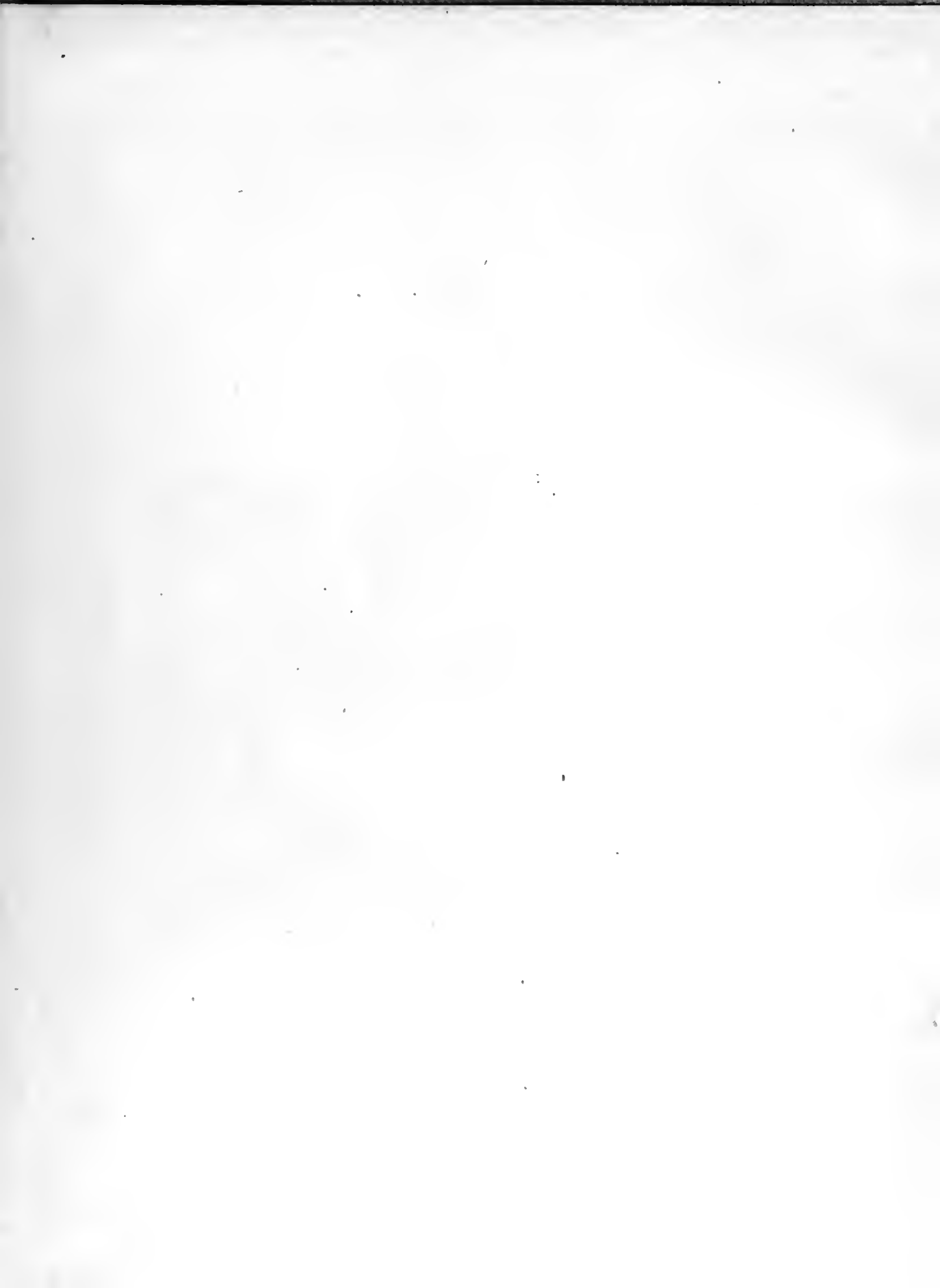


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The Journal of  
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# **The Journal of American History**

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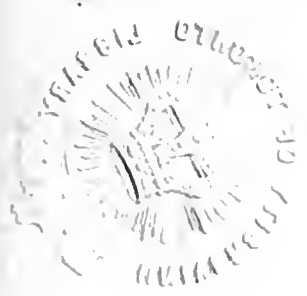
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# The Rule of Barbarism the Culmination of the European System

From a Remarkable, Strong-Thoughted, and Impressively  
Worded Letter, Written in 1914 by Senor Triana to  
President of the Republic of Colombia



