Holston and Cumberland rivers, beyond the Apalachean Mountains. (*The Present State*, p. 350.)

²⁷ Now known as New River.

It appears futile to speculate on the reasons why this publication was stopped. It ends abruptly in the middle of a word, indicating that it was not due to lack of copy. One possibility may be worth mentioning. The publishers of Harris's *Voyages and Travels* had a special copyright which protected their work from copying or abridging and which did not expire until 1758. As many passages in the *History of America* unquestionably infringe on the earlier publication, it may have been suppressed for that reason.

Mitchell must have been greatly chagrined and disappointed when George III and Lord Bute, then (1763) prime minister with a peace at any price policy, bartered their just claim, as he considered it, to the region west of the Mississippi River for Canada and Florida, to which they really had no right and which at that time were of little value. Then came the proclamation of October 7, 1763, designed to placate the Ohio Indians, which prohibited the English from settling west of the Allegheny Mountains. On top of this came the onerous stamp tax and Mitchell prepared another book, *The Present State of Great Britain and North America*, which was published anonymously in 1767. This has since been generally credited to Dr. Mitchell. A criticism similar to the one which greeted *The Contest in America*, although not quite so caustic, appeared in the *Monthly Review* of March, 1767. The critic was willing to admit that the author knew something of the subject about which he was writing, but volunteered the advice that he be less diffuse if he carried out his intimated intentions of writing further. In *The Present State* Mitchell called attention to the bad bargain which Britain had made at the close of the French and Indian War, and the need of immediately developing the Ohio Valley which necessitated the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

His argument against the policy of the British Government in taxing the colonies was one of the strongest ever written. He presented a convincing array of facts and figures showing how one-half the value of all the English colonies' products was consumed in transporting them to England in English ships, which accrued directly to the wealth of Great Britain, how the other half was spent for goods manufactured in Great Britain on which taxes had been collected, and how the balance of trade, represented by debts which the colonists owed the merchants of England, was heavily against America, rendering it impossible for the colonies to pay in money which they did not have and could not obtain except by engaging in manufacturing and commerce in direct competition with England.

Seven years after his death Mitchell's greatest work was printed in London. It was in two volumes and sold for 11 shillings. The title was "American Husbandry," by "An American." The title page gives the further information that they were printed for J. Bew, in Pater

Noster Row, London, 1775. It was unfortunate that the publishing of these books was delayed until that time—the beginning of the Revolutionary War. They evidently had a very limited sale and were soon forgotten. For some unaccountable reason this publication has been consistently overlooked by bibliographers of British and American books. The only one to which the writer has had access which mentions it is Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, 1846. Sabin lists "American Husbandry, see Arthur Young." This may mean these books or it might refer to a chapter by that title in Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, as Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* was never completed. There are no confirmatory statements that Mitchell wrote *American Husbandry*, and this is probably the first time he has ever been credited with its authorship. Mr. B. B. Woodward, assistant in charge of the general library of the British Museum (natural history), was unable to ascertain anything about the author or the history of the books.

That Dr. Mitchell had in mind the preparation of just such a work as *American Husbandry* is shown in the following extract from the preface to *The Present State*:

To form a better judgment concerning the colonies it would be necessary to give an account of every one of them in particular: to consider the nature of the soil and climate and what it produces or is fit to produce for the benefit of the nation, this we have endeavored to supply by a few notes in order to explain many things which appear to be but little understood. But as these can give but an imperfect idea of many subjects treated of in them a more particular account shall be given in a second part of this discourse if we find that design is approved of. We may then also consider more particularly the several staple commodities that may be made in the plantations for the benefit of the nation and the ways of making them and give a more particular account of what they now make or of the produce of the colonies as well as their exports and imports.

Statements to the same effect may be found on pages 135, 138, and 246. *American Husbandry* describes the several British colonies in America, beginning with Nova Scotia and taking them in geographic order to the Bahama Islands. The order followed in *American Husbandry* is almost identically the same as the outline proposed for the *History of North America*.

As a review of *American Husbandry* is being prepared for publication elsewhere,¹⁸ an extensive discussion of it here will not be given. Suffice to say that it is the most accurate and comprehensive account of the English colonies in America and gives by far the best description of their agricultural practices of all our colonial literature. The recommendations for the improvement of farming compare favorably with those of any modern textbook on the subject and are much superior in style and presentation to any other English or

¹⁸ *Journal of the American Society of Agronomy*, 1919, vol. 11, No. 5.

American agricultural books of the eighteenth century. The *Monthly Review* of January, 1776, devoted 10 pages to a scathing denunciation of this work. The critic states:

As we are but little acquainted with the practice of North American farming, we shall not detain our readers on the Continent.

The review is taken up almost wholly in picking flaws in the recommendations for the sugar planters of Jamaica. Whether this tirade is justified or not the writer is not sufficiently informed on sugar-cane culture to say. The closing lines of this criticism, however, show which foot the shoe pinched.

It would have been commendable, perhaps not unuseful, to collect and reduce to order all that lies scattered in different volumes and essays upon this subject, and the compiler, as such, would have been allowed no small degree of merit. But when we find this pretended Yankee attempting to foist himself upon us for the genuine Simon Pure, assuming airs of self-sufficiency and dictating to us with intolerable presumption, he deserves the severest castigation for his imposture, his arrogance, and his folly.

In a footnote to this review is the statement:

A correspondent who seems impatient for our sentiment concerning this work thinks that every passage of it discovers the industrious hand of that eminent book builder, Mr. A——r Y——g.

This evidently refers to Arthur Young. The correspondence between George Washington and Arthur Young after the Revolution discloses such an unfamiliarity with American agriculture on the part of Young as to prove beyond doubt that he was not the author of this work. The only reason for thinking that Young might have prepared these books is that he was the best and most prominent agricultural writer in England at the time of their publication. That *American Husbandry* has the appearance of being the work of a compiler is due to the large number of quotations which it contains, Dr. Mitchell's name appearing some 15 times. It would seem to have been the intention of the one who presented that manuscript for publication to cover up Dr. Mitchell's part in its preparation by frequently quoting *The Present State* and paying a nice tribute to Dr. Mitchell's ability. It was very unlike Mitchell to say anything about himself, although he frequently used the same material more than once without quotation marks in his writings. As there is no description of a colony in *American Husbandry* to which parallel passages may not be found either in *The Present State* or in Mitchell's histories, the manuscript must have been in a fairly complete condition at the time of Mitchell's death. The absence of serious errors is also strong evidence that it was not the work of a mere compiler.

There is a marked improvement of literary style in this publication over Mitchell's previous works, credit for which may be due the

editor. A fairly good index is also added, a feature which does not appear in any other of Mitchell's books. There are evidences of some additions. Quotations from two reports with dates subsequent to Mitchell's death are to be found in the second volume. These may have been inserted as "filler," as the second volume lacks 150 pages of being as large as the first.

It would be interesting to know who was responsible for the publication of this work, and why it was put out anonymously, but these are problems which do not now seem possible of solution. That the editor knew little of American affairs appears almost certain or he would not have followed so blindly Mitchell's thoughts and recommendations.

It is never easy to prove the authorship of an anonymous publication by a comparison of literary styles. When it comes to proving the parentage of a whole family of literary orphans the task is still more difficult. Literary style is an elusive thing not easily described, but it is a reality to a student of any writer's books. A number of quotations follow from these several books under discussion. While the claim may be raised that the author of the later publications wrote with the earlier books at hand, this argument will scarcely hold in the present case. The successive publications in some instances contain passages quite closely following those of the earlier books, yet each has additional information which shows the author possessed a definite knowledge of the subjects treated equal to that possessed by the writer of the first. Dr. Mitchell had a peculiar literary habit of expression. He was diffuse, using long sentences and many unnecessary clauses, phrases, and words. His writings abound in quotations for which due credit is made. He was given to repeating the observations which he had made under one phase of his subject while discussing something else even in the same publication. Another characteristic of his, no matter whether he was writing on potash, yellow fever, agriculture, or history, was that he went to the bottom of his subject in an exhaustive, scientific manner. A careful study of all these books reveals the same original argumentative discourse, similar observations, similar iteration, the same likes and prejudices, recommendations for the encouragement of the production of the same staple commodities by the colonists for Great Britain, and (in the last two publications) the same forceful arguments for the peaceful settlement of the disputes which were fast separating the colonies from the mother country, and the same charges of ignorance and bad policies on the part of the British Government which were responsible for this estrangement.

To give all the parallelisms which occur in these voluminous publications would necessitate the reproduction of a large part of all of them. A few of the most striking passages follow. On the subject of tobacco growing, for example, these quotations may be adduced.

The tobacco seeds are first sown in beds where having remained a month, the plants are transplanted into little hillocks, like those in our hop-gardens, the first rainy weather; and being grown a foot high there, within the space of another month they top them, and prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the stalk, that they may be the better fed; and these leaves, in six weeks time will be in full growth; the planters prune off the suckers, and clean them of the horn worm twice a week, which is called worming and suckering; and this work lasts three weeks or a month, by which time the leaf from green begins to brownish and to spot and thicken; which is a sign of ripening; as fast as the plants ripen they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and sweat a night, and the next day they carry them to the tobacco-house where every plant is hung up at a convenient distance one from another, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time they strike or take them down in moist weather, when the leaf gives or else it will crumble to dust, after which they are laid upon sticks and covered up close in the tobacco-house for a week or a fortnight to sweat; and then opening the bulk on a wet day, the servants strip and sort them, the top leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst tobacco; the last work is to pack it in hogsheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet season; for in curing of tobacco, wet seasons are as necessary as dry to make the leaf pliant. (1748, Harris, II, or Pinkerton, II, 242).

The Virginia planters sow the tobacco-seeds in beds, as the gardeners in England do colwort seeds; they leave them there a month, taking care all that time to have them well weeded. When the plants are about the breadth of ones hand, they are removed the first rainy weather, and transplanted into what they call tobacco hills. In a month's time the plants will be a foot high, and they top them, and then prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the stalk, that they may be the better fed by the top, and these leaves in six weeks time will be in their full growth. The planters prune off the suckers, and clear them of the horn-worm twice a week, which is called worming and suckering; and this work lasts three weeks or a month; by which time the leaf from green begins to turn brownish and to spot, and thicken, which is a sign of its ripening. As fast as the plants ripen you must cut them down, leave them in the field for half a day, then heap them up, let them lie and sweat a night, and the next day carry them to the tobacco-house, where every plant is hanged one by another, at a convenient distance, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time they strike or take them down in moist weather, when the leaf gives, or else it will crumble to dust; after which they are laid upon sticks and covered up close in the tobacco-house for a week or a fortnight to sweat, and then opening the bulk in a wet day, the servants strip and sort them, the top leaves being the best and the bottom the worst tobacco. The last work is to pack it in hogsheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet season; for in the curing tobacco, wet seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the leaf pliant, which would otherwise be brittle and break. (1756, Hist. of America, III, 163-4.)

In addition to this there is a botanical description and a colored drawing of the tobacco plant not found in the other books. The description follows:

It is called by the botanists, *Nicotiana major latifolia*, *Nicotania major*, five *tobacum majus*; or, Tobacco. It is an annual plant; when it is at its full growth, it is about the height of an ordinary man; the stalk is straight hairy, and clammy, like that of the hyascy *amus niger vel vulgaris*, or common black

henbane; the whole habit is of an obsolete yellowish green; the leaves alternate; some of the lower leaves are a cubit long and nine inches wide entire, but waved; the lateral costae of the leaf arch into one another near the margin; the leaves have no pedicles, and by an auriculated base embrace the stalk; towards the top, the stalk branches from the sinus's of the leaves, and higher from the sinus of a slender foliculum proceed fascicles of flowers: the flower is slender and tubulous, one and a half inch long, yellowish, with an obsolete diluted purple brim, not divided but expanded into four or five angles: the calix is tubulous of four or five narrow segments; the pistillum becomes the seed-vessel conoidal, bicopsular with a middle spongy double placenta, and contains many small round brownish seeds; the seed is ripe about the end of September. (Hist. of America, p. 165.)

Tobacco is raised from the seed, which is sown in spring upon a bed of rich mould; when about the height of four or five inches, the planter takes the opportunity of rainy weather to transplant them. The ground which is prepared to receive it, is, if it can be got, a rich black mould; fresh woodlands are best; sometimes it is badly cleared from the stumps of trees, that they can not give it any ploughings; but in old cultivated lands they plough it several times, and spread on it what manure they can raise. The negroes then hill it; that is, with hoes and shovels they form hillcocks, which lie in the manner of Indian corn, only they are larger, and more carefully raked up: the hills are made in squares, from six to nine feet distance, according to the land; the richer it is the further they are put asunder, as the plants grow higher and spread proportionally. The plants in about a month are a foot high, when they prune and top them; operations, in which they seem to be very wild, and to execute them upon no rational principles; experiments are much wanting on these points for the planters never go out of the beaten road but do just as their fathers did resembling therein the British farmers their brethren. They prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on a stalk, thinking that such as they leave will be the larger, which is contrary to nature in every instance thro'-out all vegetation. In six weeks more the tobacco is at its full growth, being then from four and a half to seven feet high: during all this time, the negroes are employed twice a week in pruning off the suckers, clearing the hillocks from weeds, and attending to the worms, which are a great enemy to the plant; when the tobacco changes colour; turning brown, it is ripe and they then cut it down, and lay it close in heaps in the field to sweat one night: the next day they are carried in bunches by the negroes to a building called the tobacco house, where every plant is hung up separate to dry, which takes a month or five weeks: this house excludes the rain, but is designed for the admission of as much air as possible. They are then laid close in heaps in the tobacco houses for a week or a fortnight to sweat again, after which it is sorted and packed up in hogsheads; all the operations, after the plants are dried must be done in moist or wet weather, which prevents its crumbling to dust. (1775, American Husbandry, I, 222-5.)

This account for about 20 pages more describes the equipment, management, and profits of a tobacco plantation which is not to be found in the other books. Similar passages might be quoted in regard to the culture of corn, cotton, and indigo, raising of silk-worms, manufacture of potash, and the production of tar-pitch, etc., but they would extend this account to an unnecessary length. One point is worth noting: In discussing corn culture for New England

the author describes the methods of topping and plowing, which are typical of Virginia and not of New England.

Since Mitchell was a physician, it is to be expected that items pertaining to that profession would be found if he was the author of these books. Nor are they wanting. The following illustrate:

The acute diseases in these unhealthy parts of North America generally turn to intermittents which are not mortal even in 20 months but in a few months more they may bring on that cachexy, with an emaciated habit, a swelled belly, and a pale sallow complexion which is characteristic of the bad state of health in all the southern and maritime parts of North America. (Present State, p. 191.)

To take at one view the state of the small-pox in Boston from January 1752 to July the 24th, the following table may serve:

	Whites.	Blacks.
Small-pox in the natural way	5,059	485
Whereof died	452	62
By inoculation	1,970	139
Whereof died	24	7
Sick in seventeen families	23	.....
Persons who have not received it	174	.....

There died of inoculation thirty-one persons not including dubious deaths. (Hist. of America, I, 382.)

The next three extracts are taken from discussions in regard to the natural products of Virginia. There is nothing to indicate that anyone was quoted.

We come to speak of what is produced by their soil. And first with respect to trees; of which we may affirm, few countries are better stocked, or afford greater variety. As to timber, they have oaks, cedars, firs, cypress, elm, ash, and walnut; some of their oaks measure two feet square, and sixty feet in height. They have also beach, poplar, hazel, &c., besides sassafras, sarsaparilla and many other sweet woods and such as are used in dying. (Harris, II, or Pinkerton II, 241.)

The chief productions of the soil are oak, cedar, cypress, firs, two sorts of elms, walnut, and ash. The oaks are commonly of such prodigious bigness that they will measure two feet square and sixty feet high. (Hist. of North America, III, 161.)

As to timber and wood, they have all the sorts that are found upon the Continent: many sorts of oaks, cedars, firs, cyprus, elm, ash and walnut; some of their oaks are said to measure two feet square and sixty feet in height. They have also beech, poplar, hazel besides sassafras, sarsaparilla and other dying woods. (Am. Husbandry, I, 219.)

Reference has been made to Dr. Mitchell's prejudice against Nova Scotia and Florida. To illustrate:

Canada can be nothing but a factory for the fur trade and Nova Scotia only a fishing settlement both of which this nation already has too many. (Present State.)

We engaged in the war for those fruitful territories on the Ohio and Mississippi, which we got by peace; but by the regulations after it we are deprived

of them and thereby conspire with our enemies to deprive ourselves of those very advantages which it was their aim to do by the war; while we got no more by Canada and Florida than to relieve them of a burden and charge, and to saddle ourselves with it. (Present State.)

Neither the fisheries nor the export of lumber prove advantageous enough to render the settlers (of Nova Scotia) comparable in ease and wealth to the people of New England. (Am. Husbandry.)

But will any planter we have in North America remove either to Canada or Florida? Is it not obvious to every one that such a removal would be from bad to worse? (Am. Husbandry.)

As from 143 to 170 years have passed since these anonymous publications were issued and no just claim for writing them has been made by anyone it would seem that cataloguers and bibliographers should give the credit of their authorship to John Mitchell, M. D. (—1768), the same as has been done for *The Contest in America* and *The Present State of the British Empire in America*. One thing is certain, either Dr. Mitchell wrote all of these books or there was another man with Dr. Mitchell's education, ability, experience, and opportunities, and who thought exactly as he did. The known events in Dr. Mitchell's life dovetail too closely with the preparation of these works to be assigned to chance. The part played by the publisher of *American Husbandry* was too trivial to deserve serious consideration as far as the question of authorship is concerned, although a critical study with a view to determining additions made by him might be valuable.

The above appears to be the sum total of the facts known about the man, John Mitchell. Of his character we must judge largely by what he did not write, as no author ever kept his own personality more completely out of his writings. There is no evidence that he ever engaged in any of the jealous controversies so disgustingly common among his contemporary botanists. He answered criticism with calm, sane reasoning which in one case found disarmed his critic and made him his personal friend. Even when he felt keenly that gross mistakes were being made, as in the handling of the American situation by the British Government, he never became acrimonious or stooped to vituperation or personal abuse. He wrote, "Had the countries which have been of late years colonized been described in a just and true manner in all the circumstances of climate and soil errors which have been made might not have happened." His remedy for error was to present the truth and he worked very diligently despite his handicaps, to promote a true and accurate knowledge of America in England. Perfectly loyal to Great Britain, he believed that the colonies and the mother country were mutually dependent; the colonies on the protection of the British navy and England on colonial commerce. His idea of the colonies was that they should develop as strictly

agricultural communities, "to load her ships and to supply themselves with necessaries from Great Britain." American representation in the British Parliament he considered feasible, just, and essential to the maintenance of harmonious relations between the colonies and the mother country. He wrote, "If a contrary conduct in Britain should be pursued the independence of America may happen in no distant period," and again, "If in any future time the population and importance of America become what we have reason to suppose they will be, then it might be expected that a change in the place of parliamentary meetings might ensue and America become the head of the Empire, as far as the residence of government could make it so, a revolution which might be more advantageous to this country than a total separation would be under many circumstances which might attend so great a change."

He courted acquaintance among the prominent men of his day and appears to have enjoyed the good will and respect of all who knew him. That he was not better and more favorably known by the general public of the middle of the eighteenth century may have been due, perhaps, to his inherent modesty in writing anonymously and to his habit of telling the truth when the truth was not always welcome. His scholarly attainments were of a high order. One marvels no less at the range and extent of his scientific reading and insight than at the quantity of his writings. He was evidently handicapped by lack of funds to give his books a wide circulation, but that they exerted a considerable influence seems beyond question. The student of our colonial history who has not already done so will find much of interest and profit in the works of Dr. John Mitchell. The only regret is that they are not more easily obtainable.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better life. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom.

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V. HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE SURPLUS FOOD PRODUCTION
OF THE UNITED STATES, 1862-1902.

By WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

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The year 1862, memorable in the military annals of the United States, is noteworthy also in its agrarian history. In that year a number of laws were passed which have greatly affected our agricultural development. These were the Morrill Act, the homestead law, the bill for the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, the first Pacific Railway bill, and a series of enactments concerning slavery (including the emancipation proclamation).

This year was notable in our agrarian history, likewise, for the appearance of a comparatively new force, which then and in subsequent years has exerted an important influence upon the course of development within our country and upon its relations with other nations. This new factor was a recurring surplus of food products for an organized world market, of such dimensions and character as to constitute a new phenomenon.

In the time of the Civil War, however, only one food product was especially potent as a surplus, namely, wheat; and in this time of crisis wheat proved itself more powerful even than King Cotton, whose might southern statesmen had boasted. From the time of the repeal of the English corn laws in 1846, exports of wheat from the United States to England had been increasing; but a series of bad years in England, 1860-1864, together with abundant harvests in the United States during these years, brought a startling upward leap. The British wheat crop for the years 1858 and 1859 averaged 128,000,000 bushels, but for 1860-1864 the average was 30,000,000 bushels less, and in 1861 the crop which was to feed England in 1862 was no less than 40,000,000 bushels short of the average. The figures of exportations from the United States at this period are not altogether reconcilable one with the other, but on any basis the facts stand out clearly. A table in a report of the Department of Agriculture (for wheat and flour) is as follows:¹

	Bushels.
1852-1856.....	19, 172, 830
1857-1861.....	28, 969, 749
1862-1866.....	40, 183, 518
1867-1871.....	35, 032, 409

¹ Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1914, p. 668.

The volume on agriculture of the eighth census says that in 1862 wheat and flour were exported to the amount of 76,000,000 bushels and in 1863, 77,000,000 bushels; and of these amounts Great Britain took, respectively, 34,000,000 and 47,000,000 bushels.² If we confine our attention to wheat alone, we find that while the highest exportation for any one year prior to 1860 was 14,570,000 bushels, our figures leap in 1861 to 31,000,000, and in 1862 to 37,000,000 bushels. Now, in history human need is a mighty force, and, interpreted in terms of human need, these figures plainly show this much at least: Great Britain at a critical time in our Civil War was under stress for bread, and this stress could be well alleviated only from granaries whose keys were held by the Government which sat on the north side of the Potomac. England was clamoring also for cotton—export of which had dropped from 2,500,000 bales to 75,000. She was incensed at the blockade. Many of her leaders sympathized with the South. It did not look in 1862 as if the North could win out. There was grave chance, therefore, that England would interfere, and a motion was actually made in Parliament for recognition of the Confederacy—a motion which might have meant war with the North. But, asked a prominent English statesman in debating the question in Parliament, “What would be the cost of possible war reckoned in terms of corn?” The London Economist declared that without foreign importations of grain “our people could not exist at all.” Undeniably, the surplus of wheat produced by the North at this time was an important factor in restraining England from a course which might have produced an ominous situation for the Federal Government.³

These great exportations of wheat to England during the Civil War, moreover, only marked the beginning of the competition of American agricultural products, which, extending to meat as well as wheat, finally greatly affected the prosperity not only of English farmers, but of the farmers of western Europe in general. “Since 1862,” observes Prothero in his *English Farming, Past and Present*, “the tide of agricultural prosperity had ceased to flow; after 1874 it turned and rapidly ebbed.”⁴ Our discussion of what happened after the latter date may be based on the following statistics of exportations (integers under a million being omitted from all but the last column):⁵

² Agriculture of the United States; compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1864), Introduction CXXXIX.

³ The most complete discussion of this subject is by Schmidt, Louis B., *The Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War*. Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1918; cf. also, Fite, Emerson D., *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War* (New York, 1910), pp. 17-23.

⁴ Prothero, Rowland E., *English Farming Past and Present* (London and New York, 1917), p. 374.

⁵ Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1914, pp. 667-668.

Average.	Wheat and wheat products.	Corn and corn products.	Beef products.	Pork products.	Cheese.	Cattle.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	
1852-1856.....	19 m.	7 m.	33 m.	103 m.	6 m.	1,431
1857-1861.....	28 m.	6 m.	40 m.	103 m.	13 m.	20,294
1862-1866.....	40 m.	12 m.	70 m.	252 m.	42 m.	6,531
1867-1871.....	35 m.	9 m.	54 m.	128 m.	52 m.	.....
1872-1876.....	66 m.	38 m.	114 m.	568 m.	87 m.	45,672
1877-1881.....	133 m.	88 m.	218 m.	1,075 m.	129 m.	127,045

The remarkable increase is also clearly indicated by looking closely at exports of wheat and wheat flour on specific years. In 1873 the exportation was 91,000,000 bushels, the highest theretofore attained. The following years were lower, but in 1877 a new mark was made at 92,000,000. The next year, however, came a jump to 150,000,000 bushels, the next (1879) to 180,000,000, and in 1880 there were exported 186,000,000 bushels.

Now, while there were in certain years recessions after 1880, on the whole the surplus augmented for about 30 years, during which the United States poured forth a veritable flood of agricultural products. Some indication of the astounding character of the movement may be gained from an observation in 1883 made by Mr. J. R. Dodge, a reliable statistician. He estimated that the total exportation of wheat from the United States in 58 years preceding 1883 had been 2,064,000,000 bushels, and that of this over half had been exported in the nine years since 1874.⁶ The United States, therefore, had exported more wheat in a decade than in the previous half century.

The crest of the surplus in wheat and wheat products seemed to have been reached in 1901 or 1902 with an exportation of 234,000,000 bushels; of beef and its products in 1906, at 732,000,000 pounds. Pork and its products averaged annually over 1,000,000,000 pounds until 1910, in which year it fell to 700,000,000; years of greatest exportation were 1897-1901, when the average was well over a billion and a half pounds. The highest figures in cattle were in 1904-1906, at over 500,000. That is, high tide in exports, except as influenced by the great war, came between 1900 and 1910.⁷

In the aggregate what a marvelous production do these figures suggest. The mind staggers in trying to visualize it. Year after year came from widening acreages one might almost say torrents of wheat, of pork, of cattle, of corn, swelling all the channels of trade and spreading over the whole civilized world. Year after year more and

⁶ Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1883, p. 302. See cut reproduced here from volume cited.

⁷ Imports and Exports of Agricultural Products (separate from Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1917, No. 762), pp. 21-23.

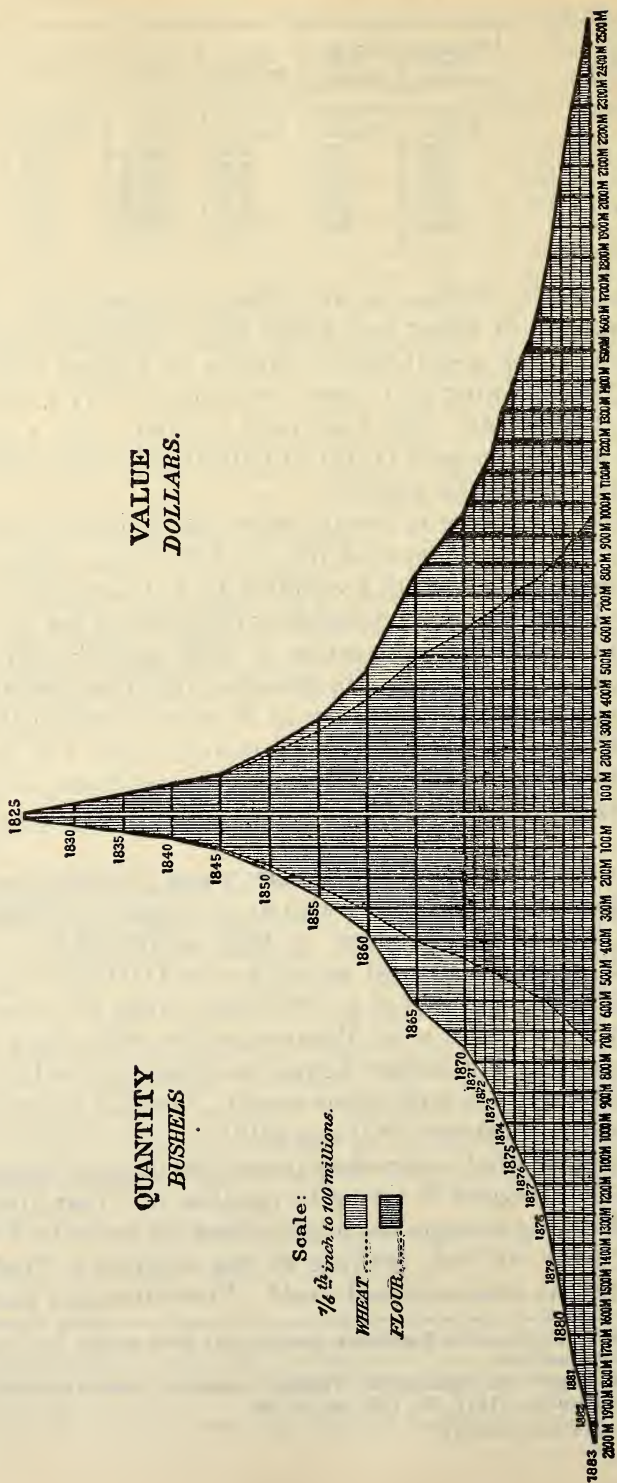


Diagram showing the quantity and value of wheat exported from the United States in 58 years, including flour computed on wheat. Reproduced from Report of Commissioner of Agriculture, 1883, opposite page 302.

more freight cars creaked wearily with heavier and heavier loads to cities whose prosperity waxed higher and higher under the mighty stimulus. New devices were employed, new businesses sprang up, the ocean was covered with growing argosies. Industrial populations in our own East and in Europe had cheap support. Wheat-bread and beef, those princely perquisites, became the food of the masses; democracy could, thenceforth, fight its battles on something like a full stomach. We, who have become accustomed to a world production and shipment of food that never ceases throughout the year, can scarcely comprehend the tremendous effects of this then new phenomenon—to competitors, indeed, an appalling phenomenon. Dr. Alexander Peetz, a member of the Austrian Reichsrath in the early eighties compared the possible effects of the American surplus in agriculture to the far-reaching transformations wrought in Europe by the precious metals imported from America in the sixteenth century, and hazarded the opinion that the rise of this surplus was the “greatest economic event of modern times.”⁸

By 1910, however a change was apparent. Cattle dwindled in export to 139,000 in that year and to 18,376 in 1914, and we were even beginning to import beef. Pork in only one year reached the old billion-pound mark. Wheat exports amounted in 1910 to only 87,000,000 bushels. The most reliable idea of the changed conditions which have come about is apparent from certain percentages. The percentage of wheat exported (as compared with the total crop) was, in 1878, 35.8 per cent; in 1879, 40.2 per cent, figures much higher than the average of preceding years. Highest marks were made in 1893 at 41.5 per cent and in 1900 at 41.4 per cent. Since the latter date there has been a marked falling off. In 1904 we exported only 8 per cent of the crop, and the average 1904–1913 was only 15 per cent. More significant still are the changes in percentages of agricultural products (not including forest products) as compared with the total of exports of all sorts. A study by five-year periods shows that in 1857–1861 our agricultural products comprised more than four-fifths of the total, or 81.1 per cent. These figures, it should be explained, include cotton. There was a slight sag the next 15 years, but the average rose again to slightly over four-fifths, 1877–1881 (80.4 per cent). After that every five years witnessed a steady decline until in 1907–1911 the percentage stood at only 53.9.⁹ The years 1912–1914 saw agricultural exports shrink to less than half. That is, the period of the supremacy of our agricultural export has passed. Manufacturing now leads, and under normal conditions our

⁸ Peetz, Alexander, “Die Amerikanische Concurrenz,” Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1883, pp. 337–342.

⁹ Statistics for this paragraph are derived from a table in the Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1914, p. 666.

scepter of supremacy in exportations of grain and beef has passed to Russia, Argentina, and Australia.

I by no means wish to assert that our agricultural exports since 1910 have become unimportant; nor do I wish to leave the impression that such exports were not a large item prior to 1860. Furthermore, I recognize the existence of agricultural exportations from other countries during the period 1860-1910. But the fact remains that the United States during the period 1862-1902 was definitely supreme in the rise of a great food surplus, that this was a new economic phenomenon, and that it produced very important economic and social effects.

Before turning to the discussion of these effects, however, let us consider the special case of exportations during the war. Total values because of high prices show remarkable figures; those for 1917, for example, reaching nearly \$2,000,000,000. Special items, as horses, also show phenomenal increases. But the old staples, reckoned in quantity measures, seem to offer nothing more than a temporary interruption to the general tendency set forth above. Exportations of cattle have continued almost negligible, and even beef products at the highest figures for the war have fallen more than 200,000,000 pounds under high marks of the surplus period. Pork products have approached, but not reached, the old height of a billion and a half pounds. Wheat and wheat flour, however, made a new record in 1915, based on the phenomenal crop of 1914, the exportation mounting to 332,000,000 bushels. Yet it must be borne in mind that our war-time exportations have reflected the following emergency conditions: (1) An exceedingly urgent demand and extremely high prices; (2) the almost complete cutting off of sources of supplies other than those of the United States and Canada; (3) unexampled economy by the American people under stress of very special incentives; (4) concentration upon staple crops at the expense of normal rotations. Moreover, even under these exceptional conditions the percentages of agricultural exports, as compared with manufactured, still substantiate the fact of the waning of agricultural supremacy. In 1914 and 1915 (while manufacturers were getting their war-time production under way and, on the other hand, crops were large), agricultural products constituted, respectively, 47.8 per cent and 54.3 per cent of our total exports; but in 1916, 1917, and 1918 they were, respectively, 35.5 per cent, 31.6 per cent, and 39 per cent. And these exports were not based on overflowing plenty, as in the time of our Civil War but (with the exception of wheat from the crop of 1914) were wrung from us by great need. Looking, on the other hand, at the magnitude of the effects due to these supplies, we may perceive once more the important character of the

surplus of our food products; for without this surplus it is hardly conceivable that the war would have resulted as it did.¹⁰

Let us return now to the consideration of the economic and social effects which attended the rise of the great surplus between 1862 and 1902. The effects of the surplus upon the United States were very important; but these will be alluded to later. Suffice here to say that food exportation in the seventies was of advantage in helping to accumulate a stock of gold for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; and that the great production all through the period greatly depressed agriculture in the Eastern States, though at the same time affording remarkably cheap food for the laboring classes of that section.

In Europe the consequences were of the most fundamental and far-reaching character. Historians of the agriculture of western Europe call the last quarter of the nineteenth century the crisis period, or a period of distress or even of ruination.

The preceding period had been one of great prosperity. The discoveries of gold in California and Australia and the development of markets in industrial centers had caused an era of good prices. Rents and land values advanced, production rose, many improvements were made. Competition was restricted to adjacent countries, and years of poor crops were generally years of high prices. Agriculture was based upon the old staples, chiefly grain and meat, and when one was down the other probably would be up. The repeal of the English tariff on grain in 1846 had resulted in a strengthening of English meat production without serious damage as yet to the grain interest; and continental countries, particularly Germany, found the English grain market highly profitable. Prices in Liverpool and London were the highest in Europe.

But suddenly European farmers found themselves confronted by a new and bewildering set of conditions. A succession of poor crops, after 1874, most marked in England, culminated in the "black year" of 1879, when low yields extended all over Europe—the worst year for crops in the century. But farmers were no longer helped out by high prices. America, plethoric with great crops, utilized the developing system of transportation to pour what seemed an avalanche of grain upon Europe. It appeared to penetrate everywhere; for example, American wheat began to be used in Bohemia, and Austrians and Hungarians stood aghast to see it sold even in the markets of Trieste and Fiume, the long-time places of exportation. Much study was given to this new phenomenon, and numerous pamphlets on the subject were put forth in Austria, Germany, France, and England. In the latter country a royal commission

¹⁰ Consult Tables 193 and 195 of Separate from Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, No. 762. Mr. Frank Andrews, of the Bureau of Crop Estimates, kindly furnished the author with additional statistical information.

was appointed in 1879 and another in 1893 which made exhaustive investigations through several years.