THE PRESENT EUROPEAN WAR TRANSCENDS. IN MAGNITUDE AND DISASTROUS POSSIBILITIES, ALL THE WARS WITHIN HUMAN MEMORY. FROM THE START IT UNDERMINED THE MORAL TEMPERAMENT OF NATIONS AND FUNDAMENTALLY DERANGED SOCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND ECONOMIC HARMONY. MOREOVER, IT IS BRINGING TO THE SURFACE TRAITS OF BARBARISM AND CRUELTY WHICH ARE INCREDIBLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA. LAW HAVING BEEN SWEEPED AWAY ALL OVER EUROPE, THAT CONTINENT IS TO-DAY RULED ENTIRELY BY MARTIAL LAW, THAT IS, BY THE ABSENCE OF ALL LAW AND THE SUPREMACY OF THE SOLDIER'S JUDGMENT, WHICH IS GOVERNED ONLY BY THE NECESSITIES OF WAR. THUS EUROPE IS UNDER THE RULE OF BARBARISM.

THIS IS THE CULMINATION OF THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF THE BALANCE OF POWER. THE TWO GROUPS OF EUROPEAN POWERS WHICH WERE DISPUTING THE DOMINION OF THE WORLD, AND WHICH FOR THE LAST FORTY YEARS—SO-CALLED YEARS OF PEACE—HAVE WAGED INCES-SANT PREDATORY WARS OF CONQUEST IN THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE, HAVE BEEN DRAGGED BY THE INEVITABLE FATALITY OF THE SYSTEM TO THE TERRIBLE COLLISION OF ONE GROUP AGAINST THE OTHER.

EUROPE HAS TRAVELED ALONG THE ROAD TO CATAS-TROPHE WITH HER EYES OPEN. EMINENT THINKERS OF ALL THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES . . . HAVE BEEN PRE-DICTING DISASTER, DECLARING THAT IS WOULD INEVITABLY TAKE THE FORM EITHER OF INTERNAL SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OR OF WAR BETWEEN THE VARIOUS NATIONS. SOCIAL REVOLUTION, THEY SAID, WOULD COME AS SOON AS THE MASSES, STRANGLERED BY TAXES RISING LIKE AN IRRESISTIBLE TIDE, WITHOUT HOPE OF REDEMPTION AND INCAPABLE OF FURTHER SUFFERING, SHOULD RESORT TO VIOLENCE. FOREIGN WAR . . . — THE OTHER HORN OF THE DILEMMA—THEY DECLARED WOULD BE CHOSEN AS A MEANS—AN OLD ONE IN HISTORY —FOR DISCREDITED AND DYING SYSTEMS TO PROLONG THEIR DECAYING PREDOMINANCE. THIS LAST IS WHAT HAS OCCURRED.—*Santiago Perez Triana.*

# What Has America Done for the Benefit of Mankind?

From an Address Made at Washington, on the  
Fourth of July, 1821



FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN, IF THE WISE AND LEARNED PHILOSOPHERS OF THE OLDEN WORLD . . . . . INQUIRE, WHAT HAS AMERICA DONE FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND, LET OUR ANSWER BE THIS—AMERICA, WITH THE SAME VOICE WHICH SPOKE HERSELF INTO EXISTENCE AS A NATION, PROCLAIMED TO MANKIND THE INEXTINGUISHABLE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE, AND THE ONLY LAWFUL FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

AMERICA, IN THE ASSEMBLY OF NATIONS, SINCE HER ADMISSION AMONG THEM, HAS INVARIABLY, THOUGH OFTEN FRUITLESSLY, HELD FORTH TO THEM THE HAND OF HONEST FRIENDSHIP, OF EQUAL FREEDOM, OF GENEROUS RECIPROCITY. SHE HAS UNIFORMLY SPOKEN AMONG THEM, THOUGH OFTEN TO HEEDLESS AND OFTEN TO DISDAINFUL EARS, THE LANGUAGE OF EQUAL LIBERTY, EQUAL JUSTICE, AND EQUAL RIGHTS. . . . .