The pith of the discussion was that no relief could be expected in conditions across the seas within a generation. It was pointed out that the United States had vast areas of new lands on which there were practically no rental charges; that the farmers could get horses at lower cost than in Europe and feed them more cheaply; that machinery was employed of a perfection and on a scale unequaled in Europe; that political freedom and the lack of caste generated initiative, intelligence, and resourcefulness; that the organization and development of transportation agencies of all sorts, particularly with regard to through traffic, made continuance of competition inevitable; and that, while the United States was most to be feared, Russia, India, Argentina, and Australia were looming up.¹¹

Among the measures advocated for meeting this competition was that of placing high tariff duties on grain. Three reasons, however, were opposed. It was felt that such duties would be unavailing. "By such means as grain tariffs," said a writer from Leipsic, "so mighty and revolutionary a movement as is called forth by transmarine competition can not be banished. There are those, and their number is increasing, that think nothing further can be done but to leave the supplying of Europe with cereals to America." In the second place such protection would be a handicap in industrial progress, unless made international, and England would never enter into such an agreement. England, in fact, as an Austrian essayist somewhat bitterly pointed out, had become "superindustrial" and was forging "out of the great production of America a new weapon against the continental industries." Low prices of food sustained her "policy of dominating the manufacture of the world and controlling its commercial distribution." Finally, after all, these importations were recognized by some as an immense blessing to the laboring and industrial classes. A Berlin pamphleteer, after recalling how frequently actual famine had come upon the countries of Europe, said, "We must remember these things in order to appreciate the boundless blessings conferred upon the population of Europe by the shipments from transmarine sources."¹²

The real remedies which were urged were to forsake the attitude of contempt which was customarily held with regard to things American and to face conditions. "The German farmer," wrote an economist from Jena, "must let go his hold on the traditions of the past; he must arouse his energies and adapt himself to the demands and circumstances of the time. Agriculture is not what it was 20

¹¹ See résumé by Heinrich Semler on "Die wahre Bedeutung und die Ursachen der Nord-Amerikanischen Concurrenz," in Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1883, p. 346.

¹² The quotations of the above paragraph will be found in translations of documents found in Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1883, pp. 337-350.

years ago, yes, 10 years ago. German farming must be revolutionized and that promptly. The cost of production must be reduced, and this can be done by labor, time and money-saving machinery." Special emphasis was laid upon the bettering of European systems of transportation.

Another plan set forth in several countries was that of turning to stock-raising. This was especially followed in England, in which country the area devoted to wheat decreased between 1878 and 1907 from about 3,000,000 acres to 1,500,000, most of this land reverting to pasture. But while the full effects of foreign competition in meat were not to be revealed until about 1885, yet conditions in the later seventies were already ominous. The English farmer up to that time had always been able to rely upon the old adage of "Down corn, up horn," and in Scotland especially the main reliance of farmers had been their beef. But in 1875 a new application of American ingenuity was made to beef transportation, and within a year or two panic seized upon British producers of beef. There had been some attempts at transportation of live beef across the Atlantic previously, one of these having been that of Mr. Nelson Morris in 1868; but these shipments had not been very successful. The next year refrigeration was begun in railroad transportation, and on October 1, 1875, Mr. T. C. Eastman shipped from New York the first cargo of dressed beef to be preserved by the process of fanning air off of ice upon the beef. The shipment was successful, and other parties entered the business. The trade jumped rapidly month by month from the 36,000 pounds of the first shipment, so that within a year more than 2,000,000 pounds per month were being exported, and by April, 1877, more than 8,000,000 pounds. In all, the two years following October, 1875, saw 60,000,000 pounds shipped to Great Britain, and the business thereafter grew rapidly.

Farmers in Great Britain and Scotland were in dismay as they considered these shipments. They had heard vague stories of the vast herds of Texas pasturing on free land, of the great droves which were beginning to appear at the stations on new lines of railway in the West, of the almost unbelievable increases in numbers of animals brought annually to Chicago. And now this new process was to bring these great herds, one might say, almost to one's door. So great was the interest that the Scotsman, a leading paper of Scotland, sent an expert animal husbandry man, Mr. Joseph MacDonald, to the United States to study the conditions. MacDonald, after visiting New York, traveled through all parts of the United States where cattle production was important, and his letters to his home paper were gathered together in a book entitled "Food From the Far West."¹³

¹³ MacDonald, James, *Food from the Far West, or American Agriculture with Special Reference to the Beef Production and Importation of Dead Meat from America to Great Britain* (London and Edinburgh, 1878).

He saw plainly that the beef of Texas of the type then existent there would not compete directly with the English and Scotch product. As a matter of fact, Texas beef mostly went into cans in Chicago, and some of it helped to fill the stomachs of soldiers of England who were extending the frontiers of the empire in Africa and other regions. The beef which might compete and which actually was the source of exportations came mostly from the corn regions of the Central States, where considerable improvement in breeding was manifest. The careful Scotchman summarized his views by stating that while disaster was not at hand, yet a "new opponent, not death-bearing but formidable, and gradually becoming more so, has come into the field." Careful and skilled farmers would be able to meet competition, but they should remember that the improvement in the quality of the American beef would be great in the next 10 years, that there was no probability that the cost of producing such beef would rise within a generation and that after about two years "we may expect that American beef of really good quality will be poured in upon us in large and steady supplies."

The prediction of Mr. MacDonald proved true, and might have been equally applied to other food products. There was a lull, to be sure, in exportations in the early eighties owing in part to very poor crops in the United States in 1881; but after 1885 came a deluge of products which did not slacken until after the end of the century.

The effects upon the agricultural classes of Europe were most serious. Wheat, corn, meat of all kinds, wool, petroleum, textiles piled in. Every one who had a legal interest in land—lords of great estates, small proprietors, farmers on long leases—all suffered. Prices of agricultural products greatly diminished. The price of wheat in Germany, for example, sank nearly 27 per cent between 1871 and 1891, and in following years went lower still. In Sweden wheat sold at 16.4 crowns per hectoliter in 1861–1865, rose to 17.5 in 1866–1870, and thence sank steadily for each five-year period until it touched bottom at 11.22 at the turning of the century. British figures reveal the same story.

*Great Britain triennial average per quarter.*¹⁴

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Cattle, per stone of 8 pounds.		
				Inferior quality.	Second.	First.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1876-1878.....	49 9	38 4	25 6	4 5	5 6	6 0
1893-1895.....	24 1	24 0	16 9	2 8	4 0	4 7
Decrease.....per cent..	52	37	34	40	27	24

¹⁴ Curtler, W. H. R., *A Short History of English Agriculture* (Oxford, 1909), p. 312.

Sheep fell on the average between 1874 and 1891, 20 to 30 per cent, wool 40 to 50 per cent, milk, butter, and cheese, 25 to 33 per cent, but the reduction in the price of milk was much less near large cities.

Could we translate these dry statistics into terms of human lives—rents and debts that could not be met, opportunities for recreation that could no longer be had, deprivation of comforts, and even necessities of life, anxieties, gloom, utter hopelessness—we should comprehend more vividly their meaning. The small landowner of the older type under this pressure nearly disappeared from England. Men would not stay on the small farms. Said one of this class: "A foreman who earns a pound a week is better off than I am. He has no anxiety and not half the work." Many of the farmers were ruined and became mere laborers. "In Norfolk 20 or 30 years ago no class connected with the land held their heads higher than the farmers. The typical Norfolk farmer of to-day is a harassed and hard-working man, engaged in the struggle to make both ends meet."¹⁵ Improved farming methods did not help matters; in fact, became impossible for awhile. The occasional farmer by special management—as, for example, feeding roots to cattle—might thrive, but in general "high" farming succumbed to the law of diminishing returns.

Nor did landlords by any means escape. The fall in rents on the great estates of the six eastern provinces of Prussia amounted to between 20 and 30 per cent. In England the counties most seriously affected were the rich grain-growing counties such as Essex and Lincoln; in these rents fell as much as 75–100 per cent. The condition of cattle-raising counties was better, North Devon showing a loss of only 10 to 15 per cent. The average reduction was probably over 30 per cent. Sir James Caird estimated as early as 1886 that the losses to the agricultural community of Great Britain for the previous ten years had averaged not less than £42,000,000 annually. More significant still are the figures on land values: the capital value of land in the United Kingdom in 1875 was £2,007,330,000 and in 1894 it was £1,001,829,000, a decrease of 49.6 per cent.

Nor were decreasing prices and rents all that the European landowners then had to face. There was a marked rise in production costs. Wages of farm labor rose, a fact particularly true in Germany where industrialization and emigration caused bidding for workmen and migration of agricultural laborers. There was an increase also of taxes in both England and Germany due in large degree to new undertakings for social betterment. Landlords truly were thus caught (to use a trite figure) between the upper and the nether millstones. Many British landowners were compelled to give up their estates, while others were able to retain their homes only by moving into some cottage and renting the big house. Curtler sums up his

¹⁵ Quoted by Curtler, *ibid.*, p. 308.

discussion on this point by saying that the agricultural depression "may in short be said to have effected a minor social revolution, and to have completed the ruin of the old landed aristocracy as a class."¹⁶ Those who survived did so because they had other sources of income than agriculture. A like revolution took place in Holland.

Two comments which are pertinent to the low prices of this period may here be made. The first is that such prices were not confined to agricultural products. In fact there was a world-wide sag in prices, due, I think, to declining yields of gold at the same time that gold was made the sole redemption basis of the world's currency. The five years 1886-1890 witnessed a total world yield of only \$564,000,000, whereas the five years which ushered in our new prosperity of 1896-1900 enjoyed the comfortable total of \$1,286,000,000. But it is true that the general depression was greatly intensified for European agriculturists by the competition of America.

The second comment which I would venture is that the full effects of the repeal of the corn laws in England in 1846 were not evident until a third of a century later. Neither the opponents nor the supporters of that repeal could have foreseen the terrific competition which practically ruined a generation of English farmers.' It may be worth noticing that practically the same tariff conditions have been brought about in the United States. It is significant that in response to the desire of our manufacturing population, we apparently have entered upon a policy of free trade in our main agricultural staples. The possibilities of competition depend upon so many factors that we may not attempt to discuss them here. Suffice it to say that the newly aroused interest of our farmers in subjects which politically affect them receives impressive sanction from the study of the effects upon the farming interest in England of the policy of free trade in agricultural products.

Returning now to consequences of American competition upon Europe, let us consider the effect upon the numbers of the agricultural population, including therein the agricultural laborers. The latter class on the whole were eventually better off, although there was profound disturbance of old conditions. The increasing application of machinery to agriculture (itself in part one of the results of competition) deprived many laborers of jobs. This was especially true with regard to the use of threshing machines. It had been a general custom in many regions to reserve threshing for the winter months, thereby giving winter employment to laborers. But the coming of the threshing machine, of course, did away with this. At the same time, however, there was the call of the new industries in the towns (for in Germany and Scandinavia industrialization pro-

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 310.

ceeded rapidly during this period); and also there was the lure of far-off America, where every man could become a landowner and a gentleman, and no one was compelled to serve in the Army. Thus it came about that new opportunities, new forces stirred the somewhat sluggish currents of European village life. The effects upon the rural districts were very great. In Sweden in 1870 there were 101,113 agricultural day laborers; in 1900 there were 54,238. In 1870 there were in that country 95,388 "torps" or small rented farms, having on them 480,000 people; in 1900 there were 72,252 having 347,000 people.¹⁷ There was a marked disproportion in percentages of people of the productive ages 15 to 45. In England the number of agricultural laborers decreased from 996,642 in 1871 to 595,702 in 1901. "Their material condition had everywhere improved," says one writer, "though there were still striking differences in the wages paid in different parts; and the improvement, though partly due to increased earnings, was mainly attributable to the cheapening of the necessaries of life."¹⁸ What this cheapening of the necessaries of life meant to the laboring classes in England, in town and country, may be judged from the statement of Gibbins that the supply of wheat alone for the population of 36,000,000 in 1885 cost £10,000,000 (\$48,500,000) less than that for 27,000,000 in 1851; although meanwhile the per capita consumption had increased 83 pounds.¹⁹

A summary of the effects of American competition as they presented themselves in 1880 was made by Prof. William H. Brewer as follows:

Our agricultural productions and our agricultural methods, with the facts pertaining to them, have in one way or another become important factors of disturbance in the political and social economy of Europe, showing themselves in a variety of ways; here by the reduction of rents, there by the decrease of the value of agricultural lands, or by the increase of the use of improved agricultural implements and machines, by the decrease of prices of home-grown productions, by changes in courses of cropping, by modifications in landholdings, by distress among farmers, by emigration, by political uneasiness, and so on through a long list of effects, some immediately and others more remotely related to American agricultural competition.²⁰

A few specific additions of a most important character may be made to the foregoing enumeration. One of the important means of escape from hard conditions was through cooperative enterprises.

¹⁷ I am indebted for these figures to Mr. Martin Hagen, a scholarly student in a class in the history of agriculture, who made some interesting investigations in the history of Scandinavian agriculture.

¹⁸ Curtler, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

¹⁹ Gibbins, Henry de Beltgens, *Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century* (1901), p. 373.

²⁰ Brewer, William H., *Report on the Cereal Production of the United States*, p. 9, *Tenth Census, Vol. III, Agriculture*.

While these had in many cases antecedents prior to 1860, yet their great growth has come since that time. Rural credits, a matter closely affiliated with cooperation, was also greatly facilitated as a result of the stress of the period. Another very important development was that of home colonization. This had its origin in the desire to keep available the vanishing agricultural laborers and in general to try to give to sturdy citizens a chance to own some land in their own country on condition of efficient use. European society, it may be said, reacted to stressful conditions by evolving these three powerful and promising forms of social and economic mechanism—forms which are factors in the great world-wide agrarian revolution which has been under way.

Our survey of European conditions has perhaps detained us too long, and I shall try the reader's patience by only a very brief and cursory summary of facts which I had hoped to treat under a third general topic, viz, the sources in the United States of the great surplus—a subject demanding for adequate treatment, however, a complete paper.

The surplus was based mainly on utilization—some would say exploitation—of the treeless areas of the United States, the prairies and the Great Plains. Production maps of the period show that corn after 1860 found its best habitat in the black soil districts of Illinois, Iowa, and eastern Nebraska and Kansas; that, while the growing of winter wheat increased over vast districts, spring wheat progressed to its greatest home in the Northwest; that wheat culture on a large scale moreover was appearing in remote and unique regions—the valleys of California and the plateau of the Columbia; that mighty herds of cattle were displacing the buffalo on the vast ranges of the Great Plains; and, finally that sheep in bands greater than had hitherto been known to American agriculture were filling in the grassy areas of the Rockies. The soils and grasses of the nonwoodland West therefore made possible a production on a scale before unknown in the history of the world.

A labor force adequate for quantity production spread itself swiftly over the prairies and out upon the ranges. To these open tracts population was invited by the most favorable land laws that any nation has ever evolved; the stockmen were simply allowed to trespass as they would, upon the public domain, while cultivators responded to enticements of easy acquisition of title. To the method of acquisition of land by cheap purchase under preemption were added in this period (in addition to less important ways) the enormous stimuli of free homesteads and of low priced and widely advertised railroad lands. Railroads by 1883 had certified or patented slightly over 547,000,000 acres; but no figures are available as to the amounts of land they had transferred to settlers. As to home-

steads we have more satisfactory data. By 1883 somewhat more than 75,000,000 acres had been filed upon by about 640,000 persons, representing a population by families, we may say, of well over 2,000,000.²¹

Still more enlightening as to the process which was going on are the statistics of land in farms and land improved. In the whole history of the United States up to 1870 there had been incorporated into farms 407,735,041 acres of lands; in the three decades following 1870 there were added more than 430,000,000 acres. That is, in one generation more land was settled than in all our preceding history. Even more significant are the statistics with regard to improved lands. In 1870 there were 188,921,099 acres classified by the census as improved, this improvement being the result of the labors of American farmers from 1607 to that date; in the next 10 years 95,849,943 acres (or 50.7 per cent) were added, and in the three decades 1870-1900, 225,000,000 acres.²² I beg leave to call special attention to this basic fact in the history of the United States during this time, that the amount of land improved by the farmers of the United States in these three decades exceeded by 37,000,000 acres the amount improved by all of their predecessors.

Immigration of a most desirable type of farmers aided in this great achievement. More than 5,000,000 persons came to our shores between 1860 and 1880, the number reaching startlingly high proportions in 1879, with a total of more than three-quarters of a million.²³ While the larger part of the immigrants went into occupations other than agriculture, great numbers of those best fitted for farming took up lands in the West. It is significant, moreover, that in the decade 1870-1880 the relative decline of rural inhabitants compared with the population as a whole, which had obtained from 1790 onward, was in this decade temporarily stayed.

The population which took possession of the prairies equipped itself with machinery adequate to quantity production. Both the character of the former and the physiography of the latter contributed to the use of machinery on a scale never before approximated. Out on the prairies the black soil rolled in easy furrows under the gang plows, the cultivators no longer jangled through stony, stumpy ground, and harvesting machinery could be used without apprehension of obstacles. One catches a glimpse of forces at work from remarks of Sir James Caird, which were based on a tour made in 1857. Speaking concerning the State of Ohio (whence a considerable portion both of the population and the machinery of the prairies was drawn), he noted that Ohio in 1857 had manu-

²¹ Donaldson, Thomas, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884), pp. 1263, 1284.

²² Thirteenth Census of the United States, V, 51, 57.

²³ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1917, p. 106.

factured seven times as many reaping and mowing machines as all England, and was expending upon public schools more money than was England.²⁴ While the reaper had largely superseded before 1860 the slow processes of the old sickle and the newer cradle, it remained for the seventies by the development of the self-binder to relieve the farmer of the tedious drudgery of tying sheaves. Soon long lines of clicking binders in the Red River Valley accentuated large-scale production and caught the imagination of the world, while in California great combined machines cut and threshed more grain in a week than the average European peasant could hope to raise in a life-time. The use of such machinery was made the more feasible because of low cost of horses and cheapness of provender, factors tending to lower the labor cost as compared with European costs.

Another powerful factor in the development of quantity production was facilities for marketing. Railroads, of course, were primary. The mileage which in 1862 amounted to 31,000 miles, a decade later had extended to 66,000, in two decades to 114,000, and by 1902 had become more than 200,000.²⁵ Efficiency kept pace with mileage, especially with respect to facilities for through traffic, and charges lessened rapidly. Water transportation also contributed to lower haulage cost. The elevator system spread rapidly, and travelers from Europe were deeply impressed by these tall, slender, ugly buildings (as Sering, a German writer, calls them) which reared themselves throughout the grain districts, feeders for the great terminal structures of the West and for the finely equipped plants on the harbors of the Atlantic. No human hand, Sering wonderingly observed, was applied directly to the mass of grain from the time it left the farmer's wagon until it was poured forth in Bremen or Hamburg.²⁶ Handling grain in mass necessitated use of grades, and this in turn facilitated financial exchanges. All this simplification for large-scale business was greatly in contrast to the small, blundering ways of doing things characteristic in the European trade. In fact, the whole system of grain transportation and exchange, as it grew up in the United States after 1870, made possible for grain growers the first market of world dimensions.

But the entrance upon a world market, in conjunction with fluctuations in currency values and over stimulation of production reacted not altogether happily upon the farmers of the prairies. It is significant that the rise of organized discontent on a large scale among farmers in the United States synchronizes with the develop-

²⁴ Caird, James, *Prairie Farming in America* (New York, 1859), p. 121.

²⁵ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1917, p. 296.

²⁶ Sering, Max, *Die landwirthschaftliche Konkurrenz Nordamerikas in Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 498-502.

ment of quantity production for a world market. As Sering mentions, there was a crisis in agriculture in America as well as in Europe.²⁷ It is during this period, we may notice, that one of the chief motives of the foreign policy of our Government was to find markets for food products.

In closing, we may mention that agriculture in the United States during the period under consideration moved out of the worn and humdrum ruts of the ages and took on a new aspect. Unique areas were opened up; new processes were invented and applied on a big scale. Even romance was not lacking, as the picturesque life of the range attests. Most important of all, the farmer ceased to be "the man with the hoe" and became the man who gazes upon life and upon his fellow-citizens from a seat upon machinery.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 576-580.

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VI. EARLY DAYS OF THE ALBEMARLE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

By RODNEY H. TRUE.

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

BY GEORGE B. BROWN

EARLY DAYS OF THE ALBEMARLE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

RODNEY H. TRUE.

On Monday, May 5, 1817, a small group of men gathered in Charlottesville as a result of previous agreement to consider the organization of a society to promote the interests of agriculture and domestic economy. In this group of 30 men was one who had served his country eight years as its honored President, two others who were to be governors of Virginia, still another who was to represent that State in the United States Senate and his country at the court of St. James, and another who closed his career on the Supreme Bench of the United States. There was a brigadier general who was perhaps to deserve an even greater share of the gratitude of his fellow men by leading in the great movements of peace. There were also present a future head of the University of Virginia, and several who were destined to serve in the State legislature. Perhaps best of all, a large majority of those present belonged to the ranks of those who with intelligence and industry faced the problems of the soil and the season and who, baffling frosts, insects, and mildews, fed Virginia and her sister States to the northward. Here in this group were gathered statesmen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers. Political differences were set aside and Presbyterian forgot his quarrel with Episcopalian; all were intent on bringing their best efforts to bear on those plain elemental problems which have ever been able to fix the wandering attention of the world on those greatest of all democratizing influences, the problems of food and clothing. Although, as Col. Taylor of Caroline so trenchantly contended, bad laws could do much to wreck the results of the best effort expended on the soil, without this wrestling with sod and seed and season, what were legislatures and courts and church establishments in the face of nakedness and famine?

And so on May 5, 1817, this group of men, perhaps as brilliant for the number assembled as had ever gathered in the name of agriculture, met at Charlottesville and resolved to "promote the interests of agriculture and rural economy" by organizing the society discussed in this paper. Gen. John H. Cocke was in the chair, Peter Minor acting as secretary. They were about to organize the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, but the 30 present came from five counties—

20 from Albemarle, 3 from Nelson, 2 from Fluvanna, 3 from Orange, and 2 from Louisa, and in the end its membership included men from Fairfax and from the Great Valley.

There must have been some prime mover to whose effort this gathering was a response. I do not know who prepared local sentiment for this meeting and who thus laid the foundation for the organization. The movement was in the air both to the northward and to the southward, and valuable results had already begun to flow from the work of these older societies. Doubtless the leader or leaders knew of these developments and felt that Albemarle should undertake a similar work and enjoy similar benefits. It was such a task as might perhaps have been undertaken by Thomas Jefferson in his younger days, but he was now 74 years of age, and, although still actively thinking along lines of the general welfare, he was beginning to feel the weight of years and would probably have been inclined to leave the more active share of the work to other and younger men. Perhaps Gen. Cocke, of Fluvanna, the chairman of the first meeting, may have undertaken the task of bringing matters to a head. He later identified himself actively with several organizations of a benevolent and reformatory character and seems to have been a constant and reliable supporter of any cause which commended itself to him.

Another public-spirited member shown by correspondence to have been influential in giving shape to the society and in determining its policy was Joseph C. Cabell, of Nelson, who, like Gen. Cocke, seems to have been very close to Mr. Jefferson, especially in those affairs connected with the developing university. Cabell seems to have carried on an active correspondence on the subject of the proposed society and may have served as one of the organizers. Taking into account such evidence as I have seen it appears likely that Mr. Jefferson was the prime mover, but that the task of bringing the organization into life was the work of others.

At the first meeting held on May 5, 1817, the constituting members after deciding to effect an organization voted to appoint a committee of five to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the society, to be reported for consideration at a meeting to be held "on the first day of the autumnal superior court of the county" at Charlottesville.

This committee consisted of Mr. Jefferson; James Barbour, of Orange; Gen. John H. Cocke, of Fluvanna; Joseph C. Cabell, of Nelson; and John Patterson, of Albemarle. The members of this committee seem to have taken their task seriously, since considerable correspondence has been seen in which members discuss the subject which they were appointed to consider. With that felicity of expression which marks his writings, Mr. Jefferson drew up a sort of plat-

form on which the society was to stand, entitling it "Objects for the Attention and Enquiry of agriculture." In nine paragraphs he set forth what seemed to him the main objects for the consideration of the society. This statement seems to have met with the approval of the committee, as it later met with that of the society, having been adopted without amendment. Since it serves to bring before us the agricultural problems of those times as seen through the eyes of discerning men, it seems in place to quote it as it was written and adopted.

OBJECTS FOR THE ATTENTION AND ENQUIRY OF THE SOCIETY.

1st. And Principally, the cultivation of our primary staples, Wheat, Tobacco and Hemp for Market.

2d. All subsidiary articles for the support of the Farm, the food, the clothing, and the comfort of the Household, as, Indian Corn, Rye, Oats, Barley, buckwheat, Millet, the families of Peas and Beans, the whole family of grapes, turnips, potatoes, Jerusalem Artichokes and other useful roots, cotton and flax, the garden and orchard.

3. The care and services of useful animals for the saddle or draught, for food or clothing, and the destruction of Noxious Quadrupeds, fowls, Insects and reptiles.

4. Rotation of Crops, and the circumstances which should govern or vary them, according to the varieties of soil, climate, and markets of our different counties.

5. Implements of husbandry, and operations with them, amongst which the plough and all its kindred instruments for dividing the soil holds first place, and the threshing machine an important one, the simplification of which is a great desideratum. Successful examples too of improvement in the operations of these instruments would be an excitement to correct the slovenly and unproductive practices too generally prevalent.

6. Calendars of Work, showing how a given number of labourers and of draught animals are to be employed every day in the year, so as to perform within themselves and in their due time according to the usual course of the seasons all the operations of a farm of given size; this being essential to the proportioning of the labour to the size of the Farm.

7. Farm Buildings and conveniences, enclosures, roads, fuel, Timber.

8. Manures, Plaister, green dressings, fallows, and other means of ameliorating the Soil.

9. A succinct report of the different practices of Husbandry in the district inhabited by the members of the Society; including the bad as well as the good, that those who follow the former may read and see their own condemnation in the same page which offers better examples for their adoption. It is believed that a judicious execution of this article alone might nearly supercede every other duty of the Society, in as much as it would present every good practice which has occurred to the mind of any cultivator of the state for imitation and every bad one for avoidance; and the choicest processes culled from every farm, would compose a course probably near perfection.

10. And finally, such subjects in husbandry and the arts connected with, or subsidiary to it, not heretofore enumerated as the society may hereafter propose for its consideration.

Here, indeed, is a program broad enough to tax the energies of a nation. If time allowed it would be possible to show how in this program is foreshadowed the chief lines of development made by organized agriculture during the succeeding century. It shows also how during this century some details have changed. We no longer hear of hemp and flax, but, thanks to Eli Whitney for his cotton gin, and to cheap and abundant labor, cotton more than took their places. The first threshing machine, brought with its maker to Virginia by Mr. Jefferson, soon ceased to be a formidable novelty and by its speedy operation saved precious time once lost, thereby defeating the dreaded wheat moth. The plow, an even more important and likewise troublesome instrument before the day of Thomas Jefferson, soon yielded to science in the service of that many-sided man. By reducing the form of the mold board to mathematical principles he made it possible to build any number of plows having like proportions and capabilities, and by having them cast all of iron for the first time in America, he contributed greatly to the general availability of that tool. Had he sought a new coat of arms he could with propriety have placed the plow in the center of his design.

But let us return to the agricultural society, which, on October 7, 1817, adopted rules and regulations for its government. As would be expected of a committee having for its chairman the author of the *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* compiled for the use of Congress, and now for more than a century a standard guide for legislatures and countless other deliberative bodies, it submitted rules and regulations framed by a most skillful hand. It may seem somewhat singular, therefore, that while the statement of objects from the same pen was accepted without the change of a word and with but the addition of a few lines, the proposed rules and regulations were considerably modified before adoption.

A few points deserve passing mention. Three classes of membership were provided for: (1) The charter members, present at the first meeting either in person or by proxy, with whom were reckoned those present at the meeting by which the rules and regulations were adopted; (2) ordinary members to be thereafter elected under the rules; and (3) honorary members, consisting of such distinguished citizens as might be thereafter elected. No geographical limitations were set to restrict membership. Annual dues of \$5 were imposed on all ordinary members. The giving of premiums to encourage definite features of agricultural development was provided for.

The list of signatures appended to the rules and regulations entered in the old minute book is of rare interest. Mr. Jefferson was not required to subscribe his name, as a special mark of respect for him who was probably to be justly regarded as the founder of

the organization. There is the characteristic firm even hand of Thomas Mann Randolph, and the almost Jeffersonian chirography of his son, Thomas J. Randolph, the neat unaffected signature of Joseph C. Cabell, the finely formed letters written by Philip P. Barbour (now much faded), the easy flowing lines of Thomas W. Maury, and the cramped and shaky writing of Nimrod Bramham, suggesting old age but indicating perhaps only that his hand was better accustomed to the use of instruments other than the pen. Before the vote was taken on the adoption of the rules and regulations, those present agreed to the admission as members by proxy of 31 persons not present, but doubtless known to be there in spirit. Among the 50 persons constructively present were ex-Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, ex-Gov. James Barbour, later Secretary of War under John Quincy Adams, Gov. Thomas M. Randolph, John C. Cabell, Wilson J. Cary, Miles Cary, William Bolling, Thomas R. and Randolph Harrison, Dr. Mann Page, William Meriwether, George Gilmer, Philip P. Barbour, Robert Rives, sr., Thomas J. Randolph, Gen. John H. Cocke, and others of distinguished name. The weight of influence behind this new organization was perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of Virginia.

The society, proceeding to the election of its first officers, put its best foot forward. James Madison, of Orange, was chosen president; Thomas Mann Randolph, of Albemarle, first vice president; Gen. John H. Cocke, of Fluvanna, second vice president; Peter Minor, of Albemarle, secretary; Isaac A. Coles, of Albemarle, treasurer.

The society being duly organized, Col. Thomas M. Randolph, Gen. Cocke, and Mr. Cabell were chosen a committee to communicate to Mr. Madison "his election as president and to request his acceptance of the same." Col. Randolph's letter of notification was written with such great dignity as to make Mr. Madison's reply seem somewhat commonplace beside it. Perhaps, however, the tendering of an office like this lent itself more readily to memorable expression than did the acceptance of it. A steering committee was next appointed to outline in some definite form a course of action to be followed by the society in attaining the objects for which it was organized. This important committee contained a group of names often associated on many later occasions when serious work was to be done, viz, Thomas M. Randolph, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, David Watson, and James Barbour. A committee of accounts of three members was named, consisting of Frank Carr, Thomas J. Randolph, and William Woods. It is interesting that Thomas J. Randolph, at this time 25 years of age, habitually associated with the auditing committee during later years, should have introduced the bill into the Virginia Legislature in 1842 putting the State finances on a sound

basis, and in his later years should have written the rare and valuable pamphlet entitled "Sixty Years' Reminiscences of the Currency of the United States."

The society did not adjourn until it had provided for its more immediate practical needs. The committee on accounts was "requested to engage a suitable apartment for the reception and accommodation of the Society at its future meetings, and to report their proceedings under this resolution to the next meeting."

The Richmond Enquirer being chosen as the official organ for publishing the proceedings, the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, now duly organized and equipped, set forth on its mission of usefulness.

Our time will not permit us to follow its subsequent history in detail, but we find from time to time especially significant proceedings which challenge our attention.

Before passing to more important considerations it may be noted that on November 3, 1817, the committee of accounts, instructed to engage quarters for the society, reported "that they had engaged a room in the house of Mrs. Garner for that purpose, and, conformably to the suggestion made at the last meeting have pledged the Society that those of its members who dine in town sho'd dine at her house."

At this meeting the society began in earnest the work for which it was organized by listening to a communication from Gen. Cocke detailing some "new and interesting facts on the manner in which the egg of the Hessian fly is deposited." This insect had already caused vast damage to the northward, and after working its way southward from the vicinity of Long Island had now become a serious menace in Albemarle County.

The steering committee instructed to recommend proceedings best calculated to attain the objects of the society submitted a report of such interest that a part may well be here noted.

It is recommended that each member of the society be required to make a report of his own practice in agriculture and rural economy, together with that which is pursued on the three or four nearest farms to his own residence, under the heads prescribed in the subjoined formula, to be submitted to the society at its next regular meeting.

Then follows a sort of agricultural catechism, in attending to which a member could not fail to see pass before him a procession of his agricultural sins. It was as searching as the queries to which the member is obliged to reply in a Friends' meeting. He is to tell his practice on the following points:

Rotation of crops.

Average produce of each crop per acre.

Number of acres under the course of cropping.

Quantity of land cleared yearly.

If any, what proportion of worn out land?

Number of hands, horses, oxen employed.

Quantity and description of manure carried out yearly.

Quantity of plaster used—at what rate—and with what effect?

General description of the sod of the farm.

Number and description of labour-saving machines

Number and description of wheel carriages used in the operations of husbandry.

Number of cattle, sheep, and hogs.

How raised in summer and kept in winter?

The committee continues:

A faithful report by every member of the Society upon the foregoing subjects will embrace a mass of information that will nearly comprise every good practice that has occurred to the mind of any cultivator within the district of the society for imitation and most of the bad ones for avoidance.

It is believed that former attempts to establish Agricultural Societies in this State have failed, not from a deficiency of useful subjects to occupy their attention, or valuable information, for which they form the proper channel of communication to the public, but from the indefinite nature of the duties devolving upon their members. Each have waited for others to make communications, and finally they have best exemplified, "That what is everybody's business, is nobody's business." We shall guard against this course of failure by giving immediate employment, and stipulated duties to every member of the Society.

It was then resolved that "it is expedient, forthwith to procure the establishment of a well supplied and well conducted nursery, from which the citizens of the surrounding country may be furnished with all the varieties of the most approved fruits," and a committee was appointed "to propose some suitable person to establish a nursery in the vicinity of Charlottesville," and that the committee "are hereby authorized as an inducement to such person to engage in such undertaking, to assure him that the members of this Society will consider themselves individually pledged to use their best exertions to aid him as well in the original collection, as in the subsequent sale of his stock of fruit trees. It being considered, however, That the establishment shall be conducted upon principles of reasonable emolument to the undertaker, and of all practicable advantage to the Public." The committee was requested "to proceed to a speedy fulfillment of the duties assigned them, in order that, if possible, the proposed nursery may be commenced in the course of the ensuing Winter."

It is a matter of considerable interest that the first measure adopted by the society should have foreshadowed that agricultural collectivism which later reached a more elaborate expression in the modern farmers' cooperative organizations. It should be said, however, that the Albemarle Society was hardly a pioneer in establishing this type of cooperative interest. In some of the Northern States, especially after the Hamiltonian tariff had raised the price of imported

textiles, cooperative markets for the sale of home-made fabrics were set up in connection with the agricultural societies.

The membership of the society and concurrently the surplus in the treasury, increased so rapidly that at this same meeting the treasurer was authorized to loan out at legal interest such money as he might have in hand subject to the call of the society.

Among those added to the roll of membership may be mentioned Gen. Steenbergen, of Shenandoah, who drove cattle to the market from the Great Valley and beyond; Dr. George French, of Fredericksburg; Wilson Cary Nicholas, of Richmond (later governor, Senator, etc.); Erasmus Stribling, of Staunton; and Benjamin and Hay Taliaferro, of Orange.

On March 2, 1818, the society took another important step by resolving "that for the purpose of carrying into effect the views of the Society with regard to implements of Husbandry, it is expedient to establish a manufactory of such, to be in part under the patronage and guidance of the Society; to have in view particularly improvements in the construction of the plough." A committee was named to engage some suitable person to undertake the proposed manufactory, the society being pledged to furnish approved models. Those members of the society living at a convenient distance from Charlottesville were to consider themselves individually pledged to procure their stock of implements of husbandry, particularly plows, from the aforesaid manufactory. The terms, like those designated for the nursery, were to be a reasonable emolument to the undertaker and certain advantage to the public. The committee was to require that the manufactory should be located at Charlottesville, where the committee was authorized to assume in the name of the society a reasonable part of the annual rent of a suitable house with the word of caution, "keeping in view the actual state of funds of the Society."

It was intended, furthermore, that this house should serve as a sort of machinery headquarters for the society. It was "resolved that the said manufactory shall be a place of Deposit for all new or improved Implements of Husbandry. And it is hereby made the duty of every member of this Society, upon the discovery of any new or the acquisition of any improved implement, to deposit a model thereof in the said manufactory for the inspection and information of the Society, and the public generally." It is gratifying to learn that while the members of the society assumed the duties and the liabilities of the nursery and of the manufactory, the use of these advantages was open to the general public. The members of the society seem to have fully recognized that in them was the duty of leadership with the accompanying responsibility for the general welfare.

The efforts of the society had thus far been directed toward provision for good fruits and improved implements, but at this meeting, held on the 2d of March, live-stock interests were taken in hand. A committee consisting of I. A. Coles, Thomas M. Randolph, and Peter Minor, was instructed to enter into a correspondence with the Government of Spain "for the purpose of ascertaining whether a person acting under the authority of this Society will be permitted to purchase * * * and transport to the United States a Horse of the best race of that country, with the view to improve the breed of our own." At this date we are disposed to wonder why the type of horses found in Spain should have been favored, but when we learn that one of the favorite breeds of saddle horses of that day, the Narragansett pacer, was widely believed to have been of Spanish origin, the reason becomes clear.¹ There were to be found in Spain the famous kinds of saddle horses introduced by the Moors represented by the Barb and Arab types, and it is quite probable that the fame of these breeds had attracted the attention of these horse-loving planters. Undoubtedly all members of the society were keenly interested in saddle horses, the indispensable means of travel for gentlemen at that time, and one of their chief sources of outdoor pleasure. This interest in horses, especially those of the saddle type, was further shown in the later doings of the society.

On March 6, 1821, three years later, the committee reported having received a letter from the Spanish representative, Matro de la Serna, indicating that full consent had been given to any agent of the society to purchase and transport to America such a horse as he might choose. John S. Skinner, of Baltimore, an honorary member of the society and editor of the *American Farmer*, at that time the most influential agricultural periodical of the country, proffered his services as the agent of the society. This offer was accepted and the correspondence was turned over to Mr. Skinner. Unfortunately, the further development of this project can not be learned from that portion of the minutes which has been available.

At the meeting held on May 12, 1818, which closed the first year of the life of the society, President Madison attended for the first time, I believe, and delivered an address on the nature and principles of the objects sought by the society, and pointed out prevailing errors in agriculture as then practiced. This address was distributed in pamphlet form to the members, to the different agricultural societies of the State, and to such similar societies as were known to exist in other States. The membership continued to increase greatly, recruits being drawn from as far as Fairfax and the Great Valley. The collection of machinery models now began to

¹ John H. Wallace, *The Horse of America*, New York, 1897, pp. 174, 376.

grow, thanks to the widening fame of the society among the makers of tools and to the generosity of farmers who contributed specimens purchased or made on original designs.

The more intellectual aspect of the society's activity likewise increased as is indicated by the variety of papers contributed to the programs. Among other topics dealt with may be mentioned covered drains, methods of corn planting, the distillation of corn cobs, discussions of the peach borer, bot flies and numerous other topics of great variety. If time permitted, it would be interesting to see in how far these papers contributed to agricultural knowledge.

Similar societies in other parts of Virginia and in other States soon began to take cognizance of Albermarle and publications from these sources began to come in.

The accumulation of funds due to the increasing membership soon began to make possible the realization of aims which at first had been beyond consideration. On October 11, 1819, a committee consisting of W. D. Meriwether, James Barbour, Peter Minor, D. Minor, and Thomas G. Watkins, was appointed to consider the next steps to be taken toward realizing the objects of the society by the use of these funds. This committee reported on November 1, 1819, recommending that premiums be offered for excellence along lines of farming operation which the committee deemed to be most important. It is interesting to note what they regarded as the objects of greatest importance. A premium of \$30 was proposed for the greatest production and best quality of winter wheat grown on a piece of land not less than 2 acres in area. For the next greatest production, \$20. Like premiums were recommended for the greatest production and best quality of Indian corn, upon high land, recognizing that in the fertile lowlands the growing of corn offered at that time no important problem. That the dread of decreasing fertility was even then upon them is indicated in the third object of attention. Premiums of \$40 and \$50 respectively are recommended "for the best method of recovering worn-out lands to a more hearty state, within the powers of Farmers in general by judicious culture, and the application of common and cheap materials as manures."

The year 1820 found the society in a state of very great prosperity. The treasury contained about \$800, and some difficulty was experienced in investing it. Consequently the Jeffersonian measure was adopted of decreasing taxation by reducing the annual dues to the sum of \$2 instead of \$5.

At about this time the substitution of oxen for horses for draft purposes had come to the attention of the society as an object worthy of careful consideration, and the premium list of that year reflects

this interest. Premiums to the value of \$50 were offered "for the best experiments calculated to place the subject in a satisfactory point of view."

The plow seems to have been a subject of special patronage by this society, in line perhaps with the distinguished service rendered by its chief promoter, Mr. Jefferson. This interest was reinforced by the fact that his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, first vice president of the society at this time, had himself designed a special type of plow for use in "horizontal" or hillside plowing. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that this year the society extended its patronage to this important piece of farm machinery and offered a premium of \$30 for "the best improved and constructed plough for three horses." The importance of the wheat industry to the region was indicated by the premium of \$15 for "the best improved and constructed wheat cradle." Premiums for the objects already mentioned were continued for several succeeding years.

In October, 1822, the society undertook the consideration of one of the most remarkable resolutions ever offered for its attention. On the motion of Gen. Cocke the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas the Establishment of a Professorship of Agriculture in one of the principal seminaries of learning in this state is a measure eminently calculated to hasten and perpetuate the march of Agricultural improvement already so happily commenced; and whereas, there are grounds to believe that such an institution may be incorporated into the University of Virginia a position at once the most advantageous and convenient to every part of the state; and whereas, this Society could not make an appropriation of its funds more conducive to the permanent attainment of the primary objects of its institution, and as it is reasonable to expect that all the Agricultural Societies, the Farmers and Planters of the State generally will cheerfully contribute to an Establishment of such universal Interest—Therefore—

Resolved, That One Thousand Dollars of the Sum now in the Hands of the Treasurer of this Society be appropriated to the establishment of a Fund, the profits of which shall go to the support of a professorship of Agriculture at the University of Va.

Resolved for the furtherance of this design, That the President be requested to prepare an address to the other agricultural Societies of this State, requesting their cooperation in this scheme, and further to promote the same object, and increase the said fund that a committee be appointed to solicit donations, not to exceed one Dollar from Individuals in every part of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That the aforesaid appropriation, together with all that may accrue under the foregoing Resolutions be loaned to Individuals on good personal security, or to corporate Bodies; and That when the sum loaned to any one individual shall amount to One Thousand Dollars or upwards, landed Security shall be required; that the Interest shall be payable semiannually, and shall be reinvested until the yearly profits of the Fund shall be sufficient to afford an income equal at least to a professorship in the University.

Resolved, That the Funds above referred to, together with Donations of Books, and property of any other description, be with the permission of the Legislature, transferred to the Rector and Visitors of the University in their corporate capacity.

A committee consisting of Peter Minor, Thomas W. Maury, Thomas G. Watkins, Nimrod Bramham, and William Woods was appointed to solicit donations.

The appeal for cooperation from other agricultural societies sent out by President Madison met with enthusiastic support from the Agricultural Society of Surry County, which appropriated \$100 to this end. James M. Garnett president of the Fredericksburg Society, wrote a letter on the subject, the tenor of which is not revealed by the minutes. No other responses to this appeal are noted in the minutes.

To carry the solicitation for funds to all parts of the State, James Byars was approached to undertake the collection of donations from individuals throughout the State as well as back dues of members of the society for a reasonable part of the proceeds. Whether or not James Byars refused this proffer does not appear in the minutes, but no further reference to the matter was noted.

In the effort to collect the back dues to swell the university fund, the officers of the society seem to have run into trouble. The membership of the society had been recruited to a large number, and by 1823, through changes of residence, through removals by death, and through refusal of persons to own themselves members, the treasurer found himself in an embarrassing state of uncertainty regarding the value of his records. To remedy the situation a committee was appointed "to examine the list of members and report * * * who ought to be considered as members of this society and who not." This committee reported, in May, 1824, the names of those not longer to be regarded as members. Among those mentioned were Wilson J. Cary, George Gilmer, Dabney Minor, of Orange; Wilson Cary Nicholas, John Patterson, Thomas Eston Randolph, Gen. Steenberg, and others; in all, 46 in number. The list of active members aggregated 92 and showed that among the later memberships the high standard set in the beginning had been well sustained.

It would carry us beyond the limits of this paper to discuss or even enumerate the titles of the contributions offered in the programs of these 40 years of the society. Many of these papers were published in the Richmond Enquirer, in the Central Gazette, of Staunton, Va., and in the American Farmer, of Baltimore. It is greatly to be regretted that this society did not follow the example set by the Virginia, Philadelphia, and other similar societies and publish these proceedings and memoirs in some collected form. As the society grew older this feature of its work seems to have been

less in evidence. Perhaps as the other lines of work developed, less was written.

Probably the most energy-absorbing activity undertaken in these early years was seen in the development of the annual agricultural fair and exhibition. The first step in this direction was taken at the October meeting of 1824, some 14 years later than Elkanah Watson's agricultural exhibition at Pittsfield, Mass., and four years later than a similar exhibition held at Georgetown, D. C., by the Columbian Agricultural Society. A committee consisting of Col. William Woods, William H. Meriwether, Peter Minor, Col. Samuel Carr, and Col. Thomas M. Randolph at this meeting reported a plan for consideration. It recommended that premiums be offered for superior exhibits along three different lines of important agricultural activity: (1) Agricultural implements, (2) live stock, and (3) domestic manufactures. Since the project was novel in this region, and since the funds available for paying expenses and premiums were limited, but a small number of objects were distinguished. In the class of farm implements the plow, wheat fan, straw cutter, and wheat cradle are mentioned. If anyone were in doubt concerning the staple crops of Albemarle County at that time, this list would teach him the importance of the wheat crop. A total sum of \$30 was offered in premiums of this class. In the live-stock department, eight premiums, aggregating in value \$50, were offered for cattle, two being given for yokes of working oxen to be shown in plowing tests; six premiums were offered for horses, draft and saddle types receiving like consideration, the sum total being \$67; four premiums were offered for swine, four for sheep, and enumerated as an additional class two for best plowman working, in one case with horses, in the other with oxen. The subject of domestic manufactures seems to have commanded great interest, thirteen premiums being offered for articles in this class having a total value of \$72. The items for which premiums were offered form a list of much interest. Here were linen cloths for shirts and sheetings, flannels, carpetings, blankets, counterpanes of both woolen and cotton materials, hosiery, hats for men and women made of grass, straw, chip, or other material. These articles were to be made in the families of the exhibitors, the term "family" being used in the patriarchal sense that included the entire population of the plantation. A committee was selected to make arrangements for the use of grounds for the exhibit as well as for the plowing match, to be situated near Charlottesville, for the building of pens for the live stock, for meals for those in attendance, and for hay and grain for the live stock. The responsibility for this novel venture was placed on the shoulders of Alexander Garrett, John Winn, John H. Craven, Charles J. Meriwether, and Reuben Maury. With other business taken up at this time was the election

of a successor to James Madison who had acted as president for seven years. James Barbour was chosen in his place, serving two years.

At the March meeting, 1825, the society prepared to take a hand in a matter of local improvement which involved several new issues, and finally resulted in a rather sharp clash of interests. In the absence of railroads and of any adequate system of improved roads from the upper counties to the towns of the lower country, the Rivanna River took on considerable importance as a means of transportation. The resolution referred to declaring that the society would take cognizance of matters of internal improvement was in reality a preliminary step to its entrance into a campaign organized to secure the improvement of this river for purposes of navigation. In the following November this object was brought to a focus by a set of resolutions, in which the joint action of Fluvanna, Albemarle, and Augusta Counties was urged, looking toward clearing the channel of this river. This matter occupied an important place in the program of the society for the immediate future. The interests of the farmers required an open channel for their boats laden with wheat, landplaster, and other commodities, whereas those who had erected grist mills along the stream found it necessary to dam the river to get power wherewith to run their machinery.

At this time (1825) measures were taken to secure the incorporation of the society. The treasurer had found himself unable by the usual means to persuade some members to pay their dues, and the society wished to attain the necessary legal status in order to proceed against such in the courts. Perhaps it also wished to strengthen its position in the matter of the Rivanna improvement. Moreover, in conducting its exhibition it had increased its business dealings and felt the need of this support.

Let us now for the time being turn to the first exhibition, the preparations for which we have noted. It took place on the 8th and 9th of November, 1825, at The Farm, the residence of Samuel O. Minor. In accordance with his agreement with the committee representing the society, he had erected pens for the live stock and furnished other necessary facilities. He also provided food and drink for man and beast. Although Virginia hospitality has ever seemed to be boundless, it is probable from the fact that Mr. Minor's establishment could accommodate those attending the show that in our modern eyes the crowd would have seemed a small one. But it had much to see.

The reports of the judges in the different classes give us many interesting details. Under the shadow of Monticello where the modern moldboard was designed and near which the hillside plow was developed, it would be expected that the plowing tests would have been worthy. One can almost see the spirit of Jefferson presiding.

His scientific exactness marked every detail. The volume of soil displaced by each plow was calculated to the hundredth of a cubic inch, the time of plowing to the half minute and the draft of the competing plows was measured by a dynamometer which registered the pull to within 5 pounds. Stephen McCormick, with a plow of his own manufacture took the prize. The judges, Richard Sampson, Richard Duke, and Thomas M. Randolph, report that "Stephen McCormick's plough, called by his own name, opened a cubic space of $76\frac{5}{100}$ cubic inches with a power equal to 400 lbs. and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre in furrows of 70 yards long in 15 minutes with two horses." It may be of interest to recall in this connection that a little after this time Stephen McCormick sent one of his plows to Lafayette in France, where a model of it was made for the use of the Central Agricultural Society of France. The premium for best plowman was awarded to George Gilmer's man Richard, "as having managed his plough and team with superior skill and gentleness."

The prizes in the cattle class went to Peter Minor for his bull Virginius, half Alderney and half Devon, and to John H. Craven for his fine cow, but William Woods seems to have excelled in this line of animal husbandry for we find three premiums awarded to him.

The show of horses was very satisfactory if one may judge by the reports of John Thom, Samuel Carr, and William F. Gordon, who constituted the committee. The show of swine and sheep seems to have been less encouraging, and only one premium was awarded for sheep owing to the inferior character of the animals shown.

One of the chief points of interest among the domestic manufactures seems to have lain in the straw hats, especial mention having been given to a ladies' bonnet made by Mrs. Emeline Lewis. Mr. Coleby Cowherd, of Orange County, exhibited a remarkable pair of rose blankets. The work of Mrs. Lewis was shown to the members of the society in its session and aroused much enthusiasm. The minutes state:

After some pertinent and eloquent remarks upon the exquisite fineness of the fabric and its brilliant appearance and polish, and the propriety of encouraging this rare manufacture among the ladies of our vicinity—on motion of the vice president, Th. M. Randolph, Esq., it was resolved unanimously that the premium awarded by the committee to Mrs. Emeline Lewis for the best ladies' bonnet be doubled and that the Secretary see that the same is fulfilled.

This first exhibition must have passed off well since in the session closing the occasion, the chief persons concerned were enthusiastically thanked, even the presiding officer, Col. Randolph, for his dignity and impartiality.

This exhibition and fair hereafter became a regular institution with the society, being held during succeeding years on different

farms near Charlottesville. It would take us too far to review the later exhibitions on which evidence appears in the old records. In 1827 we find dairy products recognized, Mrs. Peggy Bramham taking the prize for butter, and Mrs. Eliza A. Woods for the best homemade cheese.

Dr. Frank Carr was awarded a premium for his specimen of wine made near Charlottesville in 1826, as Jefferson himself would have had it made, "from the pure juice of the grape." It was decided that in 1829, premiums should be awarded on tobacco, corn, wheat, and wine made in the country, also for cotton, hemp, flax, and wool.

One of the most interesting competitions in the class of domestic manufactures was seen in connection with that offered "for the most complete suit of clothes of domestic manufacture." The first premium was given to Col. William Woods, with the acknowledgment that "Mr. James Duke's pretensions were equal in the quality of his cloth, tho' the suit was not so complete."

The relationship between this agricultural society and the University of Virginia did not cease with the presentation of the grant just referred to. The highest privilege to which the society could elect was that of honorary member. This class during the first decade of the history of the society was a small one. John S. Skinner of Baltimore, the editor of the *American Farmer*, was the first person thus honored; Judge Hugh Holmes of Winchester, Va.; Thomas Moore, the chief engineer in charge of the works of internal improvement in Virginia, and likewise the author of a very wise book advocating deep plowing; Joseph Correa de Serra, representative to America from the Kingdom of Portugal, a great botanist and close friend of Jefferson and Thomas Mann Randolph; George W. Erving, of New York, late minister to Spain; C. P. McKennie, of Charlottesville; Mr. Jefferson; and James Madison. In only one instance was any man or group of men placed in this list on account of official position. The members of the faculty of the university were made members *ex officio*. Dr. Blättermann, the professor of modern languages, served at a later exhibition on the committee of judges on cattle. A close connection seems thus early to have been established between the society and the university, the hope underlying this relation doubtless being that so long held by Mr. Jefferson during his later life, that practice and learning should meet in an agricultural school to be developed as a part of the broader life of the university. A realization of this ideal seems to have become a part of the traditional policy of the society. In his presidential address of 1825, James Barbour, then Secretary of War, urged the establishment of an agricultural professorship in the university with which he proposed to connect "a pattern farm, of various soil and consider-

able extent." As late as 1842, William C. Rives, then its president returns to the subject in his address at the annual fair:

We must have a professorship of agriculture in our university as a part of the general cause of liberal studies, to furnish our young men, when they quit its walls, with a competent knowledge of the principles of a profession which so many of them embrace in after life.

We have now reviewed in a superficial way the doings of the society during the first 10 years of its existence. Unfortunately the minute books covering the subsequent life of the society are either lost, destroyed, or forgotten, and the contemporary prints only give here and there glimpses of later activities.

It is perhaps enough to say that the last exhibition of which I have been able to find a record was held at Charlottesville in 1848 or 1849. The names of exhibitors are those of a later generation, and few of those with whom we have here become acquainted are to be found.

The name of Frank Carr as secretary seems to identify an organization otherwise almost strange. It is probable that it was near its end since other organizations had grown strong and perhaps sapped its life. The State agricultural society had come into commanding prominence with its roll of members and its relatively great exhibitions. At home in Albemarle the Hole and Corner Club, organized in about 1842, had begun to assert a competing activity. This club, made up of a few members meeting privately and dealing in a co-operative fashion, by its social, informal manner of operation built up a small, compact inside body which may have drawn heavily on the more bulky, loosely organized Agricultural Society of Albemarle.

But it had only gone the common way of human institutions, living while useful, dwindling and dying after they have served their purpose. The society held up a bright beacon in Albemarle for over 30 years, until other organizations, perhaps better fitted to do the work, took its place.

CHAPTER I. THE FOUNDING OF THE NATION. The first step was the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. This document declared the colonies' right to self-governance and their separation from Great Britain. The Continental Congress then drafted the Constitution, which established the framework of the federal government.

The Constitution was signed in 1787 and put into effect in 1789. It created three branches of government: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The executive branch is headed by the President, the legislative by Congress, and the judicial by the Supreme Court.

The early years of the nation were marked by westward expansion and the growth of the economy. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 doubled the size of the country. The War of 1812 solidified the nation's independence and led to a period of national pride known as the Era of Good Feelings.

The 19th century was a time of great change and conflict. The Industrial Revolution brought new technologies and economic growth, but also led to social problems and the rise of reform movements. The Civil War (1861-1865) was fought over the issue of slavery and resulted in the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Reconstruction followed, but was marked by the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the failure to fully integrate African Americans into society.

The 20th century saw the rise of the Progressive Era, which sought to address social and economic issues. World War I and the Great Depression were major events. The New Deal was implemented to combat the economic crisis. World War II led to the United States' emergence as a superpower. The Cold War followed, characterized by tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The late 20th and early 21st centuries have been marked by significant social and political changes. The Civil Rights Movement led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal were major events. The 1980s saw the rise of the Reagan Revolution. The 1990s and 2000s were characterized by economic growth and the rise of the Internet. The 2008 financial crisis and the election of Barack Obama as the first African American President were significant events. The 2010s have seen the rise of the Tea Party movement and the election of Donald Trump as President in 2017.

VII. MINUTE BOOK OF THE ALBEMARLE (VIRGINIA)
AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY
RODNEY H. TRUE.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

BY
JOHN A. COOPER

MINUTE BOOK OF THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ALBEMARLE.¹

[3] Pursuant to a proposition for a meeting to form and organize a Society to promote the interests of Agriculture and Rural and Domestic economy in general, a meeting of sundry Gentlemen took place to effect that object at Charlottesville on Monday the 5th day of May, 1817, when Gen. John H. Cocke was called to the chair, and Peter Minor appointed Secy.

It was then resolved that an Agricultural Society should be constituted, and the following Persons were named as members to compose the same Viz: Th. Jefferson, Isaac A. Coles, John Coles, Frank Carr, John Campbell, Wm. Woods, Wm. F. Gordon, Dr. Chas. Cocke, Peter Minor, Tucker Coles, Dabney Minor, Danl. F. Carr, John Gilmer, Geo. Gilmer, Th. M. Randolph, Th. J. Randolph, Dr. Mann Page, John Patterson, Saml. Carr and Alex. Garrett, of Albemarle—Joseph C. Cabell, Robert Rives senr. and Wm. C. Rives of Nelson—John H. Cocke, and Wilson J. Cary of Fluvanna, James Barbour, Philip P. Barbour and Dabney Minor of Orange—David Watson, and Frederick Harris of Louisa.

It was then resolved that a committee of Five of the above members should be appointed to Prepare Rules and regulations for the Government of the Society to be reported to a meeting to be held at Charlottesville on the first day of the Autumnal [4] Superior Court of the county: And it is hereby understood and agreed that the presence of Ten members shall constitute a quorum to receive and act upon the said report.

The committee was then appointed of the following Gentlemen Viz. Mr. Jefferson, Mr. James Barbour, Gen. Cocke, Mr. Cabell, and Mr. Patterson—And the meeting adjourned to the first Monday in Oct. next.

P. MINOR, *Secy.*

¹This minute book was rescued from a pile of old junk by a descendant of one of the members of the Albemarle Agricultural Society and presented by him some years since to Mr. Armistead C. Gordon, of Staunton, Va., who in his turn gave it to the Virginia Historical Society of Richmond, Va. The undersigned on his part is under great obligation to Dr. W. G. Stanard, secretary of that society, for the opportunity to study this important document and for permission to arrange for its publication.

RODNEY H. TRUE.

MONDAY OCT. 6TH 1817.

The proposed meeting of the Society "to promote the interests of Agriculture and Rural and Domestic Oeconomy in General" took place this day at Charlottesville, and adjourned to the succeeding day.

TUESDAY 7TH OF OCT. 1817.

When a Quorum appearing, Gen. John H. Cocke was called to the chair and Frank Carr appointed Secretary.

Mr. Cabell from the Committee appointed in May last to prepare Rules and regulations for the Government of the Society, offered a report which being read and considered, was adopted, as follows—

[5] The undersigned Farmers of Albemarle and the circumjacent counties, duly appreciating the importance, both in a national and individual point of view of an improved system of Husbandry; sensible of their own deficiency of Knowledge in the theory and practice of rural economy; persuaded that Agricultural associations have proved eminently beneficial to other States and countries; and desirous to procure for themselves and their neighbours the advantages of such institutions; have determined to associate together, and to constitute an Agricultural Society, having for its attention and Enquiry the following objects, and for its Government, the Rules and regulations hereinafter specified.

I. Objects for the Attention and Enquiry of the Society—

1st. And principally, the cultivation of our primary Staples, Wheat, Tobacco and Hemp for Market.

2. All subsidiary articles for the support of the Farm, the food, the clothing, and the comfort of the Household, as Indian Corn, Rye, Oats, barley, buckwheat, Millet, the families of Peas and Beans, the whole family of grasses, turnips, potatoes, Jerusalem Artichokes and other useful roots, cotton and flax, the garden and orchard.

3. The care and services of useful animals for the saddle or draught, for food or clothing, and the destruction of Noxious Quadrupeds, fowls, Insects, and reptiles.

4. Rotation of crops, and the circumstances which should govern or vary them, according to the varieties of soil, climate and markets of our different counties.

5. Implements of husbandry, and operations with them, among which the plough and all its kindred instruments for dividing the soil holds the first place, and the threshing Machine an important one, the simplification of which is a great desideratum. Successful examples too of improvement in the operations of these instruments would be an excitement to correct the slovenly and unproductive practices too generally prevalent.

[6] 6. Calendars of Work, shewing how a given number of labourers and of draught animals are to be employed every day in the year, so as to perform within themselves, and in their due time according to the usual course of the seasons all the operations of a farm of given size; this being essential to the proportioning of the labour to the size of the Farm.

7. Farm Buildings and conveniencies, enclosures, roads, fuel, Timber.

8. Manures, Plaister, green dressings, fallows, and other means of ameliorating the soil.

9. A succinct report of the different practices of Husbandry in the district inhabited by the members of the Society; including the bad as well as the good, that those who follow the former may read and see their own condemnation in the same page which offers better examples for their adoption. It is believed that a judicious execution of this article alone might nearly supercede every other duty of the society, inasmuch as it would present every good practice which has occurred to the mind of any cultivator of the state for imitation and every bad one for avoidance; and the choicest processes culled from every farm would compose a course probably near perfection.

10. And finally, such subjects in husbandry and the arts connected with, or subsidiary to it, not hereto fore enumerated as the Society may hereafter propose for its consideration.

[7] II Rules and Regulations.

1. The Society shall be stiled the Agricultural Society of Albemarle.

2. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a first and second Vice President, a Treasurer, a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary when the encrease of business shall require it.

3. The Society shall meet regularly at the Town of Charlottesville in the county of Albemarle, on the first day of every regular term of the superior court for the said county; and shall continue by adjournment from day to day untill the business to be transacted shall be finished.

4. The President, or in his absence the first Vice President, shall have power to call special meetings of the Society, by notice published in at least one newspaper in the city of Richmond and one in the town of Staunton.

5. A quorum for business shall consist of at least nine members including the presiding officer; but if from the inclemency of weather, or the rise of water courses, as many as nine members should not attend on the day fixed for any meeting, it shall be in the power

of any three members to adjourn the Society from day to day for any number of days not exceeding three.

6. The officers of the Society shall be elected on the first day of each regular meeting in the autumn. Each officer so elected, shall continue in office for one year, and until another shall be chosen in his stead. And in case of any vacancy by death, resignation or otherwise, the same may be supplied by a new election, to be made at any meeting of the Society; the person thus newly elected to serve the remainder of the year.

7. The President shall preside at the meetings of the Society, and perform all the usual duties of that station. In his absence, the same duties shall devolve on the first Vice President. If he also should be absent, then on the second Vice President. [8] And if neither of these officers should be present, then on the vice president pro tempore to be elected for the occasion as hereinafter directed.

8. The Treasurer shall keep his accounts methodically stated in books to be provided for that purpose; and when required, produce them for inspection. At every stated meeting in the autumn, and also whenever his office ends, he shall produce a fair and regularly stated account of all receipts, payments and expenditures: In the latter case he shall moreover deliver such account together with all Books and other property of the Society in his hands, to his successor in office or to the orders of the Society.

9. The Secretary shall have in charge all the Books and papers of the Society, other than those in the hands of the Treasurer, and keep the same in exact order. He shall register all letters which shall be written by the committee of correspondence, or by himself by order of the committee.

10. At the regular meeting of the Society in the Autumn, shall be chosen a committee of correspondence to consist of five members, any three of whom to be a quorum, for the purpose of corresponding with any other Society, or persons, touching the objects which this Society has in view. At the same time shall be chosen a committee of accounts, consisting of three members to receive and adjust all claims against the Society for its contingent expenses, and the President, or first Vice President shall give orders on the Treasurer for the payment of them.

11. The members of the Society shall be distinguished into Ordinary and Honorary.

The persons present in person or by proxy at the meeting which appointed the committee to draw up these rules and Regulations, or at the meeting by which they were adopted, and such other persons as hereafter may be elected for the purpose by the Society, shall be Ordinary Members.

All such distinguished citizens of this state, and of other [9] states and countries, whom the Society may elect for the purpose shall be *Honorary Members*: And they are hereby invited to aid the Society, and, if convenient, to assist at its meetings.

Strangers who desire to be present as auditors may be introduced; and for that purpose each member shall be authorized to bring one friend along with him to any meeting.

12. New members, either Ordinary or Honorary, may be elected. But no person shall be voted for as a member, unless at a previous meeting he shall have been proposed by two members of the Society, with an assurance in the case of an ordinary Member, that he is desirous of joining the Society.

Nor in any instance shall a vote be taken, unless at the time of nomination, a statement in writing, signed by the proposers, and containing the name, place of abode and addition [sic] of the person proposed shall have been handed to the Secretary, read to the Society, and entered on the minutes.

Nor shall any person be elected a member, unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

13. Whenever a new member is elected, it shall be the duty of the Secretary forthwith to notify him of his election in the following form:

On the — day of — 18— A. B. of — was elected a Member, (Or Honorary Member) of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle; the Society inviting his assistance.

C. D Secretary.

14. No person elected as an ordinary member, shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society, unless he shall have subscribed these rules and regulations, and paid his arrears if any are due to the Society.

15. New members may be nominated at any meeting; but all elections of members shall be at one of the stated meetings of the Society.

The elections of Officers, members, and committees shall be by [10] ballot; and the majority of members present including the presiding officer shall decide all questions, except those touching the election of members and the rules of the Society.

16. If the presiding officers, the Treasurer, or the Secretary, be absent from any meeting, the Society shall elect one to serve *pro hac vice*.

17. As soon as the funds will admit the Society shall propose prizes for experiments and improvements in husbandry, and for the best Pieces written on proposed subjects. And in order more effectually to disseminate the knowledge of useful discoveries and

improvements in Husbandry, the Society will from time to time, publish collections of memoirs and observations, selected from such communications as shall be made to them. To promote these views, the friends of Agriculture are invited to assist the Society with experiments and incidents in Husbandry.

18. All claims of prizes shall be sent in writing—and when read, the Society shall determine which of the claims relative to each prize, shall be selected for their definitive judgment on a future comparison. If it happen in any case that there be no competition for a prize, but only a single claim, the Society will consider such claim, and if the claim or claims be supported answerably to the views and just expectations of the Society, the prize proposed shall be decreed.

19. Every ordinary Member shall on the day of his admission, and also on the first day of every succeeding regular autumnal meeting, pay to the Treasurer the sum of Five Dollars.

At the close of every regular autumnal meeting, the Treasurer shall lay before the Society a list of the members, specifying those who have, and those who have not paid their contributions; and if the contribution of any member shall be found more than one year in arrears, after the same shall have become due and payable, and if the same has been personally demanded of him by the Treasurer, or collector [11] authorized by him for the purpose, such member shall be considered as withdrawing from the Society and be no longer deemed a member—and the same shall be entered on the minutes.

Any member of the Society may withdraw from the same, by sending a letter of resignation to the Secretary, and by paying up any arrears which at the time he may owe the institution.

20. The funds of the Society shall be appropriated by a majority of the members present at regular meetings, to the objects of the institution, in such manner as shall be deemed most beneficial, and to no other purpose whatever.

21. Donations may be received by the Treasurer, to be added to the funds of the Society.

22. In order to prevent imposition, the Secretary shall to each article of intelligence, annex the name of the person offering it.

23. No new rule, nor alteration in any old rule, shall take place, unless it be sanctioned by two thirds of the members present at two successive, stated meetings of the Society.

24. The Society shall be kept in order by the rules which are observed for that purpose by the General assembly of the state.

Date of Admission	Members Names	Date of Admission	Members Names
1817 Oct. 7th	Th. M. Randolph J. H. Cocke Frank Carr Th. Eston Randolph Th: J. Randolph Joseph C. Cabell I. A. Coles.	1817 Oct. 7th	Jn. Patterson Dabney Minor W. C. Rives Wm. Woods P. Minor Alex. Garrett Samuel Carr Wm. F. Gordon Jno. Coles P. P. Barbour

[12] Date of Admission	Members Names	Date of Admission	Members Names
1817 Nov. 4	John M. Craven James O. Carr W. D. Meriwether Dan. F. Carr Geo. Gilmer John Gilmer Wm. H. Meriwether Th. W. Maury N. Bramham Christopher Hudson Ch: Cocke Tucker Coles Th. G. Watkins Saml. O. Minor I. T. Minor David Watson Th. W. Gooch David Michie J. Goss John Hudson J. W. Dabney Ben Colman		

[13] Date of Admission	Members Names	Date of Admission	Members Names

[14] TUESDAY, 7TH. OF OCT. 1817.

The following persons were present in person as members at the adoption of the foregoing Rules and Regulations Viz. Th. M. Randolph, John H. Cocke, Peter Minor, Isaac A. Coles, Joseph C. Cabell, John Coles, Dabney Minor, George Gilmer, Alexander Garrett, Wm. C. Rives, Philip P. Barbour, Wm. Woods, Samuel Carr, Th. Eston Randolph, Th. J. Randolph, Wm. F. Gordon, Charles Cocke, John Patterson and Frank Carr;

And the following persons were considered as members by proxy, Viz. James Madison, Th. Jefferson, Th. G. Watkins, Andrew Stevenson, John R. Campbell, Tucker Coles, Danl. F. Carr, John Gilmer, John H. Craven, George Divers, Christopher Hudson, Mann Page, Th. W. Maury, James O. Carr, Nimrod Bramham, James Henderson, Wm. Meriwether, Sr., Wm. Meriwether Jr. Robert Rives Sr., Wilson J. Cary, Miles Carey, James Barbour, Dabney Minor (Orange). Frederic Harris, David Watson, James Minor, Andrew Kean, George W. Trueheart, William Bolling, Randolph Harrison.—Th. R. Harrison.

The Society then proceeded to the Election of its Officers to serve for one year.

On a Ballot being respectively taken for each,

James Madison of Orange was elected, President.

Th. M. Randolph, of Albemarle. 1st Vice President.

John H. Cocke of Fluvanna. 2d Vice President.

Peter Minor of Albemarle. Secretary.

Isaac A. Coles of Albemarle. Treasurer.

Mr. Madison, not being present, a committee, consisting of Col. Randolph, Gen. Cocke and Mr. Cabell, was appointed to communicate to him his Election as President of this Society and to request his acceptance of the same.

[15] The Society then came to the following Resolutions.

Resolved, That the Secretary shall give information to all who have been named as members by a proxy, and shall ask an acknowledgement in writing of their acquiescence, without which they shall individually be considered as having withdrawn, and be exempt from all claim on the part of the Society.

Resolved, That a committee of five Members be appointed, whose duty it shall be to consider of, prepare, and report to a meeting to be called for that purpose, the plans, or methods of proceeding best calculated in their estimation, for the attainment of the objects of the Society.

And the committee was appointed, of Messrs. Th. M. Randolph, Jos. C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, David Watson and Jas. Barbour.

Resolved, That a Committee of Accounts, consisting of three members be appointed, and they are hereby authorized and requested to engage a suitable apartment for the reception and accommodation of the Society at its future meetings, and to report their proceedings, under this resolution to the next meeting.

And the committee was appointed, of Messrs. Frank Carr, Th. J. Randolph, and Wm. Woods.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Society be, and he is hereby instructed to cause to be published in the Richmond Enquirer, a copy of the proceedings of the former and present meetings.

[16] MONDAY, Nov. 3, 1817.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, convened by special notice on Monday, the 3d of Nov. 1817. Present—Jno. H. Cocke, 1st Vice President, P. Minor, Isaac A. Coles, John Coles, John Patterson, Th. J. Randolph, Th. Eston Randolph, Alexr. Garrett, Wm. C. Rives, Jos. C. Cabell, Wm. F. Gordon, P. P. Barbour, Saml. Carr, Dabney Minor, Wm. Woods and Frank Carr.

Price Perkins of Buckingham, proposed as a member, on the recommendation of Wm. C. Rives, and Jos. C. Cabell, and on the assurance of Jos. C. Cabell that he is desirous of joining the Society.

The committee of accounts appointed at the last meeting to engage a suitable apartment for the reception and accommodation of the Society at its future meetings reported that they had engaged a room in the house of Mrs. Garner for that purpose, and conformably to the suggestion made at the last meeting have pledged the Society that those of its members who dine in town sho'd dine at her house.

A communication from Gen. J. H. Cocke detailing some new and interesting facts on the manner in which the egg of the Hessian Fly is deposited, was read.

And the Society then adjourned to tomorrow morning, 10. OCK.

[17] TUESDAY, NOV. 4TH, 1817.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

Present. Gen. Cocke, (2d Vice President,) P. Minor Isaac A. Coles, Jos. C. Cabell, John Patterson, Th. J. Randolph, Th. E. Randolph, John Coles, Wm. D. Meriwether, Saml. Carr, and Dabney Minor.

James Leitch, Nichs H. Lewis, Ths. Gooch, John Hudson, and John Winn, all of Albemarle, were proposed as members on the recommendation of Th. Eston Randolph and I. A. Coles, and on the assurance of Th. E. Randolph that they are desirous of joining the Society.

Reuben Lindsay, Senr., Hugh Nelson, John Rogers, Thornton Rogers, James Clark, James Lindsay, James H. Terrell, Richd. Duke, Lewis Walker, Samuel O. Minor, David Michie, Eli Alexander, Martin Dawson, and John Watson, all of Albemarle were proposed as members on the recommendation of Wm. D. Meriwether and Th. E. Randolph, and on the assurance of Wm. D. Meriwether that they are desirous of joining the Society.

James W. Dabney, Reuben Maury, John Goss of Albemarle, and Doct. Charles Meriwether of Louisa were proposed as members on

the recommendation of Dabney Minor and Peter Minor, and on the assurance of D. Minor that they are desirous of joining the Society.

Doct. Robert Morrisson, John Scott, Danl. Scott, Saml. Dyer, Saml. Dyer jr., Wm. Dyer, John Dyer, James P. Cocke, and Smith Cocke all of Albemarle, were proposed as members on the recommendation of John Patterson and Chas. Cocke, and on the assurance of the former that they are desirous of joining the Society.

[18] The committee appointed at the last meeting to communicate to Mr. Madison his election as President of this Society, and to request his acceptance of the office, reported that they had performed that duty, and a letter from Mr. Madison to the Chairman of the committee was read.

Whereupon, Resolved that the correspondence between the Committee and Mr. Madison on the subject be entered on the minutes, and be published in the Richmond Enquirer.

MONTICELLO OCT. 14. 1817.

SIR

I have the honor to make known to you that on tuesday the 7th Inst. at Charlottesville, a number of respectable gentlemen of Albemarle and the adjacent counties who had held a prior meeting in form with that view united themselves to constitute an Agricultural Society. An Organization was completed many regulations were adopted, and the title of "Agricultural Society of Albemarle in Virginia" was assumed. The meeting having become much fuller in the course of the day than was expected, the Society proceeded to the election of two Vice Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer—after which it turned its attention to the choice of an Honorary Head from whom in place of official duties it might obtain the important benefits of a dignity in the public appearance of the institution, a directing light in those paths of Science into which they are about to enter, and to invite their Agricultural fellow Citizens to follow, and a cementing influence which the object of the affectionate veneration of all of them cannot fail to impart. Every member present felt the conviction that from your name and qualifications, all those advantages would be derived in a very high degree. Your exemption at that time from all other engagements of a public nature, even such [19] as are often imposed upon men of great powers and equal disinterestedness in the narrow circle of their country residence was considered—and an unanimous vote determined that this application should be made to you. As chairman of the Committee appointed for that purpose, I ask the favour of an answer before the first Monday in Nov. next, when another meeting will take place.

I am Sir, with every sentiment of respect, and a very sincere Attachment,
Yrs. etc.

TH. M. RANDOLPH

JAMES MADISON

Esqr. late Prest. of the U. S.

MONTPELLIER OCT. 24. 1817

DEAR SIR.

I recieved on the 22d. inst. your letter of the 14th making known to me that the Agricultural Society of Albemarle had been pleased to make choice of me for its 'Honorary Head'.

The high degree in which I value the objects of the institution, and the particular respect I entertain for its members, do not permit me to decline so flattering a distinction. I should accept it nevertheless with greater alacrity if I were less aware of the failure which the Society must experience in the advantages which its partiality has attached to my connexion with it. My inadequacy to afford them would be felt under any circumstances; and I cannot lose sight of those which must every day increase it. I shall need all the exemptions and indulgences which the tenor of your letter shows a disposition in the Society to bestow; and shall be encouraged to avail myself of them by the certainty that the duties of the place will devolve on more efficient hands.

I feel myself much indebted, Sir, for the very kind terms in which you have made the communication, and pray you to accept as a [20] token of it, assurances of my distinguished esteem and truest regard.

JAMES MADISON

THOMAS. M. RANDOLPH Esqr.

Chairman of the Committee etc.

The committee appointed at the last meeting of the Society, for the purpose of considering of, preparing and reporting the plans or methods of proceeding best calculated for the attainment of the objects which the Society have in view, submitted the following Report in Part, and requested to be indulged with further time for the complete fulfilment of the duties assigned them—

REPORT ETC.

The committee appointed at the last meeting of the Society for the purpose of considering of, preparing and reporting the plans or methods of proceeding, which in their estimation may be best calculated for the attainment of the objects of the institution, have given to the subject all the consideration which the short interval of time, and their other indispensable duties, during a busy season of the year would admit. They have found it impossible to prepare a plan as mature and comprehensive as they could desire; they have, however agreed upon the following sketch which they respectfully submit, and they ask to be indulged with further time, till the regular meeting in the Spring for the purpose of making a supplemental Report.

It is Recommended—

That each member of the Society be required to make a report of his own practices in Agriculture and Rural Economy, together with that which is pursued on the three or four nearest Farms to his own Residence, under the heads prescribed in the subjoined Formula, to be submitted to the Society [21] at its next Regular meeting.

Heads	Answers.
Rotation of crops.	
Average produce of each crop p acre.	
Number of acres under the course of cropping.	
Quantity of Land cleared yearly.	
If any, what proportion of worn out Land.	
Number of Hands, Horses and Oxen employed.	
Quantity and description of Manure carried out yearly.	
Quantity of Plaister used—at what rate—and with what effect.	
General description of the Soil of the Farm.	
Number and description of Labour saving machines	
Number and description of wheel carriages used in the operation of Husbandry.	

[22] Heads

Answers.

Number of cattle Sheep and Hogs.
 How raised in summer, and kept in Winter.

A faithful report by every member of the Society upon the foregoing subjects, will embody a mass of information that will nearly comprize “every good practice which has occurred to the mind of any cultivator within the district of the Society for imitation” and most “of the bad ones for avoidance”.

It is believed that the former attempts to establish Agricultural Societies in this State have failed, not from a deficiency of useful subjects to occupy their attention, or valuable information, for which they form the proper channel of communication to the public, but from the indefinite nature of the duties devolving upon their members. Each have waited for others to make communications, and finally they have but exemplified, “that what is every body’s business, is nobody’s business”. We shall guard against this course of failure by giving immediate employment, and stipulated duties to every member of the Society. It is presumed that this arrangement will not in any degree prevent members from making other communications of such information as they may deem useful or important.

The foregoing Report, having been read and considered, was adopted. Whereupon—

Resolved that the functions of the said committee be continued, and they are hereby charged with the duty of preparing and making

a supplementary report to the Society at its next regular meeting in the Spring.

[23] Resolved that the Secretary be, and he is hereby authorized and required to forward to every member of the Society a copy of the said Report, together with a copy of the resolutions by which the said Committee was created, their Report adopted, and their functions continued, And that he be further authorized to employ a clerk to assist him in making out the requisite number of copies.

The meeting then adopted the following Resolutions.

Resolved, That for the purpose of carrying into effect the views of the Society in regard to Orchards and Fruits Gardens it is expedient forthwith, to procure the establishment of a well supplied and well conducted nursery, from which the citizens of the surrounding country may be furnished with all the varieties of the most approved fruits.

Resolved, That Messrs. I. A. Coles, Wm. D. Meriwether, John Patterson, Thos. E. Randolph and Saml. Carr, be a committee whose duty it shall be to propose to some suitable person to establish a nursery in a convenient situation in the vicinity of Charlottesville. And that the said committee are hereby authorized as an inducement to such person to engage in such undertaking, to assure him that the members of this Society will consider themselves individually pledged to use their best exertions to aid him as well in the original collection, as in the subsequent sale of his stock of Fruit trees. It being considered, however, that the establishment shall be conducted upon principles of reasonable emolument to the undertaker, and of all practicable advantage to the Public.

Resolved, That any three of the Committee shall be sufficient to act, and they are hereby requested to proceed to a speedy fulfilment of the duties assigned [24] them, in order that, if possible, the proposed nursery may be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter, and that they report their proceedings under these resolutions to the next meeting of the Society.

Resolved, That these proceedings, together with the communication read yesterday from Gen. Cocke, on the subject of Hessian Fly be published in the Enquirer, and the Secretary is hereby charged with that duty.

Resolved, That the Treasurer be authorized to loan out at legal interest any money he may have in his hands, subject to be called in at any time by the Society.

[25] MONDAY, MARCH 2d. 1818.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, convened by Special notice on Monday the 2d. day of March, 1818. Present; The first and Second Vice Presidents, P. Minor, I. A. Coles, Frank

Carr, Christopher Hudson, Wm. Woods, W. D. Meriwether, Th. W. Maury, John H. Craven, Nimrod Bramham, Dr. Chas. Cocke, Th. J. Randolph and Tucker Coles.

Col. Wm. I. Lewis of Campbell, Th. C. Hoomes of King and Queen, Doct. Isaac Curd of Goochland, Wm. Brent of Stafford, Wm. H. Cabell of Buckingham, and Wm. Steenbergen of Shenandoah, were proposed as members by Jos. C. Cabell and P. Minor.

Dr. George French of Fredericksburg and W. C. Nicholas of Richmond were proposed as members by Dabney Minor and Peter Minor.

Wm. Skipwith of Cumberland, Walter Coles of Albemarle, and Chas. Scott of Fluvanna were proposed as members by J. H. Cocke and I. A. Coles.

Dr. Wm. Meriwether of Amelia was proposed as a member by W. D. Meriwether and Th. G. Watkins.

Henry Gantt, Robert Sangster, Andrew Hart and Samuel Hart all of Albemarle were proposed as members by Alexr. Garret, and J. H. Cocke.

Erasmus Stribling of Staunton was proposed as a member by Peter Minor and J. H. Cocke.

Renolds Chapman, Coleby Cowherd, John Henshaw, Wm. C. Willis, Wm. Quarles, Baldwin Taliaferro and Hay Taliaferro all of Orange were proposed as members by Wm. F. Gordon and Peter Minor.

Wm. Morris, Ludlow Bramham, Chas. Quarles, Maj. James Watson, Elijah Hutchinson, Wm. Ragland, Ths. Johnson, Richmond Terrell, Col. John Overton, and Lancelot Minor, all of Louisa were proposed [26] as members by Peter Minor and John H. Cocke.

Reuben Lindsay, jr. of Albemarle was proposed as a member by Chrsr. Hudson and Th. N. Randolph.

The meeting then adopted the following resolutions.

Whereas it is expedient that the members of this Society should be intimately acquainted and conversant with the objects which are proposed for its attention and enquiry, and with the rules and regulations adopted for its Government, Therefore,

Resolved that the Secretary procure to be printed in a cheap Pamphlet form Two Hundred copies of the constitution, and that he forward to each member one copy thereof.

Resolved that upon the election of any new member, it shall be the duty of the Secretary when he informs him thereof, to forward to him a copy of the constitution.

Resolved, That for the purpose of carrying into effect the views of the Society with regard to implements of Husbandry, it is expedient to establish a manufactory of such; to be in part under the

patronage and guidance of the Society; to have in view particularly improvements in the construction of ploughs.

Resolved that Messrs. Wm. D. Meriwether, Th. J. Randolph and Frank Carr be a committee whose duty it shall be to engage some suitable person to undertake the proposed Manufactory. And the Society hereby pledges itself to furnish the said undertaker from time to time with the most approved models of Agricultural implements, particularly ploughs: And further, those members of the Society who reside at a convenient distance from Charlottesville, will consider themselves individually pledged to procure from the said manufactory their stock of implements of Husbandry, particularly [27] ploughs; so long as the same shall be conducted upon principals of reasonable emolument to the undertaker and of certain advantage to the public.

Resolved, that the said manufactory shall be established in Charlottesville, and the committee be authorised to contribute a reasonable part of the annual rent of a House for that purpose, keeping in view the actual state of the funds of the Society.

Resolved, that the said manufactory shall be a place of Deposit for all new, or improved Implements, of Husbandry. And it is hereby made the duty of every member of this Society upon the discovery of any new, or the acquisition of any improved implements, to deposit a model thereof in the said manufactory for the inspection and information of the Society, and the Public generally.

Resolved, that the Committee report their proceedings under these Resolutions to the next meeting.

Resolved, that Messrs. I. A. Coles, Th. M. Randolph and P. Minor be and they are hereby appointed a Committee to open a correspondence with the Government of Spain thro our Minister at Madrid, and the Spanish Minister accredited to the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining whether a person acting under the authority of this Society will be permitted to purchase in Spain and transport to the United States a Horse of the best race of that Country, with the view to improve the breed in our own.

Resolved, that the Committee of five members who were appointed at the meeting in October last to consider of prepare and report the plans or methods of proceeding best calculated for the attainment of the objects of the Society—be and they are hereby considered as the Committee of Correspondence, whose appointment is provided for by the 10th Article [28] of the Rules and Regulations, and they are charged with the duties enumerated in the said article untill the regular meeting in autumn.

A memoir upon Hessian Fly by Col. Randolph detailing minutely its first appearance and subsequent progress in the United States,

together with observations and experiments thereon by various persons, was read, and ordered to be published in the Enquirer.

[29] MONDAY, MAY 11TH, 1818.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 11th day of May 1818. Present, Jos. C. Cabell, Isaac A. Coles, John Patterson, Wm. Woods, Tucker Coles, Frank Carr, Alexr. Garrett, Dabney Minor, Th. G. Watkins, Th. W. Maury, Th. J. Randolph, John Gilmer, Th. E. Randolph, Geo. Gilmer, Wm. D. Meriwether and P. Minor.

The presiding officers being all absent, Mr. Cabell was called to the Chair.

The Society proceeded to the Election of new members who had been nominated at the two preceding meetings, when upon a Ballot being respectively taken for each, the following persons were duly Elected, viz.

Price Perkins and Wm. H. Cabell of Buckingham, Wm. I. Lewis of Campbell, Ths. C. Hoomes of King and Queens, Dr. Isaac Curd of Goochland, William Brent of Stafford, Wm. Steenbergen of Shenandoah, Dr. George French of Fredericksburg, Wilson Cary Nicholas of Richmond, Wm. Skipwith of Cumberland, Chas. Scott of Fluvanna, Dr. Wm. Meriwether of Amelia, Walter Coles, Henry Gantt, Robt. Sangster, Andrew Hart, and Saml Hart of Albemarle, Erasmus Stribling of Staunton, Renolds Chapman, Coleby Cowherd, John Henshaw, Wm. C. Willis, Wm. Quarles, Baldwin Taliaferro and Hay Taliaferro of Orange, William Morris, Ludlow Bramham, Maj. James Watson, Elijah Hutchinson, Wm. Ragland, Th. Johnson, Richmond Terrell, Col. John Overton, Lancelot Minor and Dr. Chas. Meriwether of Louisa, Reuben Lindsay, Senr., Reuben Lindsay, jr., Hugh Nelson, John Rogers, Thornton Rogers, Jas. Lindsay, James Clark, Jas. H. Terrell, Richd. Duke, Lewis Walker, Saml. O. Minor, David Michie, Eli Alexander, Martin [30] Dawson, John Watson, James Leitch, Nichs. H. Lewis, Ths. Gooch, John Hudson, John Winn, Jas. W. Dabney, Reuben Maury, John Goss, Dr. Robt. Morrison, John Scott, Danl. Scott, Saml. Dyer, sen., Saml Dyer, jr., Wm. Dyer, John Dyer, Jas. P. Cocke, and Smith Cocke of Albemarle.

John Howe Peyton of Staunton, John M. Perry, and John H. Marks of Albemarle were proposed as members by John Patterson and Dabney Minor, and upon the assurance of the former that they are desirous of joining the Society.

The Society then adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 12TH, 1818.

The society met pursuant to adjournment.

Present, Mr. Madison, Gen. Cocke, Jos. C. Cabell, I. A. Coles, Tucker Coles, John Coles, Walter Coles, Chrstr. Hudson,

Th. E. Randolph, Alex'r. Garrett, Geo Gilmer, Dr. Carr, Dr. Gilmer, D. Minor, John Patterson, Th. W. Maury, John Hudson, D'd Michie, Saml O. Minor, Wm. H. Meriwether, Wm. D. Meriwether, N. Bramham, Js. H. Terrell, N. H. Lewis, Eli Alexander, Jas. Leitch, Th. J. Randolph, Wm. Woods, Ren. Maury, P. P. Barbour, Wm. F. Gordon, Wm. C. Rives, Th. Gooch, and P. Minor.

The President took the chair, and delivered an address upon the nature and principles of the objects which the Society have in view, pointing out at the same time many prevailing errors in the present general system of Agriculture.

A report by Gen. Cocke detailing his practices in Agriculture and Rural Oeconomy, in conformity to a recommendation of the Society to each member [31] to that effect, and according to a formula, contained in the said recommendation, was received and read.

Also a consolidated report by the same person the result of Enquires and observations made upon two of the most contiguous Farms to his own Residence.

A report by Dr. Carr of his practices in Agriculture, made in pursuance of the same recommendation, was recieved and read.

A report by P. Minor, conformable to the same recommendation was read.

A report by Dl. F. Carr conformable to the same recommendation was read.

A report by Wm. H. Meriwether conformable to the same recommendation was read.

Charles A. Stewart of Augusta and Alexander Blain of Albemarle, were proposed as members by Wm. D. Meriwether and Geo. Gilmer, and upon the assurance of the former that they were desirous of joining the Society.

Martin Thacker was proposed as a member by I. A. Coles, and John Coles, and upon the assurance of the latter that he is desirous of joining the Society.

David I. Lewis, Dr. Humphrey Peake, and Benjn. Ficklin of Albemarle were proposed as members by D. Minor and Nimrod Bramham, and on the assurance of the former that they are desirous of joining the Society.

On motion, Resolved that Messrs. Jos. C. Cabell, D. Minor, and John Rogers be added to the committee, appointed in March last, to engage some suitable person to undertake the proposed manufactory of Agricultural implements.

Mr. Coles from the committee appointed in Nov. last to engage a suitable person to establish a nursery in a convenient situation [32] in the vicinity of Charlottsville, for the purpose of carrying into effect the views of the Society in regard to orchards and Fruit Gardens, reported that, they have engaged Mr. Reuben Maury to

undertake the proposed nursery, who has commenced his preparation for meeting the views of the society.

The following Resolutions were then adopted—

Resolved, That any committee of the Society which from want of sufficient time, or any other cause has not yet complied with the duties, with which it was charged, shall be and is hereby authorized and required to proceed in the fulfillment of such duties and to prepare, and make a report to the next regular meeting of the Society.

Resolved, That such members of the Society as have not yet reported their practices in Husbandry in conformity to the formula prescribed at the last regular meeting, are hereby earnestly desired not to defer their report for a greater length of time than may be absolutely unavoidable.

The President retired, and Vice Prest. Cocke being also absent, Wm. D. Meriwether was called to the chair.

The following resolutions were adopted—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle are due to the President for the enlightened and important address, this day delivered. That the Secretary be and he is hereby authorized and required to request a copy for publication; that he cause the said address to be published in the Enquirer; as also 250 copies to be printed in the pamphlet form, one of which he shall transmit to each member of the Society.

Resolved, That the Secretary be authorized and required to present a copy of the said address to the Agricultural Society of Virginia

[33] Resolved That Wm. H Meriwether David Michie Nicholas H Lewis, James H Terrell and Dabney Minor be and they are hereby appointed a committee, whose duty it shall be to report to the Society such patent machines and instruments as they may think valuable to the purposes of Agriculture and rural economy.

Resolved that the names of the new Members elected yesterday, shall be published by the Secretary in the Enquirer.

[34] MONDAY OCTOBER 12TH, 1818.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday Oct 12 1818. Present, Gen Cocke, 2d Vice President, John Patterson, Frank Carr, D. Minor, Saml. Carr, Saml. O. Minor, Wm. Woods, John R Campbell, John Goss, Th. W Maury, George Gilmer, John Gilmer, John H. Craven, Erasmus Stribling, Dd Michie, Dd. Watson, Tr. Gooch, Th. J. Randolph, I. A. Coles, P Minor, Wm. H. Meriwether, Js. W. Dabney, John Hudson, Christopher Hudson, and Daniel F. Carr.

The Society proceed'd to the election of new members who had been nominated at the preceeding meeting, when upon a ballot being

respectively taken for each, the following persons were duly elected viz—

John H Peyton of Staunton, John M Perry, John H Marks, Alex^r. Blain, Martin Thacker, Dd. I Lewis, and Benjamin Ficklin of Albemarle, Charles A. Stewart of Augusta, and Dr. Humphrey Peake of Fairfax.

Reuben Cowherd of Louisa and John Crump of Fredericksburg were proposed as members on the recommendation of Ths. Wm. Maury and Peter Minor, and on the assurance of the former that they are desirous of joining the Society.

Henry Watkins of Prince Edward was proposed as a member on the recommendation of I. A Coles, and Th. W Maury and on the assurance of the former that he is desirous of joining the Society.

[35] The Society proceeded to the Election of its Officers and committees for one year, as provided by the Rules and Regulations, when upon a Ballot being respectively taken for each.

James Madison of Orange was declared President, Th. M. Randolph of Albemarle—1st. Vice Prest., John H. Cocke of Fluvanna, 2d Vice Prest., Peter Minor of Albemarle, Secretary, Isaac A. Coles of Albemarle, Treasurer, Ths. W. Maury of Albemarle, Assistant Secretary.

Th. M Randolph, John H. Cocke, Joseph C Cabell, Isaac A Coles and Frank Carr, were chosen a committee of correspondence, as provided for by the 10th Article of the Constitution.

Frank Carr, Th. J. Randolph and Wm. Woods were chosen a committee of Accounts, as provided for by the same Article.

Mr. Maury presented in the name of John Heaven Esqr. of Montgomery County, a Model of a new and improved turning plough, also from the same person, a Model of a machine for cleaning Clover seed. Whereupon, on Motion,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to John Heaven Esqr. of Montgomery in consideration of the respect shewn by him to the Society in the presentment of the aforesaid Models and the Secretary is hereby authorized and required to communicate a copy of this resolution to the said John Heaven Esqr.

Resolved that the said Models be deposited in the care of Mr. Alexander Garrett untill the further orders of the Society, with a request that he exhibit them to the inspection of every person who desires it.

[36] A printed paper entitled, 'Hints to Emigrants on the choice of new Lands &c by Agricola' forwarded by Mr. Madison was Read.

A letter from P. Minor addressed to the prst. of the Society, upon draining detailing a new mode of making secret or covered drains was read.

A letter from Col. John Overton of Louisa detailing a new mode of cultivating corn was read.

A report by George Gilmer of his practices in Husbandry in conformity to a recommendation and formula heretofore reported to the Society was read and read.

A letter from Rawdon and Balch engravers Albany N. York enclosing a sample of a diploma for Agricultural Societies, with proposals to furnish this society with the same, was read, whereupon, Resolved, That it is inexpedient at this time to accede to their proposition.

Resolved that the Secretary be authorized and required to forward and present a copy of the Presidents Address, to the different Agricultural Societies in this State, and also to those which he may know to exist in any other of the U. States.

[37] MONDAY MAY 10TH 1819.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 10th of May 1819. Present, Col. Randolph, 1st V. Prst., Gen. Cocke, 2d V. Prest., J. A. Coles, Jno. Gilmer, James O. Carr, D F Carr, Th. J. Randolph, George Gilmer, Th. G. Watkins, Col. Js. Barbour, Jno. Coles, Ro. Sangster, John H. Craven, Alex Garrett, Js. W. Dabney, Saml. O Minor, Th. E Randolph, Benj Ficklin, Eli Alexander, Christopher Hudson, Hugh Nelson, Dabney Minor, Wm. D. Meriwether, and P. Minor.

The Society proceeded to the Election of members who had been nominated at the preceeding meeting whereupon a ballott being respectively taken for each the following persons were duly elected Viz

Reuben Cowherd of Louisa, John Crump of Fredericksburg, and Henry Watkins of Prince Edward.

Dr. Benjamin Coleman of Spotsylvania was recommended as a member, by Peter Minor and I. A. Coles and on the assurance of the former that he is desirous of joining the Society.

The following persons having duly notified the Treasurer of their wishes and intentions on the subject, are no longer considered as members of this Society, Viz Andrew Hart, Saml. Hart, Alexr. Blain, James P. Cocke, Saml Dyer Senr., Henry Gantt and John Watson of Albemarle, John Henshaw of Orange, and Dr. James Minor of Louisa

[38] A letter from Doctor Benj. Coleman of Spotsylvania, detailing an experiment he made the last year in the culture of Turnips, was read.

A letter from the President of the Society was read, communicating and enclosing the following printed papers, viz—

“Proceedings of the first Cattle Show and fair of the Agricultural Society of Jefferson County N. York.

“First Annual Report of the Orange County Agril. Society, State of New York.

“An additional Memoir on the subject of the cotton culture, the cotton commerce, and the cotton manufacture of the United States By Tenche Coxe of Philadelphia—And a Volume on Gardening, expressly presented to the Society by Mr. Joseph Milligan of George Town, District of Columbia.”

A letter from the Secy of the Fredericksburg Agricultural Society was read, enclosing and presenting, An Address delivered before the said Society, by James M. Garnett Esqr. president thereof.

A letter from P. Minor addressed to vice president Cocke was read, detailing an experiment on the distillation of corn cobs, with remarks and observations on their value as a food for stock.

A letter from Vice prest. Cocke was read—detailing an account of a manuring for wheat upon fallow Land.

Also, a Memoir by the same person, upon Peach Trees, giving an account of the insect which deposits its eggs in the Bark, with a remedy against its destructive effects.

[39] A communication from Vice President Randolph, was read, containing a ‘Notice of the Bott Fly of Horses, with a remedy against their attacks, so often fatal to that animal.

[40] MONDAY OCTOBER 11TH 1819

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday Oct 11th 1819. Present, Vice President Randolph, Th. E. Randolph, John Gilmer, Nichs. H. Lewis, Saml. O. Minor, Wm. D Meriwether, James Barbour, Nimrod Braham, Reuben Maury, Wm. Woods, Eli Alexander, Richd. Duke, Th. G. Watkins, Th. J. Randolph D Minor, John H. Craven, James W. Dabney, Th. W Maury and Peter Minor

Dr. Benjamin Coleman of Spotsylvania nominated at the last meeting, was Ballotted for and elected a Member.

A communication from Col. Jas. Barbour, On Lawler Wheat, detailing sundry experiments, and observations on the disease called Smut was read.

The same member submitted a plan for the appropriation and disposal of the funds of the Society, which was read, where upon, on motion, it was Resolved That the said plan and the subject at large of appropriating the funds, be referred to a select committee of five members, who shall report on the subject to the next meeting.

And the said Committee was appointed by Messrs. W. D. Meriwether, J. Barbour, P. Minor, D. Minor and Th. G. Watkins.

Resolved that when this meeting adjourns it will adjourn to the first Monday in November next in order to receive the said committee’s report.

[41] John S. Skinner, Editor of the American Farmer, Baltimore is proposed as an Honorary Member of this Society, by Th. G. Watkins and Th. W. Maury.

Judge Hugh Holmes of Winchester is proposed as an Honorary member, by James Barbour and Th. J. Randolph.

Joseph Correa de Serra, Minister near the United States from Portugal and Brazil is proposed as an Honorary member by P. Minor and Th. M. Randolph.

A communication from P. Minor, On Stone fences, was read.

Vice President Randolph informed the Society that sundry implements of Husbandry had been forwarded by the President for the inspection of the Society, Whereupon, Resolved that the same be placed in the care of Col. Bramham with a request that he exhibit them to the observation of every person who desires it.

Mr. Th. J. Randolph from the committee of Accounts stated that from the present absence of the Treasurer the said committee were unable to make their annual report.

Whereupon, Resolved, that the functions of the said committee be continued until it can perform that Duty.

The Society then proceeded to the election of committees and officers as prescribed by the Rules and Regulations.

Th. M. Randolph, James Barbour, Peter Minor, Th. G. Watkins and Wm. D. Meriwether were chosen a committee of correspondence as provided for by the 10th Article of the Constitution.

[42] Nimrod Bramham, Dabney Minor and Th. E. Randolph were chosen a committee of accounts as provided for by the same article.

A Ballot being respectively taken for each James Madison of Orange was declared President, Th. M. Randolph of Albemarle 1st V. Prst., James Barbour of Orange 2d V. Prst., John Coles of Albemarle, Treasurer, Peter Minor of Albemarle, Secretary, Th. W. Maury of Albemarle asst Secy.

The society then adjourned to meet again on the first Monday in Nov next.

[43] MONDAY NOVEMBER 1ST 1819.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held especially, according to previous adjournment, on Monday the 1st of Novr. 1819. Present Vice Presidents Randolph and Barbour, Reu: Maury, Jas. O. Carr, Hugh Nelson, John Rogers, Eli Alexander, Dd. Michie, Th. W. Gooch, Th. E. Randolph, D. F. Carr, Jno. Gilmer Tucker Coles, Nichs Ficklin, John Goss, George Gilmer, Mann Page, D. Minor, Th. J. Randolph, Th. G. Watkins, Jno. H. Craven, Jno. Coles, Th. W. Maury and P. Minor.

The Society recieved from John S. Skinner Esqr. of Baltimore, thro' the medium of Dr. Th. G. Watkins a copy of the American

Farmer, neatly bound. Whereupon Resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Skinner, with an intimation of his being nomenated as an Honorary Member, and the Secretary is charged with that duty.

In consequence of the polite offer of Mr. Skinner made thro the same member, it was further Resolved, that the Society would make use of the American Farmer, as a medium of communicating its proceedings to the public.

A letter from Don Marianus La Gasca professor of Botany in the royal Garden of Madrid, to the president of the Society, was read, accompanied by three pamphlets and a variety of seeds of different plants.

Resolved that Vice President Randolph be requested to take charge of the said seeds and with the consent of the President, to distribute [44] them among such members as will recieve them with a view to test their utility by cultivation.

Mr. Th. J. Randolph from the committee of accts. reported a statement of the Treasurer's acct. with the Society exhibiting a Ballance in the Society's favour of \$828.32/100 on the 12th of October 1819. Also a Ballance of 260\$ due from different persons, but many of whom it is believed have never considered themselves members.

Mr. Barbour from the committee appointed at the last meeting to report a plan for the appropriation and disposal of the Funds of the society, submitted a report, which was read. And the said report being again read by paragraphs and amended was adopted by the society as Follows.

The committee to whom was referred at the last meeting the scheme submitted by Mr. Barbour for the appropriation of the funds of the society with instructions to report a plan for that purpose best calculated in their opinion to further the objects of the institution, have had the subject under consideration and have agreed upon the following sketch, which they respectfully submit. In forming which they have taken for the most part, for their guide the example of similar institutions and the suggestions of their best judgment.

Previously to the exhibition of the scheme the committee ask the liberty of presenting the following remarks.

Every system of Husbandry must, necessarily, if Judicious, conform to the circumstances of the country in which it is adopted. [45.] These circumstances are its climate, its soil, the kind of Labour employed, its products, the Reward for such products, etc. A grazing country for example will be most interested in discovering the cheapest and most productive method of growing and fattening stock: the improvement of their breed, etc., while in this section of country where the valuable grains of wheat and Indian corn constitute the staple productions, such a system of cultivation as will enlarge

their products ought to claim our first consideration. Intimately and indeed indissolubly connected with this interesting subject is the reclamation of our exhausted fields, the result of the deteriorating system of our Ancestors, and of which the present generation is far from being guiltless.

It is therefore to these objects that your committee propose first to recommend the application of the funds of the Society; and as these shall encrease, it will be enabled to widen the sphere of its patronage, till it embraces the whole circle of agriculture.

They recommend that the Society offer.

1st. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the greatest production and best quality of Winter wheat from not less than two acres in one piece.

2d. A premium of Twenty Dollars for the next greatest production from the same No. of Acres.

3d. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the greatest production and best quality of Indian corn from the same No. of acres—*Upon high Land.*

4th. A premium of Twenty Dollars for the next greatest product, from the same No. of Acres.

[46] 5th. A premium of Fifty Dollars for the best Method of recovering worn out Lands to a more hearty State, within the power of Farmers in general by judicious culture, and the application of common and cheap materials as manure, founded on experiment made upon at least two acres.

6th. A premium of Forty Dollars for the second best Method.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE FOREGOING PREMIUMS.

The premiums as above proposed shall be awarded on the crops of the year 1821. Those for Wheat in the Autumnal session of that year, and those for Indian Corn in the ensuing Spring session. Those for the reclamation of worn Land in the session of the autumn of 1822.

Persons desirous of becoming candidates for premiums on crops must give notice thereof by letter (post paid) or by personal application to the Secretary on or before the 1st of September 1821 as it regards wheat, and on or before the 1st of April 1822 as it regards corn, stating in writing their names, residence description of the crops raised, and the object offered for premium: Also the nature and quality of the produce, the manner of cultivation, the Quantity and kind of manure used the preceeding year—the quantity and kind of manure used the year of its production, the quantity and kind of seed sown or planted, and the manner of preparing it—the time and manner of sowing or planting it, and of Harvesting.

It is understood that the several kinds of grain must be raised on *old improved land*. [47] The products to be ascertained by the certificates of Two respectable and disinterested witnesses.

Candidates for premiums for the reclamation of worn out lands, must state also in writing the nature and quality of the soil, the degree of exhaustion, the kind and quantity of manure (if any applied) and the result of such application, on or before the 1st of Sept. 1822.

None but members of the Society shall be candidates for premiums.

All premiums shall be paid in silver plate with proper inscriptions.

But the Society reserves to itself the right of withholding the proposed premiums in any case where there appears no peculiar merit.

With a view to guaranty the prompt payment of the premiums which may be awarded and to give facility to the administration of the funds of the Society, it is recommended that they be by the next session vested by the Treasurer in the Three Per Cent public Stock of the United States, and that the Interest thereon, as well as the accruing subscription money, be quarter-yearly vested in the same stock; the whole in the name of the Treasurer in trust for the benefit of the Society.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Resolved that the foregoing premiums be advertised in the American Farmer published in Baltimore and in the Richmond Enquirer.

[48] On Motion, Resolved that a committee of Five Members be appointed to consider of and report to the next meeting further subjects for premiums to be offered by the Society.

And the committee was appointed of Peter Minor, Th. G. Watkins, Wm. D. Meriwether, John Rogers and James Barbour.

The Society then adjourned to the regular meeting in May next.

[49] MONDAY MAY THE 8TH, 1820.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, held on Monday 8th of May 1820. Present, John H Cocke, John Coles, Th. W. Maury, Peter Minor, Walter Coles, John Rogers, Charles Cocke, Wm. H. Meriwether, John Gilmer, Danl. F. Carr, S. Lindsay, Th. E. Randolph, Reuben Lindsay jr. Js. H. Terrell, Dabney Minor, Nimrod Braham, Th. G. Watkins, Benjn. Ficklin, Reuben Maury, George Gilmer, Nich's H. Lewis, Saml. O. Minor, Smith Cocke, Wm. D. Meriwether, Th. J. Randolph, Wm. Woods, Jas. Scott, and John H Craven.

The presiding members being all absent, Gen John H Cocke was appointed Vice president Pro. tem.

John Coles Treasurer of the Society tendered his resignation of that office—Whereupon, Nimrod Bramham was appointed to fill the same untill the regular appointment in the Autumn.

An error being found to exist in the report of the committee of accounts, respecting the Ballance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 12th of Oct. last. It is ordered that the standing committee of Accounts, do resettle and report the account of the said Coles, and transfer the funds in his Hands, with all the papers appertaining thereto, to his Successor.

John S. Skinner Esqr. of Baltimore, Judge Hugh Holmes of Winchester, and Don Joseph Correa de Serra, Minister near the U. S. from Portugal and Brazil were Ballotted for, and elected Honorary Members of this Society.

[50] Andrew Monroe of Albemarle, and Walker Timberlake of Fluvanna were proposed as members by Saml. O Minor, and Geo. Gilmer.

Jno. Fagg, Peter M. Meriwether and Charles J Meriwether all of Albemarle were proposed as members by Th. E. Randolph and Th. G. Watkins.

Thomas Moore, principal Engineer to the board of public works of Va. and George W. Erving Esqr. Late minister from the U. S. at Madrid were proposed as Honorary Members by P. Minor and J. H Cocke.

Mr. Coles the late Treasurer, stated to the Society that he had found it impossible to carry into effect the order made at the last meeting to vest the funds of the Society in Three P Ct stock of the U. States, as well from his inability to call in the money, as the difficulty of procuring the Stock, none being for sale in this State—Where upon,

Resolved that the former order be rescinded, and the Treasurer be authorized and required to continue the money in his own or other hands at legal interest, subject at all times to the order of the Society.

A motion was made to amend the 19th Article of the Rules and Regulations by the following Resolution.

Resolved, that the annual contribution of each member to this Society at and from the next Autumnal meeting be two Dollars instead of five Dollars.

And the question being taken on the said Resolution, it was decided in the affirmative unanimously.

A letter from George W. Erving Esqr. late Minister from the U. States at the court of Madrid [51] addressed to a committee of this society, was read, containing remarks and observations upon the use and relative value of Horses & oxen in the agriculture of Spain.

A letter from Judge Holmes of Winchester was read, containing remarks, and some new details upon the proper construction of Stone Fences.

A letter from Edmund Ruffin was read covering, A Memorial to Congress, and an Address to the public from the Delegation of the United Agricultural Societies of Virginia.

An account and description of a cheap and simple implement for gathering clover seed by the Secretary was read and the machine itself exhibited for inspection.

Dr. Th. G. Watkins delivered an address to the Society upon the present neglected and degraded state of the Rights of Agriculture, recommending and detailing at the same time a mode of conducting agricultural experiments with more accuracy and precision.

A communication from Gen. John H. Cocke was read, containing remarks and observations upon the rotation of Crops with an exposition of his own practices in relation thereto.

The Society then resolved to offer the following Premiums.

1st. As it is believed that great advantages would be derived from the general use of Oxen instead of Horses in Husbandry and other services—that by proper training they can be made to travel not only as fast with a loaded carriage if properly shod, but to plough as much land, either singly or in pairs, as the [52] same number of Horses, particularly if geared in horse harness, with such variation as will adapt it to their particular shape, or with improved Yokes strapped to their horns. The Society in order to ascertain their powers in these particulars, and the expense of maintaining them, offers a premium of Thirty Dollars for the best experiments calculated to place the subject in a satisfactory point of view.

2d. And a Premium of Twenty Dollars for the second best set of Experiments.

These Premiums to be awarded in the autumn of 1821, and free for the claim of any Farmer, whether he is a member or not.

3d. A Premium of Thirty Dollars for the best *improved* and construct[ed] plough for three Horses, and 4th. A premium of fifteen Dollars for the best *improved* and constructed Wheat Cradle—to be placed and to remain as Models in the Societys Repository.

These Premiums to be awarded in, or after the autumn of 1821, and free for the claim of any person.

In order to disseminate more generally the agricultural intelligence and improvements made throughout the U. S. the Society resolved to present each of its members with the 1st. Vol of the American Farmer edited at Baltimore by Jno. S. Skinner Esqr. Those members already in possession of the first Volume to be presented with the second, or the equivalent in Money.

Resolved that the Secretary and Treasurer jointly be authorized and required to carry [53] the foregoing Resolution into effect, and pay for the same out of any unappropriated funds belonging to the Society.

[54] TUESDAY OCTOBER 10TH 1820.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, On Tuesday the 10th of October 1820. Present. Jos. C Cabell, Nimrod Bramham, Saml. O. Minor, Danl. F. Carr, John Gilmer, Wm. C. Rives, Dr. Benj. Colman, Wm. Woods, Frank Carr, P. Minor, John Winn, Reuben Maury, Dabney Minor, James Leitch and Alexr. Garrett.

The presiding Members being all absent Jos. C. Cabell was appointed Vice President Pro. Tem.

Andrew Monroe, John Fagg, Peter M. Meriwether and Chas. J. Meriwether of Albemarle, and Walker Timberlake of Fluvanna all nomenated at the last meeting, were balloted for and elected Members

Thomas Moore principal Engineer to the board of Public Works of Va. and Geo. W. Erving Late Minister from the U. S. to the court of Madrid were balloted for, and elected Honorary Members.

The Society then proceeded to consider the amendment proposed and adopted at the last meeting of the 19th article of the Rules and Regulations as expressed in the following Resolution.

‘Resolved that the annual contribution of each member to this society at and upon the next autumnal meeting be Two Dollars instead of five Dollars.’ and the question being taken upon the adoption of the said resolution. It was decided in the affirmative, unanimsly.

The said Resolution having been now adopted by the constitutional majority at two Regular Meetings of the society, is from this time to be considered as a part of the Rules and Regulations

[55] Col. John Thom and Peter Hansborough jr. Esqr. both of Culpepper county were nominated as Members by Doct. Benj. Colman and Nimrod Bramham and on the assurance of the former that they are desirous of becoming Members.

The Secretary reported, that since the last meeting of the Society he had recieved from John S. Skinner Esqr. a box containing sundry specimens of Grain, which he has distributed among such of the members as he thinks will ensure a fair and certain trial, all of whom have promised to report the result to the Society. Viz. to Mr. Wm. D Meriwether a sample of Barley, to Mr. D Minor a sample of Rye from the Island of Naxos, to Gen. Cocke a sample of Reuchen Wheat from the Black Sea, and he has sown himself a sample of wheat from Smyrna.

The Secretary and Treasurer who were charged with carrying into effect the Resolution of the Society respecting the presentation of the first Vol of The American Farmer to each of its members, Reported that they have so far fulfilled the Resolution as to have procured 70 copies of the said work, which have been in part distributed, and the rest remain ready for delivery to members as they shall call for them. The cost of these Books at \$4.50 P Vol. amounts to \$315 exclusive of transportation, which will be paid out of funds in the Treasurers hands, and be fully exhibited in the next settlement of his accounts.

Mr. D Minor reported that the committee of Accounts had proceeded to settle with the late Treasurer Mr. Coles, and found in his hands a Ballance belonging to the Society of nine hundred and seventy eight Dollars and 63 cents, which has been duly transfered to the hands of Col. N. Bramham the present Treasurer.

[56] The same committee have proceeded to settle the accounts of the present Treasurer, and find the sum of eleven hundred and eleven Dollars and 75½ cents in his hands due this day to the Society, all which will more fully appear by reference to the said accounts and reports, which were presented and ordered to be filed by the Secretary.

A letter was Read from Gen. J. H Cocke, enclosing a memoir upon the profits, and mode of cultivating Rape Seed, by Commodore Js. Barron.

Also a description and drawing of a plough with five coulter by the same person.

A communication from Dabney Minor of Orange was read, recommending greater attention to Method and order in the operations of Husbandry, with an Index of a Diary of Farming Operations, recommended to be kept by every Farmer.

A communication from Doct. Benjamin Colman of Spotsylvania was read, recommending the practice of shoeing Oxen; with a description of the apparatus for confining them during the operation as practised in New England, with a model of the apparatus and shoe, exhibited for inspection.

The Society then proceeded to the election of Officers and standing committees for one year, as provided by the Constitution, and a Ballot being respectively taken for each. James Madison was declared President.

Th. M Randolph	1st Vice Prest.
John H Cocke	2d Vice Prst.
Nimrod Bramham	Treasurer.
Peter Minor	Secretary
Frank Carr	Asst. Secy.

Th. M. Randolph, James Barbour, Th. G. Watkins, Wm. D. Meriwether and Peter Minor were elected a [57] committee of correspondence as provided for by the 10th Article of the Rules and Regulations.

Dabney Minor, Th. Eston Randolph and John Winn, were elected a committee of Accounts as provided for by the same article.

Ordered that the Secretary hereafter offer the proceedings of the Society to the Editors of the central Gazette for publication.

[58] TUESDAY MARCH 6TH 1821.

At a special meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle pursuant to public notice held on Tuesday the 6th of March 1821.

Present. Charles Cocke, Th. W. Maury, Jon. Fagg, Reuben Maury, Erasmus Stribling, Th. J. Randolph, Smith Cocke, Benj. Ficklin and Peter Minor.

The presiding officers being all absent Doct. Chs. Cocke was called to the chair.

The committee appointed in March 1818 to ascertain by correspondence with the proper authorities whether a person acting under the authority of this Society would be permitted to purchase in Spain and transport to the United States a Horse of the best race in that country with a view to improve the breed in our own, Reported, and submitted the correspondence in part, that had taken place upon that subject, from which, and particularly by a letter recieved from His Excellency Matro de la Serna Chargé d' Affaires of Spain, it appears that the full consent of the King of Spain has been granted to the Committees application, and that the Society, or any person acting as its agent, would at any time be at liberty to purchase and transport such a Horse to the U. States.

And whereas, John S. Skinner, Esqr of Baltimore has proposed and proffered to become the agent of the Society in effecting the object contemplated—Therefore—[59] Resolved that the said John S. Skinner be and he is hereby appointed the Society's agent accordingly. And the Secretary is ordered to transmit to Mr. Skinner, the original letters Sen Louis de Onis, and Matro de la Serna together with a copy of this resolution, signed by the President and countersigned by himself in order to shew that the said John S. Skinner, or some person authorized by him is appointed by the Society to select, purchase and transport the said Spanish Horse to the U. States.

C. P. McKennie and Alex. McLane Kerr both of Albemarle were nominated as Honorary Members of this Society by Peter Minor and Th J. Randolph.

The meeting then adjourned to the regular meeting in May next.

[60] MONDAY MAY 7TH 1821.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held on Monday the 7th. of May 1821. Present. James Barbour, David Watson, Renolds Chapman, Dd. Michie, Th. W. Maury, P. Minor, Reuben Maury, Nimrod Bramham, Th. E. Randolph, Walter Coles, Th. G. Watkins, Frank Carr, John Coles, William Woods, John Fagg, and John H. Craven.

The presiding members being all absent Col. James Barbour was appointed vice-president pro. Tem.

Col. John Thom and Peter Hansborough, both of Culpepper who were nominated at a former meeting, were balloted for and elected members of the Society.

C. P. McKennie and Alexr. McLean Kerr both of Albemarle were elected Honorary members of the Society.

A letter, communicated by Mr. Jefferson from Andrew Cock of New York was read, describing a machine for planting corn and other grain.

A letter from Doct Ben. Colman was read, upon the uses and qualities of Millet.

A letter from Walter Coles, was read, describing a new mode of culture and extraordinary production of Irish potatoes. Also a mode of destroying the insects in the roots of peach trees.

A letter from Doct Th. G Watkins was read detailing the experiments of himself and others in the cultivation of Mangel Wurtzel with remarks and observations on its comparative value.

[61] Two essays from the Massachusetts Agricultural Journal were read, communicated and recommended to the Societys attention by Mr. Madison.

1st. On the preservation of Fruit trees, recommending the application of Tarr to the roots for that purpose:—By John Gates

2d. On the Form of Animals with hints for the improvement thereof, and remarks on the crossing of breeds. By Henry Cline, London

The Society then adjourned to the regular meeting in October.

[62] MONDAY OCTOBER 8TH 1821.

At a Regular Meeting of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 8th of October 1821. Present, James Barbour Andrew Stevenson, Th. E. Randolph, John Winn, Reuben Maury, Th. J. Randolph, Wm. Woods, Charles Cocke, John Coles, Wm. H. Meriwether, and Peter Minor. (Col. Jas. Barbour in the chair). The Society proceeded to the Election of Officers and standing committees for one year as provided for by the constitution, and a Ballot being respectively taken for each.

James Madison was declared—	President.
Th. M. Randolph—	1st Vice Prest.
John H. Cocke—	2d Vice Prest.
Nimrod Bramham—	Treasurer.
Peter Minor—	Secretary.
Th. W. Maury—	Asst. Secretary.

James Barbour, Th. M. Randolph, Th. G. Watkins Wm. D. Meriwether and Peter Minor, were elected a committee of correspondence, as provided for by the 10th article of the Rules and Regulations.

Th. E. Randolph, Dabney Minor and John Winn, were elected a committee of accounts as provided for by the same article.

A motion was made to amend the 12th article of the Rules and Regulations by the following Resolution.

Resolved 'That nominations of new members either Ordinary or Honorary may be made in writing, with the Secretary, at any time in the recess of the Society's meetings—such persons to be voted for at the next regular [63] meeting of the Society in the mode prescribed by the said article.'

And the Question being taken on the said resolution it passed in the affirmative unanimously.

The Society then Resolved, to continue the offers for premiums heretofore made for the greatest productions of wheat and corn and the Reclamation of worn out Land, for the best experiments made to ascertain the value of Oxen as a substitute for Horses, and for improved Agricultural Implements, for two years from the limited time prescribed respectively for each, subject to the same rules and regulations as heretofore prescribed.

That is to say—

1st. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the greatest production and best quality of winter wheat from not less than two acres.

2d. A premium of Twenty Dollars for the next greatest production from the same number of acres.

These premiums to be awarded in the regular autumnal session of 1823 and for wheat the growth of that year.

3rd. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the greatest production and best quality of Indian Corn, from the same no. of acres, *made upon High Land*.

4th. A premium of Twenty Dollars for the next greatest production from the same number of acres.

These premiums to be awarded in the regular spring session of 1823, and for corn the growth of the year 1822.

[64] 5th. A premium of Fifty Dollars for the best method of recovering worn out land to a more hearty state, within the power of Farmers in general, by judicious culture and the application of com-

man and cheap materials as manure, founded upon experiment made upon at least two acres.

6th. A premium of forty Dollars for the second best method.

These premiums to be awarded in the autumn of 1823.

The foregoing premiums are all to be paid in silver plate with proper inscriptions and none but members of the Society can be candidates for the same.

The Society reserves to itself the right of withholding the proposed premium in any case where there appears no peculiar merit.

Candidates for premiums on crops must give notice thereof by letter (post paid) or by personal application to the Secretary on or before the 1st of April [18] 23, as it regards corn, and on or before the 1st of September, 1823, as it regards wheat. Stating in writing their names, residence, description of the crop raised and the object offered for premium; also the nature and quality of the produce, the manner of cultivation, the quantity and kind of manure used the preceding year, the quantity and kind of manure used the year of its production, the quantity and kind of seed sown or planted and the manner of preparing it, the time and manner of sowing or planting it and of Harvesting. [65] It is understood that the several kinds of grain must be raised on *old improved Land*, and the products ascertained by the certificates of two respectable and disinterested witnesses.

The following Premiums are offered free for the claim of every person, whether he is a member or not, viz. 1st. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the best experiments made to ascertain the value of Oxen as a substitute for Horses.

2d. A premium of Twenty Dollars for the second best experiments.

It is believed that great advantages would be derived from the general use of Oxen in Husbandry and other services—that by proper training they can be made to travel not only as fast with a loaded carriage if properly shod, but to plough as much land either singly or in pairs, as the same number of horses particularly if geared in Horse harness, with such variations as will adopt it to their particular shape—or with improved yokes strapped to their horns. It is to ascertain these particulars that the Society are induced to offer the premiums and it is expected that candidates will accompany their claims with a written essay, embracing every particular that is calculated to place the subject in a satisfactory point of view.

3d. A premium of Thirty Dollars for the best *improved* plough for three Horses.

4th. A premium of fifteen Dollars for the best improved and constructed wheat cradle. [66] These two last to be placed and to remain as models in the Society's repository. These premiums to be awarded in the autumn of 1823.

Mr. Randolph from the Committee of a/cs. reported a settlement of the Treasurer's accounts exhibiting a Ballance in his hands due the Society of eight hundred and forty nine Dollars and 37 1/2 cents, say \$849.37 1/2 exclusive of Interest and of arrears due from members.

Resolved that the Secretary, by advertisement in the Central Gazette, request a full attendance of the Members at the next Regular meeting of the Society to take into consideration a further disposition of the Funds now in hand.

Doctor Thos. Wharton, and Wm. Ashley, Esq. both of Culpepper were nomenated as members of this Society by Benj. Colman, and Peter Minor, and on the assurance of the former that they are desirous of becoming members.

The Society then adjourned to the Regular meeting in May.

[67] MONDAY FEB. 4 1822.

At a special meeting of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle held pursuant to public notice on Monday the 4th of Feby. 1822. Present, Tucker Coles, Th. E. Randolph, Walter Coles, Th. J. Randolph, Jno. O. Carr, John Fagg, John Gilmer, John H. Craven, Wm. Woods, and P. Minor.

All the presiding officers being absent Mr. Tucker Coles was called to the chair.

A letter was received and read from Mr. Madison president of the Society, enclosing one addressed to him from Monsr. Thouin of The Museum of natural History at Paris, and accompanied by a box of seeds presented by the said Museum to this Society—And as this meeting is unable to understand many of the Botanical and Technical Labels on the different packages—Therefore—Resolved, that the said seeds be committed to the care of Col. Wm. Woods to be conveyed by him to Richmond—And

Vice President Randolph, Jos. C. Cabell, Dr. Charles Cocke, David Watson, Wilson J. Cary and Col. Wm. Woods are hereby appointed a committee to examine the said seeds, with the request that they will seperate such as will probably be useful in agriculture or gardening, from those merely Botanical, and annex a note of their common names and uses and any remarks they may think pertinent, and return them by Col. Woods to the Secretary, who is charged to distribute the same among such members of the Society as will undertake to experement with them. The [68] Committee being at liberty to retain any they may think proper for the same purpose.

Reuben Lewis, Overton Anderson, Geo. M. Woods, Daniel M. Railey, Jesse Lewis and the Rev. F. W. Hatch all of Albermarle were nominated as members of this Society by P. Minor and Wm. Woods.

The Society then adjourned to the Regular meeting in May.

[69] MONDAY MAY 6TH 1822.

At a regular meeting of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle, held on Monday the 6th day of May 1822. Present Dr. Charles Cocke, Richard Duke, Saml. Carr, Nimrod Bramham, James W. Dabney, Walter Timberlake, Th. J. Randolph, Jno. Winn, Tucker Coles, Benj. Ficklin, Reuben Maury, Jno. Gilmer, Jno. Fagg, Th. W. Gooch and Peter Minor.

The presiding members being all absent, Doct. Charles Cocke was called to the chair.

Doct. Thomas Wharton, and William Ashby Esq. both of Culpepper, who had been nominated at a former meeting, were balloted for and elected members of this society.

Reuben Lewis, Jesse Lewis, Overton Anderson, Geo. M. Woods, Daniel M. Railey and the Rev. F. W. Hatch all of Albemarle, nominated at the last meeting were balloted for and elected members of this Society.

The Society then proceeded to consider the amendment (proposed and adopted at the last regular meeting) of the 12th article of the Rules and Regulations as expressed in the following Resolution—

“Resolved, That nominations of New Members either ordinary or Honorary may be made in writing with the Secretary at any time in the recess of the Societys meetings—Such persons to be voted for at the next regular meeting of the Society in the mode prescribed by that Article.”

And the question being taken on the adoption of the said resolution, it was determined in the affirmative unanimously.

The said resolution having been now [70] adopted by the constitutional majority at two successive Regular meetings, is from this time to be considered a part of the Rules and Regulations.

A communication from Th. J. Randolph Esq. was read, upon fallows and manure, exhibiting some new and interesting ideas respecting both.

A communication from Peter Minor was read, detailing an experiment of a new mode of raising corn. For the experiment a claim was made for the Premium offered by the Society's resolution of the 1st Nov. 1819—for the greatest production and best quality of Indian Corn upon not less than two acres of *High Land*.

The Society being satisfied with the testimony accompanying the said communication—

Resolved that the aforesaid premium should be awarded to Mr. Minor. And Messrs. Saml. Carr, Th. J. Randolph and Tucker Coles were appointed a committee to prescribe and procure a piece of Silver plate for the purpose, of the value of Thirty Dollars.

Resolved that the Treasurer pay to the order of the said committee Thirty Dollars to carry the foregoing Resolution into effect.

Robert Gentry of Albemarle was nominated as a member of the Society by Reuben Maury and John Winn and on the assurance of the former that he is desirous of being a member.

The Society then adjourned to the Regular meeting in October.

[71] MONDAY OCTOBER 7TH 1822.

At a regular meeting of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 7th day of October 1822. Present, John H. Cocke, 2d. V. prest. Hugh Nelson, John Thom, Th. G. Watkins, Wm. Woods, Charles J. Meriwether, Sam. O. Minor, Danl. M. Railey, Thornton Rogers, Js. H. Terrell, John Rogers, Nimrod Bramham, Thos. E. Randolph, Frank Carr, Rev. F. W. Hatch, Wm. H. Meriwether, Reuben Maury, Phil. P. Barbour, Thos. W. Maury, and Peter Minor.

Robert Gentry, nominated at the last meeting was Balloted for and elected a member of this Society.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and standing committees for one year, and upon a Ballot being respectively taken for each.

James Madison	was declared President.
Th. M. Randolph	1st v. Prest.
James Barbour	2d v. Prest.
Nimrod Bramham	Treasurer.
Peter Minor	Secretary.
Th. W. Maury	Asst. secy.

James Barbour, Th. M. Randolph, Th. G. Watkins, Wm. D. Meriwether and Peter Minor, were chosen a committee of correspondence as provided for by the 10th article of the Rules and Regulations—

Thos. Eston Randolph, Dabney Minor and John Winn, were chosen a committee of accounts, as provided for by the same article.

A communication from Wm. H. Meriwether, On the employment of Overseers was read.

[72] Mr. Bramham, presented, in the name of John S. Skinner, Esq. of Baltimore, a small Bag of wheat and some Beans of different kinds brought from the Pacific ocean by Capt. Ridgely in the Frigate Constellation. Whereupon—

Resolved, That the Society's thanks be presented to Mr. Skinner, and that the said seeds be left in the care of Col. Bramham to be distributed by him among such of the members as will undertake to plant them.

On the motion of Gen. John H. Cocke (Hugh Nelson Esq. in the chair) the following preamble and Resolutions were adopted.

Whereas the Establishment of a Professorship of Agriculture in one of the principal seminaries of learning in this state is a measure eminently calculated to hasten and perpetuate the march of Agricultural improvement already so happily commenced; and whereas,

there are grounds to believe that such an institution may be incorporated into the University of Virginia a position at once the most advantageous and convenient to every part of the state; and Whereas, this Society could not make an appropriation of its funds more conducive to the permanent attainment of the primary objects of its institution—and as it is reasonable to expect that all the Agricultural Societies, the Farmers and Planters of the State generally will cheerfully contribute to an Establishment of such universal Interest—Therefore.

Resolved, That One Thousand Dollars of the sum now in the Hands of the Treasurer of this Society be appropriated to the establishment of a Fund, the profits of which shall go to the support of a professorship of Agriculture at the University of Va.

[73] Resolved, for the furtherance of this design, That the President is requested to prepare an address to the other agricultural Societies of this state, requesting their cooperation in this scheme—and further to promote the same object, and increase the said fund that a committee be appointed to solicit donations, not to exceed one Dollar from Individuals in every part of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That the aforesaid appropriation, together with all that may accrue under the foregoing Resolutions, be loaned to Individuals, on good personal security, or to Corporate Bodies; and that when the sum loaned to any one individual shall amount to One Thousand Dollars or upwards, landed security shall be required; that the Interest shall be payable semiannually and shall be reinvested, until the yearly profits of the Fund shall be sufficient to afford an income equal at least to a professorship in the University.

Resolved, That the funds above referred to, together with Donations of Books, and property of any other description, be with the permission of the Legislature, transferred to the Rector and Visitors of the University in their corporate capacity.

The committee to solicit donations was then appointed, of Messrs. P. Minor, Th. W. Maury, Th. G. Watkins, Nimrod Bramham and Wm. Woods.

On the Motion of Doct. Frank Carr, The following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, that this Society hold in just estimation the important benefits which the Agricultural interests of our country have derived from the introduction among us of the System [74] of Horizontal ploughing.

Resolved, That a committee of three members be appointed to procure and present to Col. Th. Mann Randolph, vice president of this Society and Governor of the Commonwealth, to whom our agriculture is indebted for the above mentioned improvement, a piece of plate with an appropriate devise and inscription; and that the said

committee be authorized to draw on the Treasurer for the sum of Thirty Dollars for the purpose of carrying this resolution into effect.

The Committee was then appointed, consisting of Messrs. Frank Carr, Thos. W. Maury and Thos. Eston Randolph.

[75] MONDAY OCTOBER 6TH. 1823.

At a regular meeting of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 6th of October 1823. Present—Vice President Barbour, Richard Duke, Th. W. Maury, Nimrod Bramham, Jas. O. Carr, Jno. Fagg, Reuben Maury, Wm. Woods, Frank Carr, Jno. Coles, Reuben Lewis, Saml. O. Minor, Wm. H. Meriwether and Peter Minor.

A letter to the president of this Society was read from James M. Garnett, Esq. President of the Fredericksburg Agricultural Society on the subject of the proposed establishment of a professorship of Agriculture in the University of Virginia, also, A letter to the same, from John Faulcon President of the Agricultural Society of Surrey county enclosing certain proceedings and resolutions of that Society respecting the said establishment. Whereupon, Resolved that the said proceedings and resolutions be entered on the minutes.

At a regular meeting of the Surry Agricultural Society, held at Surry Court house, on Wednesday the 2d. day of April A. D. 1823: A communication from the President of the Albemarle Agricultural Society relative to the establishment of a professorship of agriculture in the University of Virginia was taken into consideration when the following preamble and resolutions were offered by the Secretary and *unanimously* adopted. Viz—Whereas this Society has been favored with a communication from James Madison, President of the Albemarle Agricultural Society, communicating sundry resolutions of the said [76] society, making a subscription towards, and devising a plan for, the establishment of a professorship of agriculture in the University of Virginia; and soliciting the assistance of this society in forwarding the contemplated object, and Whereas, This Society highly approves the measure suggested by the above mentioned communication, and is desirous of facilitating its attainment, without entering into a disquisition as to the obstacles which may be opposed.

Therefore, Resolved, That this Society do subscribe the sum of One Hundred Dollars to the establishment of a professorship of Agriculture in the University of Virginia, to be paid by the Treasurer to the proper authority that may be established to receive it—Whenever the plan suggested by the Albemarle Agricultural Society shall be matured.

2d. Resolved, That a committee of eight members be appointed to solicit subscriptions from the individuals of this county in

conformity to the plan suggested and that each member take charge of a subscription paper together with a copy of the communication from the Albemarle A. Society for this purpose—The said committee to make report of their success at the next regular meeting of this Society.

3d. Resolved That the President of this Society be requested to communicate an acknowledgement of the reception of his communication with a copy of the above preamble and resolutions, to the President of the Albemarle Agricultural Society.

A true copy from the Minutes.

WM. H. FINCH, *Sec. to Surry A. S.*

[77] The Society the[n] adopted the following Resolutions;

Resolved, That Nimrod Bramham, Richard Duke, Frank Carr, Jas. O. Carr and Peter Minor be and they are hereby appointed a committee to examine the list of members of this Society, and report to the next meeting who ought to be considered as members of this Society and who not.

Resolved, That the Treasurer is to consider the reduction of the annual contribution of the members from five Dollars to Two Dollars as taking place on the 20th of October 1820.

Resolved, That the Secretary and Treasurer be appointed a committee to confer with and propose to James Byars or any other person to undertake the collection of donations, from individuals thro out the State, for the proposed professorship of Agriculture in the University and also arrears from distant members. And if he will undertake it for a reasonable pct. to contract with him to do so, and report to the next meeting.

The Society then proceeded to the election of Officers and standing committees for one year, and upon a ballot being respectively taken for each.

James Madison was declared	Prest.
Th. M. Randolph	1st Vice Prest.
James Barbour	2d do
Nimrod Bramham	Treasurer
Peter Minor	Secretary
Th. W. Maury	Assistant do

James Barbour, Th. M. Randolph, Wm. D. Meriwether, Frank Carr, and Peter Minor [78] were chosen a committee of correspondence as provided for by the 10th article of the rules and regulations.

John Winn, Th. W. Maury and Wm. H. Meriwether were chosen a committee of accounts as provided for by the same article.

The annual report of the Treasurer was returned but the committee of accounts not having reported upon it, It is referred to the last appointed committee to report upon at the next meeting.

Josiah Leake Esq. of Goochland and Doct. James M. Morris of Louisa were nominated as members of this Society upon the assurance of Saml. O. Minor that they are desirous to become members.

[79] MONDAY, MAY 10TH. 1824.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 10th. of May 1824. Present. Doct. Charles Cocke, Wm. F. Gordon, Andrew Kean, C. P. McKenie, Wm. H. Meriwether, Wm. Woods, James Leitch, Nimrod Bramham, John Rogers, John H. Craven, Geo. M. Woods and Peter Minor.

In the absense of all the presiding officers Dr. Charles Cocke was called to the chair.

A report from the committee appointed to enquire who ought to be considered as members of this Society and who not? was rec'd, read and adopted, and ordered to be entered on the minutes as follows—

The committee appointed at the last meeting to examine the list of members and report to the next meeting, 'Who ought to be considered as members of this Society and who not', have performed that [duty], and now submit to the Society a list of all the persons who have ever been named as members; distinguishing them into 1st. Those who have been elected, or by their high standing in Society, ought to be consider'd as Honorary Members—2d. Those who are deceased, who have removed from the state, sent in their resignation, or living in distant counties have never signified their acceptance, or contributed any thing to the funds of the Society.—and 3d those who reside in this or some one of the circumjacent counties, who have signified their acceptance by attending the meetings of the Society, and contributing to its Funds. The latter class, in the opinion of your Committee can alone be considered as Legitimate Ordinary Members.

[80] 1st, Honorary Members.

John S. Skinner of Baltimore, Hugh Holmes of Winchester, Joseph Correa de Serra of Portugal, (since dead) Thomas Moore of Maryland (since dead), George W. Erving of New York, late minister to Spain, C. P. McKennie of Charlottesville, to which the committee take the liberty of recommending and adding the names of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, as deserving this honor from their distinguished standing in Society.

2d. Those who are deceased, or have removed from the state, sent in their resignations, or living at a distance have never contributed any thing to the funds, or signified their acceptance, as members of the Society viz.

Wm. Brent, Isaac A. Coles, Smith Cocke, Wilson J. Cary, Coleby Cowherd, Reuben Cowherd, Martin Dawson, Saml Dyer Jr., Wm.

Dyer, John Dyer, George French, George Gilmêr, Frederick Harris, John Harris, Thomas C. Hoomes, Thos. Johnson, Wm. I. Lewis, Dabney Minor (Orange) Saml O. Miñor, Lancelot Minor, Wm. Morris, Wilson C. Nicholas, Col. John Overton, John Patterson, Humphry Peake, Wm. Quarles, Thos. E. Randolph, Wm. Steinbergen, Robert Sangster, Wm. Skipwith, John Scott, Hay Taliaferro, Thos. G. Watkins, Maj. James Watson, Wm. C. Willis, Meriwether L. Walker, Henry E. Watkins, Andrew Hart, Saml Hart, Alex'r Blain, James P. Cocke, Sam'l Dyer Senr. Henry Gantt, John Watson (Milton), John Henshaw, and Doct. James Minor—46.

3d. Those who reside in this or some of the circumjacent counties, who have signified their acceptance by attending the meetings of the Society and contributing to its funds. Viz.

Eli Alexander, James Barbour, P. P. Barbour, [81] William Bolling, Ludlow Bramham, Nimrod Bramham, John H. Cocke, Walter Coles, John Coles, Tucker Coles, Joseph C. Cabell, Wm. H. Cabell, Sam'l Carr, Frank Carr, Daniel F. Carr, James O. Carr, Charles Cocke, John R. Campbell, John H. Craven, Miles Cary, James Clarke, Isaac Curd, Renolds Chapman, John Crump, Benj. Coleman, George Divers, Richard Duke, James W. Dabney, Benj. Ficklin, Alex'r Garrett, Wm. F. Gordon, Thş. W. Gooch, John Goss, John Gilmer, Randolph Harrison, Th. C. Harrison, Christopher Hudson, Elijah Hutchison, John Hudson, Andrew Kean, Reuben Lindsay Sr., Reuben Lindsay jr. James Lindsay, James Leitch, N. H. Lewis, Peter Minor, Dabney Minor, Reuben Maury, Thş. W. Maury, Wm. D. Meriwether, Wm. H. Meriwether, Doct. Charles Meriwether, David Michie, Robert Morrisson, Hugh Nelson, Mann Page, Prîce Perkins, John M. Perry, John H. Peyton, Thos. M. Randolph, Thos. J. Randolph, Robt. Rives, Wm. C. Rives, Wm. Ragland, John Rogers, Thornton Rogers, Andrew Stevenson, Chas. A. Stewart, Dan'l Scott, Charles A. Scott, Erasmus Stribling, George W. Trueheart, James H. Terrell, Martin Thacker, Richmond Terrell, Walker Timberlake, Wm. Woods, David Watson, John Winn, Overton C. Anderson, John Thom, John Fagg, Chas. J. Meriwether, Peter Hansborough, Thos. Wharton, Wm. Ashby, Reuben Lewis, Jesse Lewis, Geo. M. Woods, Daniel M. Railey, Fred'k. W. Hatch, Robert Gentry—92.

[82] The Treasurer's report was again presented and ordered to be acted on again by the committee of accounts, according to the list of members this day reported.

A communication from Vice President Randolph was read, containing a notice and description of a noxious plant of the Solanum species, sometimes called the Horse Nettle, and recommending a means of its extirpation.

Also a communication from the same, (with a specimen of the plant) upon a species of Vetch found in our forests, of early growth, containing its Botanical descriptions, and pointing out its proba[b]le uses and value.

Ordered that these communications be published in The Central Gazette, and American Farmer.

The Society then adopted the following Resolution.

Resolved that Col. Wm. Woods, Wm. H. Meriwether, Peter Minor, Col. Sam'l Carr and Col. Th. M. Randolph be, and they are hereby appointed a committee to prepare a scheme for an agricultural exhibition, to be held by the Society in the autumn of 1825 to be submitted to, and acted on by the Society at its next regular meeting—And the Secretary is hereby directed, by public notice in the Central Gazette, and Richmond Enquirer, during the whole month of Sept. next to invite a general attendance of the members to receive, and act upon the said report.

Dr. James M. Morris of Louisa, and Josiah Leake of Goochland, nomenated at a former meeting were elected members of this Society.

[83] MONDAY, OCTOBER 11TH. 1824.

At a regular meeting of the agricultural society of Albemarle on Monday the 11th October 1824. Present, Th. J. Randolph, Nimrod Bramham, John M. Perry, F. W. Hatch, Frank Carr, Dal'l F. Carr, John H. Craven, Reuben Maury, Wm. Woods, Rich'd Duke, Sam'l O. Minor, Doct. John Gilmer, Doct. Andrew Kean, and Thos. W. Maury.

No presiding officer being present Th. J. Randolph Esq. was called to the Chair.

Doctor Carr, from the committee appointed to procure a piece of plate, heretofore voted to Col. Th. M. Randolph as a testimony of the Society's estimation of the great benefits derived to our agriculture, from his introduction of the system of Horizontal cultivation, exhibited a beautiful goblet, with an appropriate device and inscription and stated that the committee were much indebted to Nicholas Biddle Esq. of Philadelphia for his kind superintendence—and to Harvie Lewis of the same city for his tasteful execution of the same—Whereupon on motion Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of the Society be presented to the aforesaid Gentlemen, Messrs. Biddle and Lewis, for their respective services, and as a further evidence of the Society's regard they are both elected Honorary members of the Society.

A letter from Mr. Madison was read, resigning his office as President of this Society.

A communication from Mr. Jefferson was read covering one from David Gelston Esq. of N. York [84] enclosing a sample of wheat, said to be derived from China.

The said wheat is confided to the care of Mr. John H. Craven who undertakes to cultivate it, and report to the Society on its merits, etc.

Col. Woods from the Committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare and report a scheme for an agricultural exhibition to be held by the Society, presented a report, which having been read and amended was adopted as follows.

The committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare and report a plan for an agricultural exhibition and fair to be held by the Society in the Autumn of 1825, have given to the subject all the consideration, which in their opinion, is due to it from the unlimited discretion conferred on them in their appointment. Regarding it mainly as an attempt to revive the zeal and exertion of the Society, which much to our reproach has lain too long dormant—considering the subject as novel and untried among us—and having a due regard to the actual funds of the society—the Committee in recommending a first essay are induced to limit the exhibition to a few subjects most conformable to the objects which the Society has in view and best calculated in their opinion to attract public attention. These consist—

1st Of Agricultural implements and particularly the plough, the perfection of which ought to claim our first attention, as it is the chief instrument for dividing the soil, and of course the basis of all our Husbandry.

2d Fine Breeding Animals, calculated for the saddle or draught, for food or clothing, which will comprehend, Horses and Mules, Neat Cattle, Hogs and Sheep.

[85] 3d. Domestic Manufactures.—In which the ladies of our state will not be excluded from a due participation in our exertions, or a patriotic and praiseworthy emulation in that branch of Industry, which is likely to become the only source of clothing left to the agricultural states of the Union, if we may be allowed to Judge from the efforts of the last session of Congress to diminish our imports, by an increased tariff of duties. These will comprehend fabrics wrought of Wool & Cotton either separate or mixed, of Flax and of Hemp. Your committee are aware that there are many other subjects eminently entitled to the Society's encouragement, but at present they will confine their recommendations to those above enumerated, and now submit the following Scheme

The Society will hold an exhibition and fair of agricultural implements, Live stock & domestic manufactures, in Charlottsville, and its vicinity on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 4th and 5th days of October next (1825) and offer the following premiums to be then and there awarded.

FOR AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

For the best plough to be tested by actual trial, simplicity of construction, efficiency of performance, and facility of draft to be considered.....	10 dolls.
For the best constructed Wheat Fan.....	10 dolls.
For the best Straw Cutter.....	5 dolls.
For the best constructed Wheat Cradle.....	5 dolls.

[86] CATTLE.

For the best Bull not more than 6 nor less than 2 years old.....	10 dolls.
For the seconds best do. Do.....	5
For the best Cow not more than 7 nor less than 3 years old.....	10
For the second best—do. Do.....	5
For the best Yoke of Working Oxen not more than 8 nor less than 4 years old— <i>reference being had to performance at the plough</i>	10 D.
For the second best. Do. Do.....	5. -
For the best <i>fatted Oa</i> not more than 9 nor less than 3 years old, <i>reference being had to the mode of feeding</i>	8 D.
For the second best. Do. Do.....	5 -

HORSES.

For the Stallion best calculated to improve our breed of draft Horses, not more than 9 nor less than 3 yrs. old.....	20 D.
For the Stallion best calculated to improve our breed of riding Horses. Do. Do.....	20 D.
For the best brood Mare, not more than 9 nor less than 3 years old.....	10.
For the second best. Do. Do.....	8.
For the best Colt not over 2 years old the preceding Spring.....	5 D.
For the second best. Do. Do.....	4 -

[87] SWINE.

For the best boar not more than 4 nor less than 1 yr. old.....	5 D.
For the second best. Do.....	3 D.
For the best sow not more than 4 nor less than 1 yr. old.....	5Ds.
For the second best Do. Do.....	3 D.

SHEEP.

For the best Ram nor more than 4 yrs nor less than 18 months old.....	5 D.
For the Second best Do. Do.....	3 D.
For the best pen of Ewes not less than 4 in number.....	5 D.
For the best pen of Weathers not less than 4 in number.....	5 D.

PLOUGHMEN

For the best plough man with Horses.....	5 D.
For the best Do. with Oxen.....	5 D.

[88] DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES

For the best piece of Linen cloth for shirting or sheeting 1 yard wide and not less than 10 yards long.....	5 D.
For the best piece of flannel 7/8ths wide not less than 10 yds long.....	5 D.
For the best Carpeting 1 yard wide and not less than 20 yards long.....	10 D.

For the best piece of Wollen cloth $\frac{3}{4}$ ths wide and not less than 10 yds long -----	5 D.
For the best pair of Blankets not less than 2 yds. wide nor $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds long_	5. D.
For the best piece of Wollen vesting not less than $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. wide nor 10 yds. long -----	5 D.
For the best Wollen Counterpane -----	5 -
For the best Cotton Counterpane -----	5. D
For the best Wollen knit Hose, not less than 2 pair -----	2 D.
For the best mans Hat, made of grass, straw, chip or other vegetable material -----	5 D.
For the best womans hat or bonnet Do -----	10 D.
For the best piece of cotton shirting or sheeting not less than $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. wide, nor 10 yards long -----	5.
For the best piece of Cotton vesting not less than $\frac{3}{4}$ wide nor 10 yds. long -----	5 D.

Persons from any State may become competitors for premiums offered for Agricultural Implements. Those offered for live stock shall be confined exclusively to members of the Society, who shall either have bred or owned the animal offered at least four months immediately preceeding the exhibition, and the successful candidates for breeding animals shall give a pledge not to remove them beyond the precincts of the Society for the next 12 months.

Premiums for domestic manufactures shall be confined to persons living within the precincts of the Society, which must have been wrought in their families. In every case where the Judges shall think the object offered for premiums is unworthy of distinction, the right of rejecting it is reserved, and in every case they will require such evidence as they may deem proper, to establish the claim.

A committee of five members shall be [89] appointed who shall be styled, 'The committee of Arrangement', to do all things proper and necessary to carry the foregoing plan into effect, such as to select ground for a ploughing match, have pens erected for stock, appoint a deposit for manufactures, appoint Judges for each etc. and report their arrangements to the next meeting of the Society.

On motion resolved—That the Regular Meetings of this Society be held hereafter, on the first Mondays of May and October.

The Society then proceeded to the election of Officers and Committees for one year, when upon a Ballot being respectively taken for each

James Barbour of Orange	was declared	President
Th. M. Randolph	Albe	1st Vice Prst.
Th. J. Randolph	Do.	2d Vice Prst.
Nimrod Bramham	Do.	Treasurer
Peter Minor	Do.	Secretary
Th. W. Maury	Do.	Assis't Secretary.

Thomas M. Randolph, Wm. D. Meriwether, Peter Minor, Wm. Woods and Frank Carr, were chosen a committee of correspondence as provided for by the 10th article of the Rules and Regulations. John Winn, Andrew Kean and F. W. Hatch were chosen a committee of accounts as provided for by the same article.

[90] MONDAY MARCH 7TH 1825.

At a special meeting of the agricultural society of Albemarle convened by public notice on Monday the 7th of March 1825. Present. Jos. C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Tucker Coles, John Coles, Wm. Woods, John H. Craven, Frank Carr, Nimrod Bramham, Th. W. Maury, Peter Minor, Reuben Maury, Chs. Cocke, Walter Coles, and F. W. Hatch.

No presiding member being present Joseph C. Cabell Esqr. was called to the chair.

Sundry amendments were proposed to the scheme adopted at the last meeting respecting the agricultural exhibition and fair to be held by the Society next autumn. On motion the following alterations and amendments were adopted.

Resolved That the time for holding the said exhibition be changed from the 4th and 5th days of October to Tuesday and Wednesday the 8th and 9th days of Nover. next.

Resolved That the words 'not now in general use' be stricken out of the premiums offered for ploughs, so as to leave the competition open for any plough that may be offered.

Resolved That the premium offered for the best ploughman with Horses, be reduced from ten Dollars to five Dollars.

Resolved that the blank left in the provision for appointing a committee of arrangement be filled with the word five—so as to make it read 'A committee of five members shall be appointed, etc.'

[91] Resolved. that the Secretary cause the said scheme thus amended to be published in the Central Gazette and American Farmer, as soon as convenient, and in proper time before the exhibition to procure 300 copies of the same to be printed in a handbill form, for distribution.

On Motion of Mr. Cabell

Resolved that in future Internal Improvements shall constitute one of the objects of this Society.

The following persons were then nominated as ordinary members of this Society, Viz,

Rich'd Gambill, Zacky Shackelford, Achilles Broadhead, James Duke, Jonathon B. Carr, John Minor, Albert G. Quarles, John P. Sampson, Peter M. Meriwether, John Railey, Craven Peyton, Rice W. Wood, John R. Jones, Opie Norris, Twyman Wayt, Wm. A. Bibb, Valentine W. Southall, John A. G. Davis, Wm. Watson, Dr. Chas.

Carter, John Carter, Isaac Raphael, James Dinsmore, Arthur J. Brokenbrough, Chas. Harper, John Slaughter, Garland Garth, Henry White, Dr. John Gantt, Jno. Hart, Wm. Garth, Dabney Gooch, Doct. Gooch, Doct. Wellford, F. B. Dyer, Chs Downing, Js. W. Saunders, Doct. H. Massie, Js. J. Maury, Doct. Horace Bramham, Th. W. Gilmer, W. W. Minor.

The Professors of the University were then nominated as Honorary Members of this Society *ex officio*.

[92] MONDAY MAY 11TH 1825.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 11th May 1825. Present vice President Th. M. Randolph, John H. Cocke, John Fagg, John H. Craven, Dr. John Gilmer, James W. Dabney, George M. Woods, Rich'd Duke, Chs. J. Meriwether, Tucker Coles, Th. J. Randolph, F. O. Minor, Wm. Woods, Wm. Meriwether Jr. I. P. Minor.

Col. Th. M. Randolph took the chair, and delivered an extempory address to the Society pointing out the various advantages and benefits likely to be derived from the practice of holding agricultural exhibitions, recommending more attention in investigating the nature and qualities of our various native plants, And urging the propriety and necessity of dissection in all cases of Death in order to arrive at more certainty in the cause, and cure of the diseases of our Domestic Animals.

The Society then proceeded to the appointment of the Committee of arrangement, to do all things proper and necessary to carry the proposed agricultural exhibition in Nov. next into effect.

Alexander Garrett, John Winn, John H. Craven, Charles J. Meriwether and Reuben Maury were appointed.

On Motion, Resolved that the said committee in appointing judges for each species of article offered for premium at the intended exhibition do not exceed the number three.

[93] Resolved that the said committee report a list of the Judges they shall appoint, together with whatever other proceedings they may have then effected to the regular meeting in October next.

Resolved, that the Secretary cause to have printed in a hand bill form 300 copies of the scheme of the intended agricultural Exhibition one of which he shall send to each member of the Society, and distribute the remainder at his discretion.

The Society then proceeded to the election of members nomenated at the last meeting.

The Professors of the University of Virginia were all unanimously elected *Honorary* members of this Society.

The following persons were unanimously elected ordinary members, Viz.

Richard Gambill, Zackary Thackleford, Achilles Broadhead, Jas. Duke, Jonathan B. Carr, Dr. John Minor, Albert G. Quarles, John P. Sampson, Peter M. Meriwether, John Railey, Craven Peyton, Rice W. Wood, John R. Jones, Opie Norris, T[w]yman Wayt, Wm. A. Bibb, Valentine W. Southall, John A. G. Davis, Wm. Watson, Dr. Charles Carter, John Carter, Isaac Raphael, Js. Dinsmore, Arthur F. Brokenbrough, Chas. Harper, John Slaughter, Garland Garth, Henry White, Dr. John Gantt, John Hart, Wm. Garth, Dabney Gooch, Dr. Wm. F. Gooch, Fran B. Dyer, Chas. Downing, Js. W. Saunders, Dr. H. Massie, Jas. J. Maury, Warner W. Minor, Dr. Horace Bramham and Ths. W. Gilmer.

Adjourned to the regular meeting on Oct. next.

[94] MONDAY OCTOBER 10TH 1825.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle on Monday the 10th day of October 1825. Present Th. M. Randolph, 1st Vice President, Jno. M. Perry, Js. O. Carr, John Raily, Saml. O. Minor, N. Bramham, Js. S. Maury, John H. Craven, Rd. Duke, Achilles Broadhead, Th. W. Maury, Wm. H. Meriwether, Reuben Maury, Warner W. Minor, Js. Dinsmore, Js. Duke, John Fagg, N. H. Lewis and Peter Minor.

The Vice President delivered some extempore remarks, upon various subjects comprehended in the views of the Society.

A report from the Committee of arrangement was rec'd and read, containing a list of the Judges they had appointed, on the various subjects of the approaching exhibition, and recommending that the said exhibition shall be held at The Farm, the residence of Saml. O. Minor, with whom they had contracted to erect pens, and furnish all other necessary facilities for the purpose.

The said report was adopted in full. And the same committee is charged with all future arrangements for the said exhibition according to their discretion.

A letter was read from Philip P. Barbour Esq. requesting that he may no longer be considered a member of this Society.

Doct. Charles Brown, and Seth Burnley were recommended as members of the Society by John Fagg, and Ths. W. Maury.

The Society then proceeded to the election of Officers and committees for one year.

Upon a Ballot being respectively taken for each [95] James Barbour of Orange was declared President.

Th. M. Randolph of Albemarle 1st Vice Pres't.

Dr. Charles Cocke of Albemarle 2d do.

Nimrod Bramham do. Treasurer

Peter Minor do. Secretary

Ths. W. Maury do. Ass't Do.

Thos. M. Randolph, Wm. D. Meriwether, Peter Minor, Wm. Woods, and Frank Carr were chosen a committee of Correspondence.

Resolved that the Secretary do request the Prest. of the Society to attend the approaching exhibition and deliver an address suitable and appropriate to the occasion, and in case he is unable to attend to request the 1st vice president to perform that duty.

Resolved that the Society now adjourn to meet again at The Farm, the residence of Saml. O. Minor on Tuesday, the 8th of November next at 9 oCk in the morning.

[96] TUESDAY NOV. 8TH 1825.

At a meeting of the Agcl Society of Albemarle held by special appointment at the residence of Saml. O. Minor on Tuesday the 8th Nov. 1825. Present

Th. M. Randolph, Alex. Garrett, J. H. Craven, N. H. Lewis, Js. Clark, Dan. M. Railey, N. Bramham, Tucker Coles, Wm. F. Gordon, Reuben Maury, John Winn, Wm. Woods, Js. Clark, Walter Coles, John Fagg, J. A. G. Davis, F. W. Hatch, Js. S. Maury, Chs. J. Meriwether, Jno. Railey, Jno. M. Perry, T. W. Maury, and Peter Minor.

On motion Resolved that the mode of electing members prescribed by the rules and Regulations, be for this day dispensed with, for the purpose of admitting sundry persons, who wish to exhibit articles of stock, which by the scheme of the exhibition is confined exclusively to members, Whereupon

Jesse Garth, John Fretwell, Wm. Sneed, Joel Shifflet and Wm. Suttle upon the respective nomenation of each were duly elected as members of this Society.

A letter from the President of the Society was read, which together with an address accompanying it was ordered to be laid on the table

A resolution respecting certain proposed internal improvements of the County of Albemarle was presented and read.

On motion the said resolution was laid upon the table, and made the Order of the day for tomorrow.

The Society then adjourned to meet at this place tomorrow morning at 9 oCk

[97] WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 9TH 1825

The Society met pursuant to the adjournment of yesterday. Present. Th. M. Randolph, Walter Coles, Garland Garth, Alexr Garrett, Achilles Broadhead, Jno. Winn, J. M. Perry, Wm. Woods, Geo. M. Woods, Peter M. Meriwether, Tucker Coles, Jno. Fagg, Js. Clark, Jesse Garth, Jno. H. Craven, Rd. Duke, Danl. M. Raily, Frank Carr, Jno. A. G. Davis, Th. W. Maury, John Carter, Col. John Thom, Danl. F. Carr, and Peter Minor.

The order of the day being a resolution respecting certain proposed internal improvements in the county of Albemarle was called up and read.

Mr. Maury proposed a substitute for the said resolution, which being read and amended, was unanimously adopted by the Society in the words following, viz.,

Resolved unanimously that the Agricultural Society of Albemarle feel in common with their fellow citizens the deepest interest and solicitude in the prosperity and general welfare of the State of Virginia; and believing as they do, that to open and make navigable the Rivanna River from Columbia to _____ in the county of Albemarle, would greatly promote the great interest of the State in the growing prosperity of the University, as well as the agricultural and mercantile interest of a great portion of the good people of this commonwealth, and particularly those in the counties of Fluvanna, Albemarle and Augusta, therefore it is hereby recommended to the citizens of Fluvanna, Albemarle and Augusta counties to meet at their respective Court Houses, on some day previous to the meeting of the ensuing Legislature then and there to take into consideration the subject [98] aforesaid, and to adopt such measures as in their wisdom may be best calculated to effect so desirable an object,

Resolved that the Secretary cause this resolution to be published in the Staunton Spectator and Central Gazette.

Resolved that it be recommended to the Citizens of Albemarle to meet on Saturday the 19th day of the present month in furtherance of the above resolution.

The address of the President, which was yesterday laid on the table was then Read

On motion of Col. Wm. Woods. Resolved unanimously that the thanks of the Society be voted to the president for his able and Eloquent address just read, and that the Secretary cause 300 copies of it to be printed in a pamphlet form for the Society's use, one of which he shall send to each member of the Society.

Resolved that Peter Minor, Th. W. Maury and Alexr Garrett be and they are hereby appointed a committee to prepare a petition to the next legislature praying that an act may pass to incorporate this Society, and that the said committee make report of their proceedings on Saturday the 19th of the present month at Charlottesville to which time and place the Society will stand adjourned for that purpose.

The Society again dispensed with the ordinary rule of electing members, and upon nomination duly made Saml Lietch jr was elected a member of the Society.

Resolved that the Angular Ballance used yesterday as a test of the resistance of ploughs offered by Stephen McCormick Esqr for the

sum [99] of Six Dollars be purchased by the Society, and the Secretary is ordered to check on the treasurer for that sum in Mr. McCormicks favour.

The Society then proceeded to receive the reports of the committees who were appointed to examine and award premiums upon the respective articles offered for premiums at the exhibition of yesterday and to day, which were ordered to be inserted in the journal in their respective order.

1st Report of the Committee on Agrl. Implements.

We the undersigned, members of the Society, appointed a committee to award premiums to ploughs and other Implements of Husbandry according to the printed Rules, report as follows.

First as to ploughs.

No. 1. Stephen McCormicks plough called by his own name, opened a cubic space of $76\frac{53}{100}$ cubic inches with a power equal to 400 lbs and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an acre in furrows of 70 yards long in 15 minutes with two horses.

No. 2. Nicholas H. Lewis's plough opened a cubic space of $57\frac{37}{100}$ cubic Inches with a power of 395 lbs. and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an acre in 16 minutes, with 3 horses.

No. 3. John H. Cravens Loudon Barshare opened a space of $58\frac{1}{2}$ cubic Inches, with a power of 400 lbs. and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an acre in $17\frac{1}{2}$ minutes with 3 horses.

No. 4. George Gilmers Barshare opened a space of 70 cubic Inches with a power of 400 lbs and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an acre in 18 minutes with 3 Horses.

No. 5. Col. Wm. Woods's called the Quaker or Davis plough opened $72\frac{1}{4}$ cubic inches with a power of 385 pounds, and broke $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre in $18\frac{1}{2}$ minutes with two Horses.

[100] Whereupon we adjudge the premium of Ten Dollars to Mr. Stephen McCormick for his plough No. 1.

We also adjudge the premium for Wheat Fans to Wm. Fitz Senr. for the one exhibited by him, notwithstanding the bad quality of the stuff with which it is built, on account of the advantage of the improvements in the skreens and the manner of shaking them, ingeniously invented by himself.

No other Implements of Husbandry were exhibited to us.

RICHD SAMPSON

RICHD DUKE

TH. M. RANDOLPH.

The foregoing report was adopted and the premiums therein awarded ord. to be paid.

Report of the Committee on Plough Men.

We the undersigned, appointed by the Agricultural Society of Albemarle to judge of the relative Skill and merit of the different

ploughmen, beg leave to report, That we attended diligently throughout the whole trial, That all the ploughmen performed remarkably well, but we award the premium to Mr. Geo. Gilmer's man Richard, as having managed his plough and team with Superior Skill and gentleness.

JOSEPH HARPER
JAMES CLARKE

Report adopted and ordered to be paid.

Report of the Committee on Cattle.

We the undersigned, appointed by the Agricultl. Society of Albemarle, Judges to award premiums on Cattle, after due and diligent examination, do award the first premium to Peter Minor for his Bull Virginius, represented to be entirely of English Blood one half Alderney and one half Devon.

We award to Wm. Woods the premium for [101] the second best Bull.

We award to John H. Craven the premium for the best Cow.— and we award

To Wm. Woods the premium for the second best Cow. And We also award to Wm. Woods the premium for the best fatted Ox.

NICH^s. H. LEWIS
REUBEN LINDSAY
JOS. COFFMAN.

Report adopted & ord to be fulfilled.

Report of the Committee on Horses.

The Committee appointed to examine the Horses shewn at the Agricultural exhibition held near Charlottesville on the 8th of Nov. 1825 have performed that duty in the order designated in the printed advertisement of the said shew and report That the number and appearance of the Stud Horses exhibited give good hopes of improvement in that valuable race of animals. Of the Stallions exhibited, as calculated to improve our breed of draft Horses, the comparison between Mr. Jno. Fretwells Black Horse by Marcus, and Mr. John Fagg's Black Horse by Sampson was made with much attention and the committee have had some difficulty in deciding the preeminence, both being horses of ample size, bone and strength. They with some hesitation decide in favour of Mr. Fretwells horse at present, and award him the premium.

The Stallions exhibited as best calculated to improve the breed of riding Horses were more numerous. Mr. Walter Coles's Sorrel Horse *Mountaineer* 3 yrs old by Peace Maker out of a Knowsley mare, is an animal of very superior order, uncommonly large for a blooded horse, of fine presense, his form at once indicating strength and activity and his well expressed [102] muscular power in every part, rendered more striking by the entire symetry of all. The

committee recommend him as a horse well calculated to improve the breed of our Riding Horses and award him the premium.

There were but few Brood Mares exhibited. Of these, Mr. Walter Coles exhibited the best. A black mare by Roebuck, dam by Knowsley, 6 yrs old and we award her the first premium.

Mr. Peter M. Meriwether produced the second best a bay mare 5 yrs old by young Florizel, with a fine colt by her side, a good evidence of her capacity, and we award her the second premium.

The Colts were numerous and uncommonly fine. A bay Colt 2 yrs old by Leonidas exhibited by Mr. Saml Lietch jr is uncommonly beautiful, of ample size, but was not entitled to premium in consequence of Mr. Lietch's not being a member of the Society.

Mr. Jesse Garth's sorrel Colt 2 yrs old by Monticello is a very beautiful animal, and we award to him the first premium.

The 2d premium we award to Mr. Thorton Rogers's: Bay Colt by Leonidas.

JOHN THOM
SAML CARR
WM. F. GORDON

Report adopted and ord. to be paid.

Report of the Committee on Swine.

We the subscribers appointed, by the Agricultural Society of Albemarle to examine the Swine produced at their exhibition and award premiums, Report that we have awarded to Wm. Woods the premium for the best boar, and also the premium for the best Sow and to N. H. Lewis we award the premium for the second best Sow.

G. GILMER
JNO. ROGERS
MICAHAH WOODS.

Report adopted and ord. to be pd.

[103] Report of the Committee on Sheep.

The Committee appointed by the Society to judge of sheep, have performed the duty assigned them and beg leave to report—That the animals exhibited have not equaled the expectation of yr committee, either in number or quality, and were not such as the members of this Society might have produced. They have awarded to Capt. George M. Woods's Ram 2 yrs old, the second premium and to Mr. Nichs H. Lewis pen of 4 Ewes the premium of Five Dollars.

JAMES LINDSAY
JOHN LEWIS
TUCKER COLES

Report adopted and ord to be paid.

Report of the Committee on Domestic Manufactures.

The committee appointed to examine and award premiums on domestic manufactures, have given to the articles exhibited for com-

petition their most particular attention and ask leave to make the following report. The Society will perceive from the body of the report that the competition did not embrace all the articles for which premiums were offered. Of Linnen, flannel vesting and several other articles proposed for premiums no specimens were exhibited.

Mrs. Lucy Minor of Albemarle exhibited among several other specimens highly creditable to the taste and skill of the Ladies in whose families they were wrought, the best piece of cloth, the warp of cotton and the filling of wool, and to her we award the premium of five Dollars.

Of Blankets only one pair was produced, But their excellence in all the respects which constitute the value of that important article of Domestic economy, leaves the Committee nothing to regret. They were of the [104] description called Rose Blankets, and yr committee do not hesitate to pronounce them equal to any they ever saw. They were made in the family of Mr. Coleby Cowherd of Orange County and to him we award the premium of five Dollars.

Mrs. Martha Divers exhibited the two best pair of Wollen knit Hose, and to her we award the premium of two Dollars.

The best mans Hat made of straw was exhibited by Mrs. Elisha Thurmon, and altho worthy of Commendation, your Committee do not consider it to be of that degree of excellence which should entitle it to a premium.

The Cotton Counterpanes exhibited for competition were many and various in texture and figure. Among several Good the committee with some hesitation think the one produced by Mrs. Maria Carr the best and award her the premium of five Dollars. No Counterpanes entirely of wool were produced. There were several commendable specimens composed of cotton and wool; the best in the judgment of your committee was exhibited by Mrs. Sarah Watson of Louisa County and to her we award the premium of 5 Dollars.

Mrs. Eliza A. Woods exhibited the best piece of Carpeting and to her we award the premium of ten Dollars.

Mrs. Emeline Lewis exhibited the best Ladies Bonnet. It was made of Rye straw, admirable for the fineness of its texture, and beauty of its workmanship and to her we award the premium of ten Dollars.

MARTIN DAWSON
ACS. BROADHEAD
SAML. L. HART.

Report adopted and ordered to be fulfilled.

[105] When the last report was read, a desire was expressed in the society that the fabrics of straw should be again exhibited before the society.

After some pertinent and eloquent remarks upon the exquisite fineness of the fabric and its brilliant appearance and polish, and the propriety of encouraging this rare manufacture among the Ladies of our vicinity—

On motion of the vice President Th. M. Randolph Esq. It was resolved unanimously, that the premium awarded by the committee to Mrs. Emeline Lewis for the best ladies bonnet be doubled, and that the secretary see that the same is fulfilled.

Resolved, that a discretionary premium of five Dollars be presented to Mrs. Emmeline Lewis for a beautiful specimen of a Boys or Girls Hat not enumerated among the articles proposed for premium.

On motion of Mr. Gordon, Resolved that a discretionary premium of five Dollars be presented to Mrs. Elisha Thurmon for the Ladies Bonnet she exhibited, as a beautiful specimen of such work, and in consideration of her zeal in this sort of manufacture, having exhibited specimens of sundry articles made of straw, all neat and of good quality, not embraced in the catalogue proposed for premiums.

Resolved that Treasurer of the Society pay the premiums awarded and resolved at the exhibition to the successful candidates, upon the check of the Secretary to that effect.

On motion of Th. W. Maury Esq. Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. Samuel O. Minor for his care, diligence and attention, manifested in the style of his preparation for this exhibition, and for the excellent accomodation afforded by him to the members and visitors.

On motion of Mr. Gordon, Resolved unanimously That the thanks of the Society be voted to the 1st Vice President Col. Th. M. Randolph, for the impartial and dignified manner in which he has presided on this occasion.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at Charlottesville on Saturday the 19th of the present month at 12 o CK.

[107] SATURDAY NOV. 19TH 1825.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held by Special Appointment at Charlottesville on Saturday the 19th of Novr. 1825. Present Vice President Th. M. Randolph, Nichs. H. Lewis, Wm. H. Meriwether, Chas. J. Meriwether, Reuben Maury, Ths. W. Gilmer, Js. W. Sanders, Saml. Carr, Rd. Duke, Wm. D. Meriwether, John A. G. Davis, Frank Carr, Th. W. Maury, Js. S. Maury, Jno. M. Perry, John Winn, Th. J. Randolph, Wm. Woods, John Rogers, Achilles Broadhead, and Peter Minor.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare a petition to the Legislature for the passage of an Act to incorporate this

Society, reported the following, which was unanimously adopted and ordered to be inserted in the minutes. Viz.

To The General Assembly of Virginia

The petition of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle, respectfully represents—

That in the year 1817 an association of many Farmers in Albemarle and the Circumjacent Counties was organised, under the name and title of The Agricultural Society of Albemarle; the chief objects of which were to improve our soil, and system of Husbandry, and the various races of our live stock; and to afford inducements and means for the general advancement of the agricultural interests of the Country, the first and noblest of all pursuits. This association has greatly increased, and is receiving daily accessions to its numbers, and while the Society hope and believe that its [108] efforts have tended in common with those of similar institutions throughout the State to subserve and promote the useful purposes of its establishment, it apprehends that its operations are not as extensively beneficial as they might be, in consequence of their wanting the means and power of a corporation, so as to enforce the payment of whatever debts may be due it and to transact all other business under the sanction of Legal authority. They trust the Legislature of Virginia will not fail to furnish all facilities in their power to the promotion of the ends for which the Society was formed. And they therefore respectfully petition that they may be incorporated by Law and entitled to the privileges and rights of other Corporate bodies under the name of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle.

Signed in behalf of the Society and by virtue of their unanimous resolutions of 19th November 1825.

On Motion Resolved that the above petition be authenticated by the Signatures of the President, the two Vice Presidents, The Treasurer, and the two Secretaries, and delivered or sent to either of the delegates from this County for presentation and The Secretaries are charged with this duty.

On Motion Resolved that Alexr. Garrett, Doct. Jno. Gilmer, Th. W. Maury, John H. Craven and Doct. Frank Carr be, and they are hereby appointed a committee to prepare and report to the Society at its regular meeting in May next, a scheme for an agricultural exhibition and shew, to be held by the Society in the ensuing autumn.

Adjourned to the Regular meeting in May next.

[109] MONDAY, MAY THE 8TH 1826.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held at Charlottesville on Monday the 8th of May 1826. Present, Vice President Randolph, Reuben Maury, Js. S. Maury, Chas. J.

Meriwether, Doct. Jno. Gilmer, John P. Sampson, Jno. H. Craven, Jno. M. Perry, Albert G. Quarles, Jno. Minor, Wm. H. Meriwether, Ths. W. Maury, Jno. Fagg, Seth Burnley, Dr. Horace Bramham, Nimrod Bramham, Saml. O. Minor, Richard Gambill and Peter Minor.

Mr. Maury, from the committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare and report a scheme for a Second agricultural exhibition and shew to be held by the society in the ensuing autumn, recommended that the said exhibition should take place on thursday and friday the 26th and 27th days of October next, and that the following premiums be then awarded,—which having been considered and in some degree amended was adopted by the Society as follows.

1ST OF HORSES.

For the stallion best calculated to improve the breed of draft horses not more than 12 not less than 4 yrs old.....	\$20
“ the Stallion best calculated to improve the breed of riding horses do do.....	20
“ The best brood mare not more than 15 not less than 4 yrs old.....	10
“ The second best do do.....	6
“ The best colt not more than 3 yrs old the preceeding spring.....	5
“ The second best do do.....	4
“ The best Jack Ass.....	10
“ The best mule not more than 20 yrs not less than 3 months old.....	5

[110] 2D CATTLE.

For the best Bull not more than 10 nor less than 1 yr. old.....	10
“ the second best do do.....	5
the best Cow not more than 7 nor less than 3 yrs old.....	10
“ The best yoke of Oxen, reference being had to their performance at the plough.....	10
For the second best do do.....	5
“ the best single working Ox do plough, waggon or cart.....	8
“ the second best do do.....	5
“ the best fatted Ox or Cow reference being had to the mode of feeds.....	8
The second best do do.....	5

3D OF SWINE.

For the best Boar, not more than 4 nor less than 1 yr old.....	5
“ the second best do do.....	3
“ the best sow do do.....	5
“ the Second best do do.....	3

4TH OF SHEEP.

For the best Ram, not more than 4 yrs nor less than 18 mos old.....	5
“ the second best do do.....	3
“ the best pen of Ewes not less than 4 in number.....	5
“ the best pen of Weathers do do.....	5

5TH OF AGRICUTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

For the best plough, to be tested by actual trial, simplicity of construction efficiency of performance and facility of draft to be considered.....	5
“ the best constructed Wheat fan.....	5
“ the best constructed Wheat Cradle.....	5
For the best Straw Cutter.....	8
“ The best constructed machine for opening drill, dropping the grain and covering it by the same operation.....	8
“ the best ploughman with Horses.....	3
“ the Second best do.....	2
“ the best do. with Ox or Oxen.....	4
“ the Second best do.....	3

6TH OF DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

For the best peice of linen cloth for shirting or sheeting 1 yd wide and not less than 10 yds. long.....	5
“ the second best do.....	3
“ the best piece of flax or Hempen linen for table.....	5
“ cloths or towels not less than 1 yd wide nor 10 yds long.....	5
“ the best piece of wool Flannel 7/8th yd wide and not less than 10 yds. long.....	5
[111] For the best piece of Wool and cotton flannel do do.....	3
“ the best piece of carpeting 1 yd wide not less than 20 long.....	6
“ the second best do do.....	4
“ the best piece of wearing cloth composed of wool and cotton 3/4ths wide not less than 10 yds long.....	5
“ the best piece of vesting composed of Wool or Wool and Cotton 3/4 wide not less than 5 yds long.....	5
“ the best counterpane composed of Wool or Wool and Cotton.....	5
“ the best do composed of Cotton.....	5
“ the best pair of Blankets not less than 2 yards wide nor 2-1/2 yds long.....	5
“ the best pair of Wollen knit Hose.....	2
For the best piece of Summer Coating Composed of Cotton Silk etc, etc, not less than ¾ wide and 10 yds long.....	\$5
“ the best pair of outside negroes' winter clothing ¾ wide and not less than 20 yds long.....	7
“ the best price of summer shirting for Negroes do.....	5
“ the best mans hat made of grass straw chip or other vegetable material.....	3
“ the best Womans Hat or Bonnet do.....	8
“ the best piece of shirting or sheeting composed of cotton and flax, ¾ wide not less than 10 yds long.....	7
“ the best piece of Cotton vesting ¾ wide not less than 10 yds long.....	5
“ The greatest product of Butter made from one or more cows for a term of 6 months together.....	10
“ the best essay on the use of timber for Farms and fuel and for the growing of the best wood to supply any deficiency which may hereafter occur.....	5

Persons from any State may become competitors for premiums offered for agricultural Implements, provided such implements be in the whole or in part, the work of such person, or done under his direction, and the manufacturers of ploughs are particularly invited to

offer their productions for trial. Those offered for live stock shall be confined exclusively to members of the Society, and those [112] offering such live stock for premium, shall themselves have reared or grown such animal, except stud Horses, Jack Asses or Bulls, and these shall be the property of such member and have been owned by him at least four months immediately preceeding the exhibition, and the successful candidates for breeding animals, shall give a pledge not to remove them beyond the precincts of the Society for the next ensuing twelve months. They shall also furnish a written pedigree of each breeding animal, as far as practicable. The successful candidates for the cattle, sheep and swine shall give a written detail of the rearing of such cattle, sheep and swine; the successful candidate for the greatest product of Butter shall give a written detail of the process practiced in arriving to such result.

Premiums for Domestic Manufactures shall be confined to persons living within the precincts of the Society (that is to say) in some county in the State in which a member or members reside, each manufacture being wrought in whole or in part, either by the member himself who shall exhibit the same for premium, or under the superintendence of his family or some member of it. If such domestices be exhibited by Ladies they shall be entitled to the privileges of members.

No animal, domestic fabric or Implement of Agriculture which may have obtained a premium at any show or fair, shall be entitled to a premium at the exhibition hereby contemplated: and in all cases where premiums are awarded, such evidence shall be required, as may be deemed proper and reasonable to establish the claim to premium.

On the motion of Wm. H. Meriwether, the Society adopted the following Resolutions—

1st. Resolved that this Society will award a premium of fifty Dollars to that member of its body, who shall [113] appear to have cultivated and managed his Farm with the greatest economy and nett profit, consistently with its permanent Improvement.

2d. Resolved, that the Society, for the second best Farm as above, will award a premium of twenty five Dolls.

3d. Resolved that the next succeeding year, viz. 1827, shall be appointed for this trial and competition, and every member who intends to compete for the said premiums shall give notice in writing to the Secretary, of his said intention at or before the regular meeting of the Society in May of that year, at which time a committee or committees shall be appointed to examine and report on the application of each claimant for premium, and every such claimant, shall render to the committee a detail in writing of his mode of culture, expences

of cultivation, rotation of crops, and whatever else may be necessary in their opinion to enable them to form a just and fair estimate of the claimants merits, which detail in writing, together with their own opinion, in each case respectively the committee or committees shall report to the Society at its regular autumnal meeting of 1827, when the Society will proceed to make its awards, But no member shall be entitled to claim a premium in this case, whose Farm consists of less than one Hundred acres of Land.

Ordered that the Secretary cause the foregoing scheme of the proposed exhibition to be printed forthwith in the Central Gazette, and 250 hand bills of the same to be struck, to be distributed for the use of the members.

Ordered, That Ths. W. Maury, John H. Craven, Doct. John Gilmer, Jno. M. Perry, and Wm. H. Meriwether be, and they are hereby appointed a committee of arrangements, to do all things proper and necessary to carry the proposed exhibition into effect [114] such as to select ground for the ploughing match, have pens erected for stock, appoint a deposit for manufactures, appoint judges for each, etc. etc. and report their proceedings to the Society on the first Monday in September next to which day it will stand adjourned, for the purpose of recieving the Committees report.

The Society then adjourned to the first Monday in September next.

[115] MONDAY SEPTEMBER 4TH 1826.

At a special meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, according to previous adjournment, on Monday the 4th of September 1826. Present—Vice President, Th. M. Randolph, Jno. Gilmer, Th. W. Maury, Craven Peyton, Reuben Maury, Jesse Garth, Chs. J. Meriwether, Th. J. Randolph, Col. Wm. Bolling, Garland Garth, Jno. H. Craven, James Clarke, Js. S. Maury, Geo. M. Woods, Saml. O. Minor, Wm. Garth, John Fagg, Col. Wm. Woods, and P. Minor.

Mr. Maury from the committee appointed at the last meeting to do and prepare all things necessary and proper to carry the proposed exhibition in October next into effect reported substantially as follows—

That the Committee had contracted with Mr. Saml. O. Minor to furnish for the occasion at his Residence dinner, Toddy and spirit and water to each guest for 75 cents—Horse feed 25 cents, Hay for stock for exhibition, 1 dollar p Hundred, Corn at \$3 p barrell and servants fare at 25 cents for each meal. And further they have contracted to allow the said S. O. Minor \$20 for the erection of forty pens for the confining of stock brought for exhibition; for laying off the ground for ploughing, and for the use of his Houses & premises.

They have appointed the following Judges respectively.

1st Of Horses. Gen. Jno. H. Cocke, Col. Wm. Woods, Jno. P. Sampson, Robert W. Wood and George W. Kinsolving.

2d of Cattle. Jno. Rogers (M) Jesse Lewis, Nichs. H. Lewis, Doct. George Blatterman, & Richard Gambill.

3d of Sheep. James Lindsay, Tucker Coles, Chas. J. Meriwether, [116] Danl. M. Railey and Doct. Frank Carr.

4th of Swine. Chas. Harper, Ths. W. Gooch, Thornton Rogers, Col. Jno. Coles, and James Duke.

5th of Ploughs. John Rogers (M) John Slaughter, Lewis Teel, Richard Duke and Ths. J. Randolph.

6th of Implements of Husbandry. Wm. D. Meriwether, Nichs. H. Lewis, John R. Campbell, Reuben Lendsay jr. and Eli Alexander.

7th of Domestic Manufactures. John Winn, Opie Norris, Saml. Dyer Sen., David Higginbotham and Norbonne Powers.

8th. Marshalls for ensuring good Order. Majr. James Clarke, Wm. Garth, Danl. F. Carr, George M. Woods, Ira Garrett, Meredith W. D. Jones and Alexr. St. C. Heiskell.

Andrew Zigler is appointed Auctionar and Cryer.

John A. G. Davis is appointed clerk to the Judges. Each committee of Judges consists of five, but it is proposed that any three shall form a quorum to act, and in case of any vacancy occasioned by non attendance, disability or disinclination to act, such vacancy may be supplied by the committee of arrangements on the morning of the exhibition.

The Foregoing arrangements were unanimously approved and adopted and the report of the committee ordered to be published forthwith in the Central Gazette. On the motion of The chairman, It was Resolved that the Judges for the award of premium to the best plough men be seperate from those to the best plough whereupon, the following committee were appointed on that subject viz. Nimrod Bramham, Dabney Gooch, Joseph Harper, Micajah Woods and Jno. D. Craven.

[117] The following persons were nomenated as members of this Society upon an assurance that they were respectively anxious to serve viz. Joseph Harper, Isaac A. Coles, John B. Coles and Thomas M. Lewis all of Albemarle.

On Motion, the Society proceeded to reconsider its proceedings at the last meeting on the subject of awarding premiums for the first and second best cultivated farms by its members. Whereupon—The minutes in the proceedings of the last meeting were fully approved and confirmed and ordered to be printed in the Central Gazette.

Resolved that Vice president Randolph be and he is hereby requested to deliver to the Society an Address appropriate to the occasion at its exhibition on the 26th of October next.

The Vice president having signified his acquiescence, The society then adjourned to the Regular meeting in Octor. next.

[118] MONDAY OCTOR. 9TH 1826.

At a Regular meeting of the agricultural Society of Albemarle held the 9th day of October 1826. Present—Vice President, Th. M. Randolph, Walter Coles, Js. S. Maury, Nimrod Bramham, Wm. Woods, Jno. H. Craven, Achilles Broadhead, Tucker Coles, Th. W. Maury, S. O. Minor, Charles J. Meriwether, Geo. M. Woods, Wm. H. Meriwether and P. Minor.

Joseph Harper, J. A. Coles, Jno. B. Coles, and Th. M. Lewis nominated as members at the last meeting were all elected as members of this Society.

On motion Ths. W. Maury, Jno. H. Craven, Frank Carr, Th. J. Randolph and Achilles Broadhead were appointed a committee to revise the Rules and Regulations of this Society and report on the subject to a special meeting of the Society which will be held for that purpose on the 1st Monday in March next.

The Society then proceeded to the election of Officers for the ensuing year.—

Ths. M. Randolph of Albemarle	was elected	President.
J. A. Coles of	do	1st Vice Presit.
J. H. Cocke of Fluvanna		2d V. president
Nimrod Bramham Esq.		Treasurer
P. Minor Esq.		Secretary
Th. W. Maury Esq.		Assistant Sec'y.

On motion, Resolved, that Wm. H. Meriwether, Hugh Nelson, Wm. C. Rives, Th. W. Maury and Wm. Woods be appointed a committee to prepare a petition to the next General Assembly of Va. for the incorporation of a company to improve the navigation of the Rivanna River, to be reported to the Society at its agricultural shew for adoption or amendment and the Society then adjourned to meet again at The Farm on Thursday the 26th Octr. next, the time and place of the said agricultural exhibition.

[119] THURSDAY OCTOBER 26TH 1826.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held by special appointment at the Residence of Saml. O. Minor on Thursday the 26th of October 1826. Present. President Th. M. Randolph, Alexr. Garrett, Js. Lietch, Jno. A. G. Davis, John Winn, Jno. M. Perry, John Railey, Chs. J. Meriwether, Dr. Chs. Meriwether, Reuben Maury, Wm. H. Meriwether, Th. W. Maury, Col. Wm. Woods, Nimrod Bramham, John H. Cocke, Coleby Cowherd, Col. John Thom, Isaac A. Coles, John Coles, Tucker Coles, Thornton Rogers, James Clarke and P. Minor.

On motion, Resolved, That the ordinary mode of electing members of the Society be for this day dispensed with, whereupon Mr. Benj. Hardin, was elected a member by Genl. Acclimation. It being stated, to the Society that the period of 6 months the time stipulated for the greatest production of butter, had not intervened between the advertisement of its proposals and the present time on Motion, It was resolved that the judges of that article shall consider the products of butter made from the month of June, till the present time as fair and fit subjects for the premium offered by this Society.

The President then proceeded to deliver to the Society an address conformable to previous request.

On motion of Col. Wm. Woods, the unanimous thanks of the Society were voted to Col. Randolph for his learned and eloquent address, a copy was requested for publication, and the Secretary was requested to have 200 copies printed in a pamphlet form for the use of the Society, one copy of which he shall furnish to each member.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at the same place tomorrow at 10 oCk.

[120] FRIDAY OCT. 27TH 1826.

The society met pursuant to the adjournment of yesterday. Present. President Randolph, Vice president Cocke, Frank Carr, Tucker Coles, Reu. Lewis, Jno. H. Craven, Garld Garth, Geo. M. Woods, Danl. F. Carr, Thornton Rogers, Rd. Duke, Jno. Fretwell, Reu. Maury, Alex. Garret, Wm. H. Meriwether, Chs. J. Meriwether, Dr. Chs. Meriwether, Ths. W. Maury, Js. Leitch, Col. John Thom, Wm. Woods, Jno. P. Sampson, Richd. Duke, Achilles Broadhead and Peter Minor.

Capt Michael Johnson was nominated as a member of this Society by Jno. H Craven and Reuben Maury.

Mr. Wm. H Meriwether from the Committee ap[ointed] to prepare and report a petition to the next genl. Assembly of Virgia. to incorporate a company to improve the navigation of the Rivanna River reported a petition which was read. Whereupon, after debate it was Resolved, that the said Committee be enlarged by the addition of Wm. D. Meriwether, Martin Dawson and Richard Duke, of Albemarle, Walker Timberlake and Jno. H. Cocke of Fluvanna and James Crawford of Staunton to its body, to reconsider, and report to the Society on the 1st Monday in Decr. next, at which time a special meeting of the Society will be held in Charlottsville for the purpose of receiving said report.

Resolved that notice of this meeting, and the nature of it be advertised in the Central Gazette.

The Society then proceeded to receive, and adopt the reports of the various Committees appointed to award premiums, which were ordered to [be] inserted at length in the minutes as follows—

[121] 1st Report of the Judges of Domestic Manufactures. The Committee appointed to examine and decide on Domestic manufactures have examined the numerous articles exhibited before them and have awarded the prizes as follows. Premium to Mrs. Wm Woods for the best piece of linen cloth upwards of 20 yds long and 1 yard wide.

Premium to Mrs. William Woods for the best piece of table linen upwards of 20 yards long and 1 yard wide.

Premium to Mrs. John Fagg for the best peice of wool flannel 7-8ths wide and not less than 10 yards long, crimson colour.

Premium to Mrs. John Thom for the best peice of cotton and wool flannel 7-8th wide and not less than 10 yards long, white.

Premium to Miss Mary Pogue of Pocahontas county for the best peice of carpeting 1 yard wide and not less than 20 yards long made entirely of wool. This premium was decided by the society to have been improperly awarded, on account of the lady's living out of the precincts of the society, but in consequence of some misconception or misunderstanding on the part of the lady, as well as on account of the superior quality of the article it was confirmed and voted to Miss Pogue as a decretionary premium from the Society. Premium to Mrs. Charles Meriwether, for the second best peice of carpeting 1 yard wide, and not less than 20 yards long, wool and cotton,

Premium to Mrs. Sarah Eddings, of Orange County, for the best peice of weaving cloth made of wool and cotton, 3-4ths wide and not less than 10 yards long. Premium to Mrs Susan P. Lastly of Louisa county, for the best counterpane composed of wool and cotton.

Premium to Mrs Michael Johnson for the best cotton counterpane.

Premium to Mr Coleby Cowherd, of Orange county, for the best pair of blankets not less than 2 yards wide nor 2 and 1-2 yards long,

Premium to Mrs A. C. Meriwether, of Albermarle county for the best pair of woolen knit hose

Premium, to Mrs. Wm. Woods, for the best peice of negro's outside winter clothing, 3-4ths wide and not less than 20 yards long, made entirely of wool

Premium, to Hugh Minor, for the best mans hat, made entirely of grass, st[r]aw, chip, or other vegetable material

Premium to Mrs Thomas Lewis for the best womans hat, or bonnet, made of grass, straw, chip, or other vegetable material

[122] Premium to Mrs. Ellen Watson, for the greatest production of butter as per her statement exhibited, shewing a total of 334 lbs. from four cows in 20 weeks, none of which sold less than for 1 shilling per lb

Your committee in a few instances awarded no premiums at all considering the articles exhibited as unworthy of distinction. On the other hand, some beautiful fabrics were submitted to our examination not comprehended in the printed list of articles for competition—these of course we were bound to reject, yet we take the liberty of recommending them to the society's consideration, for some discretionary premium, not only as beautiful and useful articles in themselves, but as an earnest of their disposition to encourage a species of manufacture which embraces our most vital interests, and is likely to be our only remedy against the oppressions of unjust Tariffs. Your committee would particularly recommend to the society's notice, a beautiful and well wrought piece of plaid, and one of cotton dimity, presented by Col. John Thom, of Culpepper county, a piece of excellent bed ticking presented by Mr. Isaac D Simms, and a pair of woolen knit socks of very superior quality, exhibited by Mrs Squires.

All which is respectfully submitted by

SAMUEL DYER
JOHN WINN
D HIGGINBOTHAM
NORBORNE POWERS
OPIE NORRIS

The society proceeded forthwith to the consideration of the committee's recommendation. Whereupon a discretionary premium of 5 dolls was voted to Col. John Thom, for a beautiful piece of plaid, the materials, the manufacture, and the dye stuffs, which were all raised and made in his own family. Also a premium of 5 dollars for a fine piece of dimity. Also a premium of 5 dollars was voted to Isaac D Simms for a superior piece of bed ticking, and a premium of 2 dollars to Mrs. Squires for a pair of woolen knit socks of very superior quality.

The society also voted a discretionary premium to Mrs Thornton Rogers, of 3 dollars for a beautiful hat or bonnet, ingeniously made of the down of geese feathers, and also a premium of 2 dollars was awarded to Miss Lucy Ann Duke, for a beautiful work basket made of straw and some other durable material,

[123] 2d report of the Judges on Horses

The judges of horses beg leave to report, that, while they could not decline giving their unanimous preference to Mrs Fagg's black horse Samson, as "the stallion best calculated to improve the breed of draft horses" they feel themselves compelled to bear testimony to the high claims of his competitors. Mrs. Fagg's horse united a weight of carcase, an expression of muscular power, and a compactness of form, which gives him a decided superiority for slow

and heavy draft, but either Mr. Cowherd's horse, Virginian, or Mr Hardin's horse Selim, must be esteemed his superior for propagating a race for the more rapid movements of horsemen, or pleasure carriages. But the latter horses possess in a high degree, the lofty carriage, fine movements, and great powers of the English hunter, a description of horse hitherto too much neglected in Virginia.

As to the Stallion the best calculated to improve the breed of Saddle horses, the committee give the preference to Mr. Lewis's horse Leonidas, upon the score of his superior size, and the promising appearance many of his colts, exhibited on the occasion. At the same time they cannot forbear to award to Gen. J. H. Cocke's horse, Little Buck, the superiority in form and action. In deciding between the brood mares shewn, the committee could not but be embarrassed, by the different characters, the animals exhibited, varying as they did, from the delicate full blooded stock, to the more useful and substantial Conestoga. But as the society had drawn no distinction between breeds the decisions were made in references to the degrees, of supposed excellence, in their breeds respectfully, leaving it to the society to decide which of the stocks ought to be most encouraged, Mr Robert Rive's grey mare, for blooded stock is first, Mr William H Meriwether's bay mare, of do. is second, Mr Benjamin Harden's grey mare of draft stock is first, Mr. Reuben Lewis's brown mare of do is second.

The great number of colts exhibited and the nice distinctions in their claims, rendered the duties of the [124] committee on this department particularly difficult. But after much deliberation, and comparative estimates, they decided in favour of Mr Cowherd's grey filly of 2 years old, as entitled to the first premium, and Mr. Joseph Harper's sorrel filly of the same age to the 2d do.

Gen. J. H. Cocke's Jack, altho' having no competitor, is decided worthy of the premium, for his fine size and superior figure for any animal of that race, as to draft horses & brood mares,

J. H COCKE

G W KINSOLVING

R WOOD

JOHN P SAMPSON

The society then proceeded to decide the question of the committee as to which of the stock of brood mares, should be most encouraged, and decided in favor of the blooded stock.

At the same time they voted a discretionary premium of 5 dolls to Mr Harden's grey mare as the best of the draft stock and 3 dolls to Mr R. Lewis's mare as second best.

Report of the Judges of Agricultural improvement. The committee for actual trial of ploughs decided in favor of McCormicks, self

sharpening plough, as doing the best work, and being easier drawn, in the propotion of 390 to 440 against the only plough then in competition and they award to James Duke the premium of 5 dollars as offered by the Society The same committee, award 8 dollars the premium offered by the society, for the best straw cutter to John Hull. The committee also award 8 dollars to Warner W Minor Esquire for the best machine to cover, and drop grain, with the remark that the covering part of the machine, is so much too near the wheel as often to stop its turning, by throwing earth against its sides.

THOMAS M RANDOLPH
SETH BURNLEY

Report of the Judges of Ploughmen.

This committee report, that Bedford the driver of Mr James Duke[s] plough performed the best and to him they award to him the just premium of 3 dollars [125] To Madison, Col. Wm. Woods ploughman, they award the second premium of 2 dollars. Both the above ploughmen performed extremely well,

NIMROD, BRANHAM,
JOS. HARPER,
MICAJAH, WOODS
JOHN, CRAVEN, JR

Report of the Judges on Sheep

The committee appointed by the society, to view and report on the sheep exhibited for premiums, respectfully report as follows, Your committee cannot but express their regret at the extremely limited competition, out of which they have been compelled, to select those specimens, which they considered as entitled to a premium. If they could suppose that the small number exhibited on this occasion, could justly be considered as an indication of the public indifference, to the rearing of that valuable and important animal, and the improvement of the breed, your committee would deeply deplore that indifference—while the policy of the General government, in the impositions of duties for the protection of what is called “Domestic Industry” amounting in many instances to the prohibition of articles of foreign manufacture and of indispensable use among us, enhances most enormously their price, presses down the spring of Southern industry, and makes all the staple productions, of our agricultural improvements subservient to the growth and improvement, of the manufacturing establishments of the East and West become the hot-bed favorites of a Government instituted, we had vainly hoped for the common benefit of us all, it especially behooves us to nourish and improve all the facilities of domestic manufacture.

The society we are sure will not deem these suggestions as irrelevant or misplaced, when they reflect, that had we continued connected with Great Britain, by the bonds of Colonial dependance, her system of taxation, and the spirit of her monopolizing policy, would hardly have accumulated upon us in more than half a century of misrule a more oppressive burden, than in a [126] few years, has been heaped upon us by the unjust and partial policy of a government of our own institution. Against this policy it becomes us earnestly to protest, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity of embodying the public sentiment against it.

No Ram which the committee considered worthy of a premium was exhibited. The best pen of wethers was exhibited by Mr. John Fretwell and to him we award the premium of 5 dollars. The best pen of Ewes, particular regard being had to the fineness and staple of the fleece, was exhibited by Mr Henry White and we award to him the premium of 5 dollars.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES LINDSAY,
FRANK CARR
CHARLES T MERIWETHER
TUCKER COLES

Report of the Judges on Swine

The committee on swine have performed their duty and report after due examination they have decided that.

Mr Jos Harper's boar is entitled to the 1st premium

Mr Jos Harper's sow to the 2d best do

Col Wm Wood's sow to the 1st premium

Col Wm Wood's boar aged 16 m to 2d do

by order of the committee,

THORNTON ROGERS, *Chairman*

Report of the Judges on Cattle

We the undersigned committee appointed to examine cattle, have awarded the premiums as follows:

To Mr Wm D Meriwether for his bull, Henry Clay the first premium of \$10

To Richard Gambill for his bull Gim Crack 2 years old the 2d premium of \$5

To Wm Woods for his red cow, the 1st premium \$10

Fat Cattle

Wm Woods for his cow, the 1st premium \$10

Wm Woods for his young ox 2d do \$5

Oxen

To Reuben Maury the 1st premium for the best broke single ox \$8

[127] To Jos Harper the 1st premium for his yoke of draft oxen \$10

To Wm Woods the 2d premium for his yoke of draft oxen \$5
 To Reuben Maury's ploughman with oxen the 1st premium \$4
 To Jos Harper's ploughman with do 2d \$3

SAMUEL CARR
 JOHN FRETWELL
 RICHARD GAMBILL

Extract from the minutes,

P MINOR *Secretary*

The society then adjourned until the 2d Monday in December

[128] At a special meeting of the Agricultural society at Charlottesville on Monday the 17 day of December 1826. Present, Hugh Nelson, John H Craven, Jas. O. Carr, Samuel Carr, James Maury, Wm D Meriwether, Joseph C. Cabell, Alexander Garrett, Charles J Meriwether, John Minor, R. W. Wood, John A. G. Davies, James H Terrell, Thomas W. Gilmer, Richard Duke, William H Meriwether, Daniel F. Carr, Nicholas H. Lewis, Thornton Rogers, John P. Sampson, James Clarke, John Fagg, Wm. Woods, Thomas W. Maury, Nimrod Branham, Henry White, Reuben Lindsay, John Winn, and Peter Minor.

No presiding officer being present, Hugh Nelson, was called to the chair.

The following memorial, was presented by the committee appointed for that purpose, which after much debate and sundry ineffectual attempts to amend, it was adopted as the petition, of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, ordered to be authenticated by the signature of the Chairman and Secretary, and forwarded to the representatives of this county in the house of Delegates,

To the General Assembly of Virginia

The petition of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle respectfully represent, that the interest which it is the humble design of their institution to advance is on nothing more dependant for its prosperity, than the provision of safe cheap and practicable channels of transportation that they themselves and the community of which they form a part are in an especial manner interested in the condition of the Rivanna river as a public highway, it being the principal channel by which the products of their country and labour, now and for a long time past have been accustomed to seek a market. Nature by conducting this river through the very heart of the counties of Albemarle and Fluvanna [129] has constituted them more particularly its Guardians, but its benefits were destined to embrace a still wider region and in their ultimate extension to offer to large portions of the counties of Nelson, Augusta and Rock-

ingham to the West and of Louisa, Orange and Madison to the East, their most eligible communication with the great central market of the State. The actual condition of this highway is far short both of its own natural capabilities and of the magnitude and extent of the interests connected with it. During a considerable part of the year it is now entirely useless and when it is not so, its use is embarrassed by great difficulties. Among the causes which have heretofore discouraged the attempts to improve this navigation the most prominent have been the doubts and questions arising out of the establishment of mills along its margin under the usual authority of orders of court, A difference of opinion has prevailed as to the legitimate extent of the rights invested in Mill-owners and also as the probability of any infringement of those rights by the improvements contemplated in the navigation, On the one hand an unwillingness has justly been felt to invade the vested right (where such were concerned) of any class of citizens entitled to the laws. On the other an apprehension has been constantly awakened that those rights would be put in jeopardy.

In this state of things inaction as to the great purpose of improvement and fruitless and jarring counsels have been the natural consequence, Your petitioners deem it essential to the successful prosecution of any plan of improvement to provide beforehand some prompt and amicable mode of settling the questions and of reconciling this conflict of interests and opinion. This may be done either by a total extinguishment of the rights of the mill-owners for a fair consideration to be ascertained by agreement or valuation so as to remove at once the whole ground of controversy or otherwise by making them a rateable compensation for the injury, if any, which their rights may sustain, to be determined by disinterested and competent commissioners of the mutual choice [130] of the parties or of the appointment of the Superior court of some neighboring county.

It is therefore respectfully asked of the general Assembly to incorporate a company for the improvement of the navigation of the Rivanna river from Columbia to Moses ford who shall be required to afford two feet depth of water (at all seasons except in extraordinary drought) in the channels of the river which shall be no where less than 25 feet wide and with the privilege of improving the navigation above Moore's ford under such limitations as the legislature may think right and that in organizing the powers of the said company they may be authorized to pursue the measures above suggested either to obtain a total extinguishment of the rights of the mill owners or to make them a rateable compensation for the injury they may sustain if there should be any interference with their

rights and according as the one or the other mode of proceeding may to the company when formed seem most expedient.

By order in behalf of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle

HUGH NELSON

acting as Chairman

P. MINOR *Secretary*

The society then adjourned till the 1st Monday in March.

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held on the 7th day of May 1827. Present, Tho. J. Randolph, Nimrod Bramham, Jno. H. Perry, Seth Burnley, Tucker Coles, Reuben Maury, Nichs Johnson, Wm. H. Meriwether, Chas. Cocke, Jno. H. Craven, John Timberlake, Jno. Fagg, Saml. O. Minor, Jos. Harper, Jno. Gilmer and Wm. Woods.

No presiding officer being present, Thos. J. Randolph was called to the chair and Wm. Woods appointed Secretary pro. tem.

[131] The society proceeded to elect a Secretary in the place of Peter Minor, Esq. decd. whereupon Doct. Frank Carr was unanimously elected. The following members, viz. Saml. Carr, Tucker Coles, Wm. H. Meriwether, John Winn and Joseph Harper, were appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme of premiums to be awarded at the next autumnal show and fair, and to report the said scheme at a special meeting of the Society to be held on the 1st Monday in June next.

On motion of Jno. H. Craven, resolved that the resolution adopted by the Society at their meeting in May 1826 for awarding premium on Farms in the year 1827, be continued until 1828 and published in the Central Gazette.

On motion of Charles Cocke, resolved that Thos. W. Maury be requested to prepare an appropriate notice of the death of their late valuable and lamented Secretary Peter Minor, Esq. to be delivered before the Society at their next regular Autumnal meeting.

Resolved that at the called meeting on the 4th of June next, the subject of the contemplated improvement of the Rivaña River, will be brought before their notice.

Joel W. Brown was nominated as a member of the Society by Wm. Woods.

The Society then adjourned until the 1st Monday in June.

THOS. J. RANDOLPH.

Chairman.

Teste

WM. WOODS, *Secy. pro. tem.*

[132] At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held in Charlottesville on the 4th of June 1827 agreeably to adjournment.

Present, John H. Craven, Alexander Garrett, Wm. H. Meriwether, Saml. Carr, Craven Peyton, Charles Meriwether, and Frank Carr; in the absence of the regular presiding officers of the Society Saml. Carr was called to the Chair.

On motion made and seconded the Society adjourned untill tomorrow at 12 O'clock.

SAMUEL CARR, *Chn.*

Teste

FRANK CARR, *Secty.*

Tuesday June 5th. The Society met according to Adjournment. Present Thomas J. Randolph, Wm. H. Meriwether, Alex. Garrett, Jno. H. Craven, Nimrod Bramham, William Woods, Saml. Carr, Frank Carr, and Danl. M. Railey and Jno. M. Perry.

In the absence of all the regular presiding officers of the Society Thomas J. Randolph was called to the chair.

The committee appointed at the last regular meeting of the Society in May "to prepare a scheme of premiums to be awarded at the next autumnal show and fair", made their report as follows.—The Agricultural Society of Albemarle will hold its third annual exhibition and fair of agricultural implements, live stock, and domestic manufactures, in Charlottesville and its vicinity on Friday and Saturday, the 1st and 2d days of November next, and offer the following premiums to be then and there awarded. 1. Horses. For the best stallion best calculated to improve the breed of draft horses \$10. For the stallion best calculated to improve the breed of riding horses 15. The best gelded riding horse \$5. The best mare for breeding riding horses \$8. The best mare for breeding draft horses—\$6. The best colt 3 years old the preceeding Spring \$4. The best 2 years old \$4. The best 1 year old \$4. The best Jack ass \$8. The best mule \$5. 2. Cattle. The best bull \$8. The best cow \$6. The best yoke of working oxen, reference being had to performance at the plough \$8. The best working single ox for plough wagon or cart \$5. The best fatted [133] ox or cow reference being had to the mode of feeding \$8. 3d. Swine. For the best boar \$5. For the best sow \$5. 4th. Sheep. For the best ram \$5. For the best pen of ewes not less than 4 in number \$5. For the best pen of wethers not less than 4 in number \$5. 5. Agricultural Implements. For the best plough, to be tested by actual trial, simplicity of construction, efficiency of performance and facility of draft to be considered \$5. The best constructed wheat fan \$5. The best straw cutter \$5. The best constructed wheat cradle \$5. The best constructed machine for opening The drill, and dropping and covering the grain by the same operation \$5. The best ploughman with horses \$3. The best ploughman with oxen. 6th. Domestic Manufactures. For the best piece of linen cloth for shirting or sheeting not less than 10 yards long—\$5. The

best piece of flax or hemp linen for table cloths or towels not less than 10 yards long \$5. The best piece of wool flannel not less than 10 yards long—\$5. The best piece of wool and cotton ditto \$3. The best piece of carpetting not less than 20 yards long \$6. The best piece of wearing cloth of wool and cotton not less than 10 yards long—\$5. The best piece of vesting of wool and cotton not less than 5 yards long \$5. The best counterpane of wool or wool and cotton, \$5. The best do. of Cotton \$5. The best pair of blankets \$5. The best pair of woolen knit hose \$2. The best piece of summer coating of cotton, silk &c. \$5. The best piece of outside negroes' winter clothing, not less than 10 yards long \$7. The best piece of shirting for negroes not less than 10 yards long \$5. The best man's hat made of straw, grass or other vegetable material \$3. The best woman's hat or bonnet do. \$3. The best piece of shirting or sheeting of cotton and flax not less than 10 yards long \$7. The best piece of cotton vesting not less than 5 yards long \$3. The best and most appropriate suit of cloths entirely of homespun, worn by any member of the Society at the fair—\$15. The best sample of butter not less than 10 lb. \$3. The best home made cheese \$5.

Persons from any state may become competitors for premiums offered for agricultural implements, provided such implements be in whole or in part, the work of such person [134] or done under his direction, and the manufacturers of ploughs are particularly invited to offer their productions for trial. Those premiums offered for live stock shall be confined exclusively to members of the society, who shall themselves have reared or grown such animal, except stud horses, Jack asses and bulls, and these shall be the property of such member and have been owned by him at least 4 months immediately preceeding the exhibition; they shall also furnish a written pedigree of such breeding animal as far as practicable; the successful candidates for the Cattle, Swine, and Sheep shall give a written detail of the rearing such Cattle, Swine and Sheep; the successful candidates for the best sample of cheese and butter, shall give a written detail of the process pursued in arriving at such result. Premiums for Domestic Manufactures shall be confined to members of the Society and their families; such manufactures being wrought either in whole or in part, by the member himself who shall exhibit the same for premium or under the superintendence of his family or some member of it. If such Domestic be exhibited by ladies present, they shall be entitled to the privileges of members. No animal, domestic fabric, or implement of agriculture which shall have obtained a premium at any shew or fair shall be entitled to a premium at the exhibition hereby contemplated; and in all cases where premiums are awarded, such evidence shall be required as may be deemed proper and reasonable to establish the claims to premium.

The Society are resolved to award in the Autumn of 1828, a premium of \$50 to that member of its body who shall appear to have cultivated or managed his farm of not less than 100 acres of cleared land, in the best manner, and for the second best farm, as above, a premium of \$25. No discretionary premium shall be awarded, except for new inventions. The Society reserve the discretion of withholding a premium altogether if the article exhibited be not thought worthy of it.

On motion of John H. Craven, Wm. Woods, [135] Jno. H. Craven, Nimrod Bramham, Tucker Coles, and Joseph Harper were appointed a committee of arrangement for carrying the above scheme into execution.

Ordered that the scheme for the annual exhibition and fair be printed in the Central Gazette, and that 250 copies be printed for distribution.

Ordered that the Society adjourn to the first meeting in September.

FRANK CARR, *Secty.*

At a meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held agreeably to adjournment, on the 1st Monday in September 1827. Present Samuel Carr, Jno. H. Craven, John Coles, A. Garrett, Jos. Harper, James Duke, Jno. Fagg, Reuben Lewis, Geo. M. Woods, Reuben Maury, Walker Timberlake, Garland Garth, Wm. Woods and Frank Carr. Samuel Carr, in the absence of all the officers constitutionally authorized to preside, was called to the chair. Wm. Woods from the committee of arrangements, presented the report of the Committee as follows: Viz.—The Committee appointed by the Agricultural Society of Albemarle to make the necessary arrangements for carrying into effect the next agricultural Show and Fair to be held on Friday and Saturday, the 2d. and 3d. days of November next beg leave to make the following report. That they have contracted with Wm. D. Fitch to furnish a lott adjoining Charlottesville, and to erect convenient stalls and enclosures for the live stock—to furnish the owners with grain and forage, at a reasonable price, and to provide dinner for the members each day at the usual tavern price of 50 cents each. The Committee have obtained ground for the ploug[h]ing match from John Winn Esquire. [136] The deposite and exhibition of Domestic manufactures to be held in the Court House, and of Agricultural Implements in the court yard. The Committee recommend the following rules and regulations to be observed. 1st. That the members of the Society will meet at the Eagle Tavern on the first day at 10 O'Clock, when they will organize the several Committees of Judges etc. and proceed to business. 2d. All stock intended for premiums shall be put into the pens by half past 10 O'Clock under the direction of the several Marshalls, who shall be distinguished by blue sashes. 3d. On the first day the exhibition and examination of

live stock shall take place commencing at 11 O'Clock and proceeding in the order in which they stand in the scheme as published in the hand bills. Should any live stock be offered for sale, it shall take place immediately after the examination of the judges closes. 4. On the Second day, the ploughing match, exhibition of Domestic Manufactures and Agricultural Implements shall take place—commencing with the ploughing at 10 O'Clock. 5th. The judges shall hand in their respective reports to the president on the second day as soon as practicable after the close of the examination, when they shall be read before the Society, and the premiums awarded to the successful competitors. 6th. It is recommended that all persons who intend to exhibit live stock of any description for premium shall give notice in writing to Dr. Frank Carr, Secretary to the Society, at least 15 days previous to the exhibition. This regulation is deemed adviseable in order that a sufficient number of stalls and pens may be provided and no more.

The Committee have appointed the following members as judges, viz. 1. On Horses. Genl. John H. Cocke, Col. Saml. Carr, Jno. Winn, Jesse Lewis, Craven Peyton; Marshall to attend the judges, Jno. Railey. 2d. On Jack Asses and Mules. Wm. C. Rives, Wm. F. Gordon, Dr. Charles Cocke, Reuben Lewis, David Michie; Marshall, Geo. M. Woods. 3d. On Neat Cattle. Jno. Rogers, Seth Burnley, Wm. H. Meriwether, Garland Garth, Thomas W. Gooch—Marshall, Wm. Garth.—[137] 4. On Sheep, Jas. Lindsay, Charles J. Meriwether, Walter Coles, Reuben Maury, Jno. Fretwell; Marshall Dan. F. Carr. 5th. On Swine, Thornton Rogers, Jas. Duke, Henry White, Richd. Gamble, Jno. Fagg—Marshall, Jno. D. Craven. 6th—On Ploughs, Ploughmen, and Agricultural Implements—Richd. Duke, N. H. Lewis, Geo. Gilmer, Jas. Clarke, Danl. M. Railey; Marshall Jno. C. Carter. 7th. On Domestic Manufactures. Col. John Coles, Wm. D. Meriwether, Jno. R. Campbell, Achilles Broadhead, Thos. W. Maury—Marshall, Jno. Hart. 8th. On Butter and Cheese. F. W. Hatch, Alex. Garrett, Jno. A. G. Davis, Jno. M. Perry, Jas. O. Carr—Marshall, Benj. Hardin—Andrew Leitch is appointed Clerk, and Andrew Zeigler, Cryer. It is understood that any three of the five Judges shall be competent to act. Note it is proposed to leave it optional, with those to whom premiums may be awarded, to receive the amount either in money or the value in appropriate peices of plate.

WM. WOODS.
TUCKER COLES.
N. BRAMHAM
JNO. H. CRAVEN
JOS. HARPER

Committee

Which report was received and ordered to be published in the "Virginia Advocate."

Ordered that Jno. Winn, Jno. A. G. Davis and Ths. W. Maury be a Committee to act in assisting the Treasurer of the Society, in ascertaining who are members of this Society, and report their proceedings to the regular meeting in October next.

SAML. CARR, *Chairman.*

FRANK CARR, *Secty.*

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle held at Charlottesville on the 8th October, 1827: Present Thomas M. Randolph prest. Nimrod Bramham, Thos. W. Maury, Tucker Coles, Jno. H. Craven, Saml. O. Minor, James O. Carr, Jas. S. Maury, Reuben Maury, C. P. McKenney, Jas. Harper, Chs. J. Meriwether, Wm. Woods and Wm. H. Meriwether.

[138] On motion of Thomas W. Maury the following resolution was adopted unanimously, and stands to be acted on by the next regular meeting before it can be made a part of the Constitution. Resolved that it is expedient to add to the list of officers of this Society an officer to act as cryer and messenger whose duty it shall be to summon the member[s] to the meetings respectively.

The report of the Committee appointed at a meeting on the 9th October 1826 was read and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered that Tucker Coles, Wm. Woods, C. P. McKennie, Chs. J. Meriwether and Frank Carr be added to the Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Society to assist the Treasurer in ascertaining who are members.

Joel W. Brown who was at the last regular meeting of the Society proposed for membership, was accordingly elected a member. On motion made and seconded James O. Carr, Frank Carr, and Saml O. Minor, and John H. Craven were appointed a committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

The Society then went into election of officers for the succeeding year when Thomas M. Randolph was elected President. John H. Cocke 1st V. President. Tucker Coles 2d. V. President. Nimrod Bramham, Treasurer. Frank Carr, Secretary and Thomas W. Maury, assistant Secretary.

Ordered that the Society now adjourn to meet on the 2d. Day of November at 10 O'Clock.

TH. M. RANDOLPH *Senr. President*

FRANK CARR, *Secty.*

Agreeably to the adjourning order at the last meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle the Society met on the 2d. day of November. Present Thomas M. Randolph, President, Ths. W.

Maury, Wm. H Meriwether, Henry White, Jno. Gilmer, Dan'l M. Raily, Saml Carr, Richd. Duke, Jno. Railey, Hugh Nelson, Reuben Maury, Jno. Winn, Jas. Carr, Mann Page, Jno. Minor, Jno. Fagg, Wm. C. Rives, Jos. Harper, [139] Achilles Broadhead, Rice W. Wood, Warner W. Minor, Daniel F. Carr, Jno. Rogers, Reuben Lewis, Chs. Brown, Michael Johnson, James Duke, Thornton Rogers, James Clarke, Chs. J. Meriwether, Walter Coles, Tucker Coles, Jesse Garth, Wm. Woods, Jno. H. Craven, Nimrod Bramham, Seth Burnley, Jno. Fretwell, Peter Meriwether, Chs. H. Meriwether, Jno. B. Coles. Ordered that Lyman Peck be appointed Cryer and messenger to the Society. Ordered that the Society adjourn to meet tomorrow morning at 10 O'Clock.

TH. M. RANDOLPH, *Senr. President.*

FRANK CARR, *Secty.*

NOVEMBER THE 3D 1827.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment and the reports on Horses, Swine, and Sheep being received the Society adjourned to 3 O'Clock in the afternoon.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment.

Report of the Committee on horses. The Committee to whom the duty was assigned of awarding premiums on Horses, having had the subject under their consideration, and given it all the attention it justly merits beg leave to make the following report: viz. The premium for the stallion best calculated to improve the breed of riding horses was unanimously awarded to the Grey Horse Monticello. (The property of G. M. Woods of Albemarle.) For the best gelded riding Horse to Mr. Walter Coles. For the best mare for breeding riding horses to Colo. Isaac A. Coles.

For the best mare for breeding draft horses to Mr. Th. W. Gooch.

For the best colt three years old the preceding spring to Mr. Jno. H. Craven.

For the best 2 year old Colt to Mr. Jno. Bowler Coles.

For the best one year old colt to Colo. Wm. Woods.

The Committee would beg leave to observe that no successful competitor for any of the foregoing premiums has complied with the regulation which prescribes that "they shall furnish a written pedigree of such breeding animal as far as practicable." All of which is respectfully submitted by

SAML. CARR
JNO. WINN
C. PEYTON.

[140] After the preceeding report was handed in and received by the Society the following pedigrees were given in. Pedigree of the

bay filly of Capt. Jno. B. Coles. She was got by _____, Sire
 (by the old Sir Archy) dam by Knowseley, G. D. by Fearnaught.
 WALTER COLES for
 JNO. B. COLES.

Pedigree of the old dun mare of Colo. Isaac A. Coles. She was out
 of a Highflyer mare, G dam the same old Fearnaught as above and
 got by Chickesaw Horse

WALTER COLES for
 I. A. COLES.

Miss Rosebuck (one year old) got by old Roebuck (dam by
 Peac Maker.

WM. WOODS

Report of the Committee on neat Cattle. The Committee ap-
 pointed to judge of neat Cattle, have reviewed all those offered for
 premiums and agreeable to the best of their judgements, consider
 the following as the best amongst the fine specimens offered. Mr.
 Jno. Rogers exhibited the best Bull, Cow, and fatted calf, and is
 therefore entitled to the respective premiums of 8, 6 and 8 dollars.
 Mr. Jno. H. Craven exhibited the best working single ox and is
 therefore entitled to the premium of 5 dollars.

WM. H. MERIWETHER
 JOHN GILMER
 GARLAND GARTH.

I bought the Bull from which the animals exhibited are de-
 scended from Colo. Hull of the South branch who said he was of the
 English milk breed.

JNO. ROGERS.

Report on Sheep: Your committee beg leave to report they have
 awarded the premiums as follows—The premium of five dollars for
 the best ram to Wm. H. Meriwether. The premium of five dollars
 for the best pen of weathers to Henry White

WALTER COLES
 CHS J. MERIWETHER
 JNO. FRETWELL
 REUBEN MAURY

[141] Report of the Committee on Agricultural Implements. The
 Committee on Agricultural Implements, report: That no implements
 of Husbandry were exhibited to them except a wheat cradle made on
 a new plan made by Mr. Jno. Brockman of this County; and your

Committee recommend the award of the premium of five dollars to Mr. Brockman.

RICHD. DUKE
DANL. M. RAILEY
JAMES CLARKE.

Report of the Committee on Domestic Manufactures. The undersigned appointed as Committee to examine and award premiums for Domestic Manufactures. Report, That the premium for the best piece of linen shirting (10 yards) is awarded to Mrs. Eliza A. Woods. The premium for the best piece of white flannel (all wool) is awarded to Mrs. Eliza A. Woods. The premium for the best piece of wool and cotton flannel is awarded to Mrs. Thornton Rogers. The premium for the best piece of carpeting (of 26 yards) is awarded to Mrs. Geo. M. Woods. The premium for the best piece of Jeans (12 yards very superior) is awarded to Mrs. Thornton of Orange. The premium for the best Cotton Counterpane is awarded to Miss Martha Head. The premium for the best pair of woollen hose is awarded to Mrs. Dyer. The premium for the best piece of summer coating is awarded to Miss Mildred Mansfield. The premium for the most complete suit of clothes of Domestic manufacture is awarded to Colo. Wm. Woods, Mr. James Duke's pretensions being equal in the quality of his cloth, tho' the suit was not so complete. Several pieces of negro clothing were exhibited, but no premium was awarded because they were not of sufficient body. A premium for the best lady's bonnet made of grass (green Sward) was awarded to Miss Louisa Timberlake. A beautiful purse was exhibited by Miss Gilly Bramham, but no premium awarded, because the committee were not invested with any discretionary power to that effect. An excellent piece of linen [142] drilling was exhibited by Mrs. Maria D. Carr for which no premium was awarded for the same reason.

JOHN COLES,
A. BROADHEAD
THS. W. MAURY

Report of the Committee on Swine. The Committee who were appointed to award the premiums on Swine proceeded to perform their duty, and they decide, that the premium for the best boar be awarded to Colo. Wm. Woods. The premium for the best sow be awarded to Mr. Joseph Harper.

THORNTON ROGERS, *Chairman.*

Report of the Committee on Jack asses and Mules. The Committee appointed to adjudge the premiums for the best Jack ass and the best Mule, regret to inform the Society, that only one animal, in

that department, was exhibited for inspection, which was a young mule, of about 18 months old, of uncommon size and promise for one of that age, owned and raised by Dr. Jno. Gilmer of Albemarle. Altho' there was no competition yet as the Committee deem it an object of importance to encourage the general introduction and improvement of this description of animals, and as they consider the one exhibited by Dr. Gilmer as well entitled to distinction, they accordingly adjudge him the premium of five dollars for the best mule.

WM. C. RIVES,

Chairman of the Committee.

Report of the Committee on Butter and Cheese. The undersigned appointed to determine on the best sample of Butter and the best home made cheese, respectfully report; That the specimens both of butter and cheese which were exhibited were uncommonly good, so much so that it was somewhat difficult to distinguish which was best, but on a minute comparison, they have decided that to Mrs. Colo. Bramham, should be awarded the premium for the best butter; and to Mrs. Colo. Woods that for the best homemade cheese. The statements of the process pursued by the successful competitors accompany this report.

J. A. G. DAVIS

JNO. M. PERRY

JAS. P. CARR

[143] My mode of making butter is as follows—I have all the vessels necessary for the process kept perfectly clean and set apart exclusively for that purpose. Every morning I take a portion of the milk with the cream and churn it the following morning. When churned it is put in a wooden vessel and well salted. It is then beaten and worked well with a butter stick or paddle several different times in the course of the day untill all the fluid is pressed out, when it is put up for use. I do not wash it, or suffer a drop of water to touch it in any way. The sample exhibited was made in September and will keep perfectly sweet till next spring.

PEGGY BRAMHAM.

Process pursued in making the cheese exhibited by Eliza A. Woods of Albemarle. The cheese was made from the milk of the Evening and morning, a small piece of Rennet was put in warm water at night, the next morning it was strain'd and the liquid added to the milk. The milk was made a little warm, let it stand one hour, draw the whey off as much as possible, the curd then cut up very fine, add salt sufficient to the taste, then put the curd in press taking care to turn it once a day untill sufficiently firm. On motion made and seconded the preceeding reports were severally adopted.

On motion made and seconded resolved that a premium of five dollars be granted to Dr. Frank Carr for a specimen of wine made near Charlottesville in 1826, the pure juice of the Grape, and it is understood that this resolve announces the determination to encourage by premiums in future that branch of Agricultural industry viz. the growing of vines and making of wine; an account of the process followed in making the wine also the grape used is of course expected.

The society resolve to confer premiums on Tobacco, Corn, Wheat and wine made in the Country in the Autumn of 1829. The details to be regulated at the next stated meeting

[144] Richard D. Syms of Albemarle, John Bowcock Senr. of Albemarle, Jno. Lastley of Louisa, and Colo. Thomas Wood of Albemarle were proposed as members on the recommendation of Richd. Duke and Wm. H. Meriwether and on the assurance of both that they are desirous of joining the Society.

Wm. Dabney of Albemarle was proposed as a member of the Society on the recommendation of Samuel Carr and Richard Duke; himself being present and vouching his desire to become a member.

John Thornton of Orange was proposed as a member of the Society on the recommendation of Richd. Duke and Jno. Fagg and on the assurance of both that he is desirous of joining the Society.

George Chrisman of Rockingham was proposed as a member of the Society on the recommendation of Frank Carr and Saml. Carr; himself being present and vouching his desire to become a member.

On motion made and seconded. Resolved that Mrs. Ashley be paid the sum of two dollars for the trouble which the use of the Court House for the exhibition of Domestic Manufactures, has given her.

Ordered that Lyman Peck be allowed four dollars for his services as cryer and messenger to the Society.

Ordered that the Society do now adjourn to the regular meeting in May next.

[145] MONDAY MAY 12TH. 1828

At a regular meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle Present Wm. Woods, Nimrod Bramham, Achilles Broadhead, Jno. M. Railey, Jos: Harper, Richard Duke, Reuben Maury, Rice Wood, Jno. H. Craven, Jno. M. Perry, Wm. H. Meriwether, Henry White, Wm. D. Meriwether, and Craven Peyton, Jno. Gilmer & Geo. M. Woods, Jno. Winn, Reuben Lewis, N. H. Lewis; In the absence of all the regular presiding officers of the Society, Wm. Woods was called to the Chair.

A communication from John H. Craven on the subject of an improved method of constructing stone fences, and of sundry agri-

cultural pests was read and on motion ordered that said communication be published in the Virginia advocate.

On motion by Frank Carr, Resolved that Mrs. Lucy Minor, Widow of our late Secretary, Peter Minor, be requested to enter the Ridgeway Farm for premium

Jno. H. Craven, Nimrod Bramham, Dr. Jno Gilmer for himself and Mrs. Lucy Minor entered farms for premium

On motion made and seconded, resolved the time allowed to enter farms for premium be extended to the first monday in June.

On motion made and seconded the following members were appointed a committee to view the farms offered for premium and report to the Society at the Agricultural shew and fair of the Society, in the autumn: viz Thomas M. Randolph, Nicholas H. Lewis, Wm. Woods, James Clarke, Richd. Duke, and Jno. Rogers. Resolved that this Society will, in the year 1829, offer a premium for cotton, Hemp, and Flax, and Wool.

A committee consisting of Henry White, Achilles Broadhead, Reuben Maury, Nicholas H. Lewis, and Chs. J. Meriwether were appointed to prepare a scheme for an agricultural shew and fair.

Resolved that the constitution be so amended as to permit any person to be nominated and voted in as a member at any meeting of the Society.

Resolved that the treasurer be authorized and required to vest any disposable funds of the Society which may be in his hands in stock of the Rivanna Navigation Company.

Richd. D. Symes, and Jno. Bowcock Senr., Colo. Ths. W. Wood all of Albemarle, Jno. Lastly of Louisa, Wm. Dabney of Albemarle, Jno Thornton of Orange, and George [146] Chrisman of Rockingham nominated as members at the meeting of the Society in November last were voted in as members.

Resolved that a committee consisting of Jno. Winn, Frank Carr, and Rice W. Wood be requested to confer with the treasurer and decide what funds there may be in his hands which may be appropriated in pursuance to the resolution concerning the investment of the funds, without injury to the other objects the Society have in view.

The committee to whom was referred the duty of ascertaining who are to be considered as members of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle reported; That since the report of a committee made May 10th. 1824 on the subject, the following persons have been elected members and have avouched their membership either by being present as members at meetings of the Society, by paying contributions or exhibiting articles for premiums at the exhibitions of the Society: viz: Jas. M. Morris of Louisa, Richd. Gambill,

Achilles Broadhead, Jas. Duke, Dr. Jno. Minor, Albert G. Quarles, Jno. P. Sampson, Peter M. Meriwether, Jno. M. Railey, Craven Peyton, Rice W. Wood, Jno. A. G. Davis, Jno. C. Carter, Jas. Dinsmore, Garland Garth, Henry White, Wm. Garth, Jas. S. Maury, Warner W. Minor, Dr. Horace Bramham, Th. W. Gilmer, Dr. Charles Brown, Seth Burnley, Jesse Garth, Jno. Fretwell, Wm. Tuttle, Joseph Harper, I. A. Coles, Jno. B. Coles, Benj. Hardin, Michael Johnson, Joel W. Brown, Saml. Leitch junr. of those who were reported by that committee as members; the following persons have either removed from the State, withdrawn as members or are dead: viz P. P. Barbour, Miles Cary, Isaac Curd, Jas. W. Dabney, Jno. Goss, Chrstr. Hudson, Jas. Leitch, Jno. H. Peyton, Peter Hansborough, Ths. Wharton, Wm. Ashly, Jesse Lewis, and Peter Minor. This report is adopted.

James Madison was unanimously elected as Honorary member of the Society.

On motion made and seconded, resolved that Rice W. Wood and Wilm. H. Meriwether and Frank Carr and Wm. Woods be appointed Delegates to meet the convention contemplated to be held in Charlottesville in July nex[t] on the subject of Internal improvements, in behalf of this Society.

Ordered that the Revd. F. W. Hatch be released from his dues to the Society on the ground of his Clerical character and office.

Ordered that in consequence of it's being satisfactorily [147] ascertained that Ludlow Bramham is not in a situation to discharge his dues to the Society, the treasurer is directed not to enforce the payment thereof.

Ordered that the treasurer be required to enforce payment of the dues from all members of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle by legal means where necessary, and that this order be published three times in the Virginia Advocate and Richmond Enquirer. The Society then adjourned to the first Monday in June next.

WM. WOODS, *Chairman.*

FRANK CARR, *Secy.*

JUNE 3D. 1828.

At an adjourned meeting of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle present Jas. Harper, Geo. M. Woods, Reuben Maury, Wm. H. Meriwether, Achilles Broadhead, Jas. O. Carr, Seth Burnley, James Duke, Wm. Woods, Jno. H. Craven, Garland Garth, Reuben Lewis, and Frank Carr, Danl. F. Carr, Dr. Chs. Meriwether, Chs. Brown, Alexander Garrett, Jno. Fagg.

In the absence of the presiding officers of the Society, Wm. Woods was called to the chair.

Jno. Rogers entered his farm for premium.

Ordered, that Jos. Harper, Jno. H. Craven and Achilles Broadhead be a committee to settle with Wm. D. Fitch for expenses incurred for the last agricultural shew and fair and draw on the treasurer for the same.

The committee appointed at the last meeting of the Society to prepare a scheme for an Agricultural shew and fair presented a report, which, after undergoing various amendments, was adopted as follows, and 250 copies ordered to be printed.

The committee appointed to prepare a plan for the 4th exhibition and fair of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle beg leave to report the following, viz.

The Agricultural Society of Albemarle will hold its 4th. annual exhibition and fair of Agricultural implements, live stock, and Domestic Manufactures in Charlottesville on Friday and Saturday the 31st. of October and first day of November next and offer the following premiums.

[148] 1. *Horses*. For the Stallion best calculated to improve the breed of Horses \$15. For the 2d best \$10. For the best brood mare, \$10. For the 2d best \$8. For best 3 year old colt the preceeding spring \$5. For the 2d. best \$4. For the best 2 year old ditto \$5. For the 2d. best ditto 4. For the best one year old ditto \$5. For the 2d. best \$4. 2. *Cattle*. For the best Bull \$8. For the 2d best, \$6. For the best cow \$6. For the 2d. best \$5. For the best yoke of working oxen \$10. For the best working single ox \$5. 3. *Swine*. For the best boar \$5. For the 2d. best \$3. For the best sow \$4. For the 2d. best \$3. 4. *Sheep*. For the best ram \$6. For the 2d. best ditto \$4. For the best pen of Ewes not less than 4 in number \$6. For the 2d. best ditto \$4. 5. *Agricultural implements*. For the best plough of new invention or any improvement on the best plough now in use, to be tested by actual experiment, simplicity of construction, efficiency of performance, and facility of draft to be considered, \$10. 6. *Domestic Manufactures*. For the best piece of linen cloth, for shirting or sheeting, not less than 10 yards long, \$5. For the 2d. best ditto Ditto \$3. For the best piece of linen drilling for pantaloons not less than 10 yards long \$5. For the 2d. best ditto \$3. For the best piece of flax or Hemp linen or diaper for table cloths or towels not less than 10 yards \$5. For the 2d. best ditto—\$3. For the best piece of wool flannel not less than 10 yards long, \$5. For the 2d. best ditto ditto \$3. For the best piece of wool and cotton ditto, \$5. For the 2d. best ditto \$3. For the best piece of Carpetting not less than 20 yards long, \$6. For the best rag ditto ditto \$4. For the best piece of wearing cloth of wool and cotton not less than 10 yards long \$5. For the 2d. best ditto ditto \$3. For the best piece of wool and cotton cloth-

ing for ladies and children not less than 10 yards \$5. For the 2d. best ditto ditto \$3. For the best piece of vesting of wool and cotton or all wool not less than 3 yards, \$3. For the 2d. best ditto ditto, \$2. For the best counterpane of wool or wool and cotton \$5. For the 2d. best \$3. For the best cotton ditto ditto \$5. For the 2d. best ditto \$3. For the best pair of blankets \$6. For the 2d best ditto \$4. For the best pair of negroes blankets \$4. For the best pair of woollen knit hose \$2. For the 2d. best ditto, \$1. For the best pair of cotton ditto \$2. For the 2d. best ditto ditto \$1. For the best piece of summer coating of cotton silk, etc., \$5.

[149] *Dr.—The Agricultural Society of Albemarle in a/c with P. Minor*

1817		
Oct.	To paid cash for a record Book-----	\$1. 50
	" postage of letter to the Editor of the Enquirer-----	50
	paid for advertising the Special Meeting in Nov-----	1.
	pd. postage of Gen. Cockes communication-----	12½
Dec. 1.	To paid for printing 100 copies of the Report of the committee (circular)-----	5. 00
1818		
Mar.	" Paid for advertising the Special meeting in Mar-----	1.
	Postage of letter from Albany-----	25
	paid for printing 200 copies of the constitution-----	13. 50
	postage from Montgomery Ct. House-----	18½
	To paid Treasurer my Stipend 1st year-----	5.
Nov.	postage of letter from Richmond, Dr. Adams-----	12½
	Do. from Corresponding Come. of Richd. Society-----	12½
1820	To paid postage of Amm. Farmer 30 papers-----	45
Feb.	Postage of letter from Winchester (H Holmes)-----	25
	Do. from Alexandria (J. & I. Douglas)-----	12½
	Do. from Petersburg (Ed. Ruffin)-----	12½
April	Do. 1st Vol. of american Farmer, 52 Nos. bound-----	78
	To paid Messrs. McKennies for advertising the meeting in October-----	1.
	To this sum for the 1st Vol. of Am. Farmer to which I am entitled, being a subscriber-----	4. 50
	To paid postage from Richmond, (Kentuy.)-----	50
		36. 02½

For the best piece of negroes winter clothing not less than 10 yards \$6. For the 2d. best ditto ditto \$4. For the best piece of shirting for negroes not less than 10 yards \$4. For the 2d best ditto ditto \$3. For the best piece of shirting of cotton and flax not less than 10 yards \$4. For the 2d best ditto ditto \$2. For the best and most complete suit of clothes entirely home made work by any member of the Society \$8. For the 2d best \$6. For the 3d best ditto \$4. For the best home made cheese \$5.

7—*Farms.* For the best cultivated farm of not less than 100 acres of cleared land reference being had to the original quality of the soil so far as it can be ascertained, \$50. For the 2d. best ditto \$25.

Persons from any state may become competitors for the premiums offered for agricultural implements, provided such implements be the manufacture of such person or done under his direction. Those offered for live stock shall be confined to members of the Society [150] who shall themselves have reared such animals except

Cr.

1817

Oct.	By the sum due the Society for my becoming a member.....	\$5.
	By cash of Dr. Js. Minor on the same a/c.....	5.
	By Do. of Col. Jno. Overton do.....	5.
	By Do. of Jno. H. Peyton Do.....	5.
	By my second years stipend due Oct. 1818.....	5.
	By Dr. James Minors Do. Do.....	5.
	By cash recd. of Dr. French 1st year.....	5.
	By 3d. years subscription—due Nov. 1819.....	5.
	By 4th. years subscription due Oct. 1820.....	2
	By 5th. years Do. Oct. 1821.....	2.

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stallions, and these shall have been the property of such member at least six months preceeding the exhibition. They shall also furnish a written pedigree of such animal as far as practicable. The successful candidates for the premiums for cattle, swine and sheep shall give a written detail of rearing, and the successful candidate for that on cheese shall give a written account of the manufacture of such cheese. Premiums for domestic manufactures shall be confined to members of the Society and their families; such manufactures being wrought in whole or in part either by the member himself, or under the superintendence of his family or some member of it. Premiums for farms shall be confined to members of the society, and the successful candidate shall give a written account of the mode of improvement, and the annual production as far as practicable. No animal, domestic fabric, or implement of agriculture which may have obtained a premium at any show or fair, shall be entitled to a premium at the exhibition here contemplated; and in all cases where premiums are awarded, such evidence shall be required as the judges may deem proper and reasonable to establish the claim to premium. No discretionary premiums shall be awarded except for new inventions. The Society will award premiums for the greatest production of Hemp, flax and cotton for not less than half an acre in the fall of 1829. The Society are also resolved to award a premium for the best domestic wine the pure juice of the grape, in the autumn of 1829.

[151] They also resolve to award premiums for corn, wheat, and Tobacco, in the autumn of 1829.

Ordered that the Society adjourn to the 1st Monday in August.

Dr.—The Agricultural Society in Acct with Frank Carr.

1827.	To postage on letter from Geo. H. Crisman (Harrison-burgh-----	.10
Nov. 2.	To quire of paper for use of the Society-----	25
	Postage on letter from R. K. Meade-----	
	Blank Book \$1.25	
	Postage on 2 letters from Govr. Barbour 12½.	

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject of the history of the world. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life and the development of the human race. He also touches upon the different stages of civilization and the progress of science and art.

The second part of the book is a detailed account of the history of the world from the beginning of time to the present day. The author follows a chronological order, starting with the earliest known civilizations and ending with the modern world. He covers the major events, wars, and revolutions that have shaped the course of human history.

The third part of the book is a study of the present world and the future of humanity. The author discusses the current state of the world, the challenges it faces, and the possibilities for a better future. He also touches upon the role of science and technology in the development of the world.

The fourth part of the book is a study of the different religions and philosophies of the world. The author discusses the origins and teachings of the major religions, such as Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism. He also touches upon the different schools of thought in philosophy and the role of religion in society.

The fifth part of the book is a study of the different cultures and customs of the world. The author discusses the unique characteristics of the major cultures, such as the Chinese, the Indian, and the European. He also touches upon the influence of culture on the development of the world.

The sixth part of the book is a study of the different languages and literatures of the world. The author discusses the origins and development of the major languages, such as English, French, and Spanish. He also touches upon the role of literature in the development of the world.

The seventh part of the book is a study of the different art forms of the world. The author discusses the origins and development of the major art forms, such as painting, music, and drama. He also touches upon the role of art in the development of the world.

The eighth part of the book is a study of the different sciences of the world. The author discusses the origins and development of the major sciences, such as physics, chemistry, and biology. He also touches upon the role of science in the development of the world.

The ninth part of the book is a study of the different social sciences of the world. The author discusses the origins and development of the major social sciences, such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology. He also touches upon the role of social sciences in the development of the world.

The tenth part of the book is a study of the different political systems of the world. The author discusses the origins and development of the major political systems, such as democracy, socialism, and communism. He also touches upon the role of politics in the development of the world.

VIII. DIRECTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, 1920.

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

DIRECTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

General Offices, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Note.—The list of members of the American Historical Association here printed is the first to be published since 1911. It is correct, as far as possible, to November 1, 1920. The effort has been made to secure from each member information respecting his or her principal occupation, official or other position, membership in kindred societies, and interest in special fields of history. When no return was made of the questionnaire sent to members the entry has been confined to the name and address, except in a few cases where additional information has been readily obtainable from other sources.

It should be noted that life members are indicated by an asterisk, and that all members residing in the States of the Pacific Coast and the Rocky Mountains are also members of the Pacific Coast branch of the association.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Rt. Hon. James Bryce, Viscount Bryce, O. M., P. C., D. C. L., Litt. D., LL. D., F. R. S., Hindleap Forest Row, Sussex, England.

MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, Alden H.**, College of the Pacific, San Jose, Calif. Dean and Prof. hist. and pol. sci.
- Abbott, Frank Frost**, 62 Battle road, Princeton, N. J. A. B., A. M. (hon.), Ph. D.; prof. Latin, Princeton Univ.; mem. Am. Philolog. Assn., Am. Acad. in Rome. Roman hist.
- Abbott, Wilbur Cortez**, 219 Livingston st., New Haven, Conn. (From September, 1920, Harvard University.) A. B., A. M., Litt. B. (Oxon.); prof. hist., Yale Univ.; mem. N. E. Hist. Teachers Assn. Mod. European and Eng. hist.
- Abel, Anne Heloise**, 10 West st., Northampton, Mass. A. B., A. M., Ph. D.; prof. hist., Smith Coll.; mem. Mo. Hist. Soc., Ill Hist. Soc. British colonisation.
- Abeledo, Dr. Amaranto A.**, 161 Paseo Colon, Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic. Prof. hist., Univ. of La Plata.
- Abernethy, Thomas Perkins**, box 252, Marion, Ala. B. A., M. A.; tactical officer and prof. of hist., Marion Inst., Army and Navy Coll.
- Aborn, Marjorie**, 1933 E. 66th st., Cleveland, Ohio. A. B., A. M.; teacher, Cleveland Pub. H. S.
- Adams, Alice Dana**, 6 Reservoir ct., Beacon st., Brookline, Mass. A. B., A. M.; teacher and asst. dir., Laskey Commercial Coll., Boston; mem. Am. Geog. Soc. Am. hist.
- Adams, Edward B.**, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. A. B., LL. B.; libn. Harvard Law Sch.

- Adams, Ephraim Douglas, Stanford University, Calif. A. B., Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D.; prof. hist., Leland Stanford Univ.; mem. Am. Assn. Univ. Professors, Nat. Inst. Soc. Sci., Royal Hist. Soc. (fellow). British and Am. relations.
- Adams, George Burton, 57 Edgell road, New Haven, Conn. Ph. D., Litt. D.; prof. hist. emeritus, Yale Univ.; mem. New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., Am. Antiq. Soc., Am. Acad. Arts and Sci., Col. Soc. of Mass. (corresp.), Royal Hist. Soc. (corresp.). Eng. med. hist.
- Adams, John Stokes, 652 Bullitt bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. A. B., LL. B.
- Adams, Randolph Greenfield, Department of History, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. A. B.; fellow in internat. law, Univ. of Pa. Mod. European hist.
- Adams, Victoria A., 1203 E. 60th st., Chicago, Ill. A. B.; teacher Am. and European hist., Calumet H. S.; mem. Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., Chicago Hist. Club.
- Adler, Cyrus, 2041 N. Broad st., Philadelphia, Pa. A. B., A. M., Ph. D.; pres. Dropsie Coll. for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, actg. pres., Jewish Theol. Sem.; mem. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc. (pres.), Amer. Philos. Soc., Wash. Acad. of Sci., Am. Orient. Soc., Am. Philolog. Assn. Jewish and anc. Orient. hist.
- Adler, Elmer, 561 University ave., Rochester, N. Y. City historian; mem. Rochester Hist. Soc., N. Y. St. Hist. Assn, Buffalo Hist. Soc., Am. Scenic and Hist. Preservation Soc. Local hist.
- Ainsworth, Harry, Moline, Ill. A. B., LL. B.; manufacturer; pres., Williams, White and Co.
- Albree, John, Swampscott, Mass. Rec. sec. N. E. Hist. Geneal. Soc.
- Alderson, Mrs. Persis Hurd, 824 Euclid ave., Des Moines, Iowa. A. B., A. M.; teacher; head dept. hist., Eastern H. S. Am. hist.
- Alexander, James Edwin, P. O. box 228, Berkeley, Calif. Credit manager, J. F. Hink and Son; mem. Am. Pol. Sci. Assn. U. S. hist., southwestern.
- Allen, Charles Ethelbert, Centre College, Danville, Ky. A. M.
- Allen, Fredonia, Meridian and 32d sts., Indianapolis, Ind. Ph. B.; prin. Tudor Hall School for Girls.
- Allen, Freeman H., Hamilton, N. Y. A. M., Ph. D.; prof. hist. and pol., Colgate Univ.; mem. Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., Am. Pol. Sci. Assn., Am. Soc. Internat. Law. European hist.
- Allen, Gardner Weld, 419 Boylston st., Boston, Mass. A. B., M. D.; physician; mem. Mass. Hist. Soc., Cambridge Hist. Soc., Mil. Hist. Soc. of Mass., Naval Hist. Soc. Naval hist.
- Allison, Mamy Caroline, Lancaster, S. C. A. M.; writer; mem. D. A. R., U. D. of C. Biblical hist.
- Allison, William Henry, box 893, Hamilton, N. Y. A. B., D. B., Ph. D.; prof. eccl. hist., Colgate Univ.; mem. Am. Soc. Church Hist., Assn. Hist. Teachers Middle States and Md. Church hist.
- Altschul, Charles, 32 W. 86th st., New York, N. Y. Retired.
- Alvord, Clarence Walworth, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. Ph. D.; ed. Miss. Valley Hist. Review; mem. Royal Hist. Soc., Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., Ill. St. Hist. Soc., St. Hist. Soc. Wis., Neb. Hist. Soc. (corresp.), Minn. Hist. Soc., Chicago Hist. Soc., Mo. Hist. Soc., Mo. St. Hist. Soc., Am. Antiq. Soc. Hist. of western Am.
- Alvord, Katharine Sprague, Rector hall, De Pauw Univ., Greencastle, Ind. A. B., A. M.; dean of women and asst. prof. hist.; mem. Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., Acad. of Pol. Sci. Am. hist.

- Ambler, Charles Henry**, Morgantown, W. Va. A. B., A. M., Ph. D.; prof. hist., Univ. of W. Va.; mem. Asiatic Assn., Am. Pol. Sci. Assn., Ohio Valley Hist. Assn. U. S. hist.
- Ambrose, Frederick Marden**, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. Publisher and farmer; hd. of firm of Ambrose and Co.; mem. N. E. Hist. Geneal. Soc., Old Newbury Hist. Soc. Anc. hist.
- Amerez, Sultan Mohammed Khan**, Tahdid-i-Koll, Teheran, Persia.
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 Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
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 University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oreg.
 Library Association of Portland, Portland, Oreg.
 Altoona Mechanics' Library, Altoona, Pa.
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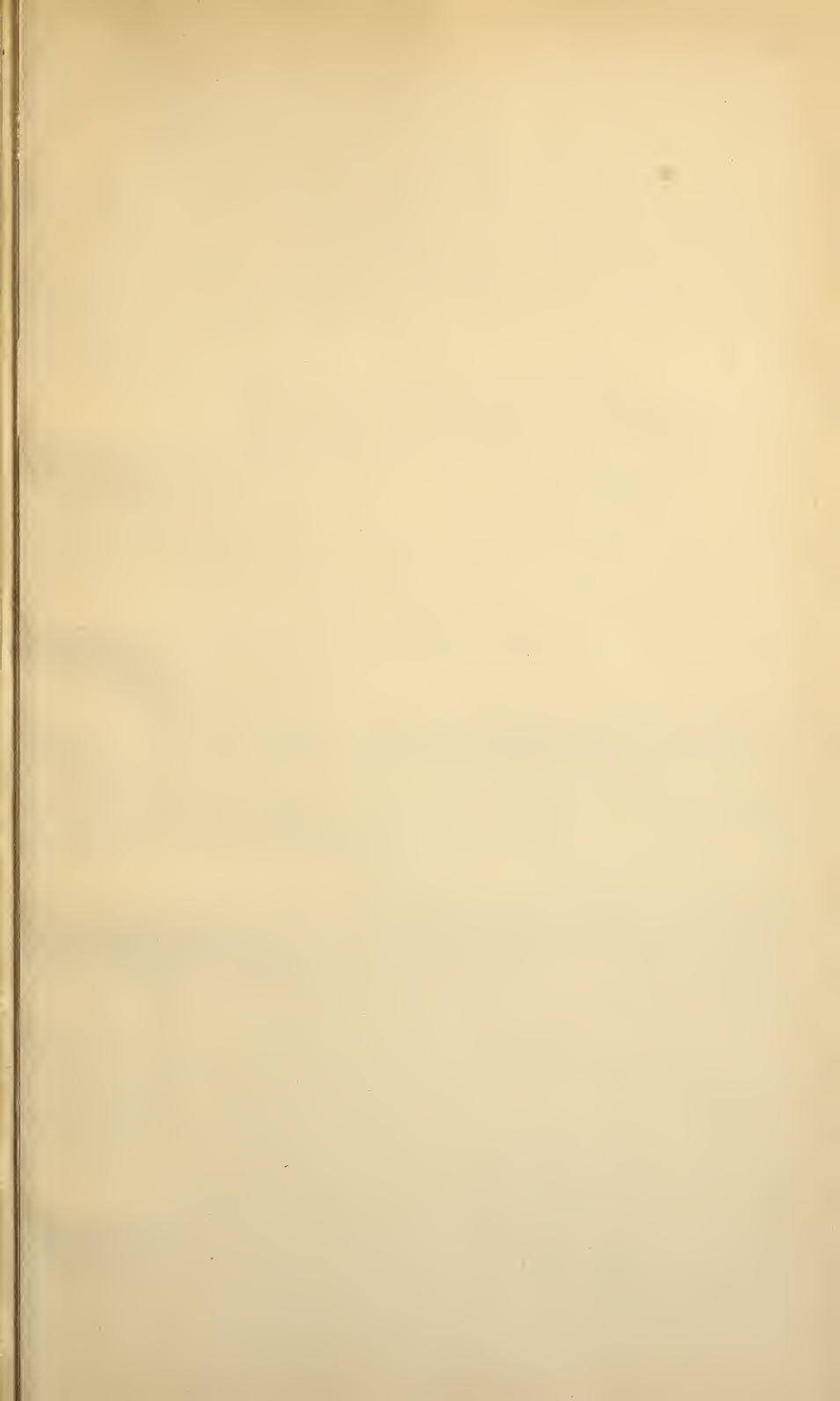
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