SHE HAS SEEN THAT, PROBABLY FOR CENTURIES TO COME, ALL THE CONTESTS OF THAT ACELDAMA, THE EUROPEAN WORLD, WILL BE CONTESTS BETWEEN INVETERATE POWER AND EMERGING RIGHT. WHEREVER THE STANDARD OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN OR SHALL BE UNFURLED, THERE WILL HER HEART, HER BENEDECTIONS, AND HER PRAYERS BE.—*John Quincy Adams.*

# The United States a Bulwark for All America Against European Aggres- sion Toward the Western Hemisphere

Another Excerpt from Senor Triana's Letter to the  
Colombian President



THE WARS OF CONQUEST WAGED BY EUROPEAN POWERS DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS, IN WHICH NO PART OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY REMOTE, ARID, OR UNHEALTHY TO BE ADJUDGED UNWORTHY OF SEIZURE, JUSTIFY THE ASSERTION THAT, HAD IT BEEN POSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT SUCH CONQUESTS IN AMERICA, THAT PART OF AMERICA OPEN TO CONQUEST WOULD HAVE BEEN CONQUERED. THIS ASSERTION GAINS WEIGHT FROM THE FACT THAT ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS EUROPEAN POWERS HAVE ATTEMPTED THE CONQUEST OF AMERICAN TERRITORY IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. . . . .

SOME ASSERT THAT THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN-AMERICA ARE SELF-SUFFICIENT FOR DEFENSE, SO THAT ANY DEFENSE FROM OUTSIDE WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS. . . . . HOW COULD A LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES RESIST A TRIUMPHANT KAISER OR CZAR? . . . . .

THAT EUROPEAN CONQUERORS HAVE NOT INVADED AMERICA IN THE PAST, THAT THEY WILL NOT IN FUTURE, MAY BE ATTRIBUTED ENTIRELY TO THE POTENTIAL POWER OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH, SHOULD NEED ARISE, WOULD ARRAY MILLIONS OF SOLDIERS, AND DO IT WITHOUT HAVING TO TRANSPORT THEM ACROSS THOUSANDS OF LEAGUES OF WATER.—*Santiago Perez Triana.*

# Understanding of National Ideals a Basic Element of International Friendship

From an Address Delivered at a Luncheon of the Members' Council of the Merchants' Association, New York, May 13, 1915, at Which the Latin American Delegates to the Pan American Financial Conference Were Guests



UNDER ORDINARY CONDITIONS IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS, SUCH A GATHERING WOULD BE NOTEWORTHY, BUT ORDINARY CONDITIONS DO NOT EXIST IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS. INSTEAD, WE ARE FACING THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY CONDITIONS THAT HAVE PREVAILED IN MODERN TIMES. THE ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THIS OCCASION SEEMS TO ME, THEREFORE, TO LIE IN THE FACT THAT, WHILE HALF THE CIVILIZED WORLD IS IN THE DEATH GRIP OF THE MOST GIGANTIC COMBAT IN ALL HISTORY, THESE REPRESENTATIVE MEN ARE COMING TOGETHER FOR SYMPATHETIC, FRIENDLY, SOBER CONFERENCE, THE OBJECT OF WHICH IS CLOSER NATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. THEY ARE COMING TOGETHER THAT THERE MAY BE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEIR COUNTRIES. THEY ARE COMING TOGETHER WITH THE HOPE THAT BETTER UNDERSTANDING WILL LEAD TO A RECIPROCAL INTEREST IN THE COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS OF THESE COUNTRIES WHICH SHALL BE OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE IN THE LIFE OF THEIR PEOPLES.

NOTHING CAN SO FULLY DEVELOP AND CEMENT INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS AND FRIENDSHIPS AS A TRUE APPRECIATION OF NATIONAL IDEALS. . . . . I WANT TO SAY TO YOU REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE, THAT YOU HAVE COME TO US AT A TIME THAT OFFERS YOU AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN AN ALMOST FLASHLIGHT REVELATION OF OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER. THE SOUL AND CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION ARE BEING LAID BARE. YOU MAY IN THESE DAYS LEARN MORE OF OUR TRUE NATIONAL CHARACTER THAN YOU COULD EVER HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN BEFORE. . . . . YOU WILL BE ABLE TO LEARN WHAT SORT OF FIBRE WE HAVE FOR SUCH RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTIES AS ARE OURS FOR GUARDING THE PEACE OF THIS HEMISPHERE. WE ARE A DIFFERENT PEOPLE; BUT, IF WE DEMONSTRATE THAT WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY WHAT SHOULD BE THE COURSE OF ACTION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF HONOR TO WHICH A NATION SOLEMNLY AND DEEPLY PLEDGED TO PEACE OUGHT TO ADHERE, WE WILL BE LAYING A FOUNDATION UPON WHICH FIRMLY TO BUILD A UNITED AMERICAS.—*Frank A. Vanderlip, President of The National City Bank, New York.*

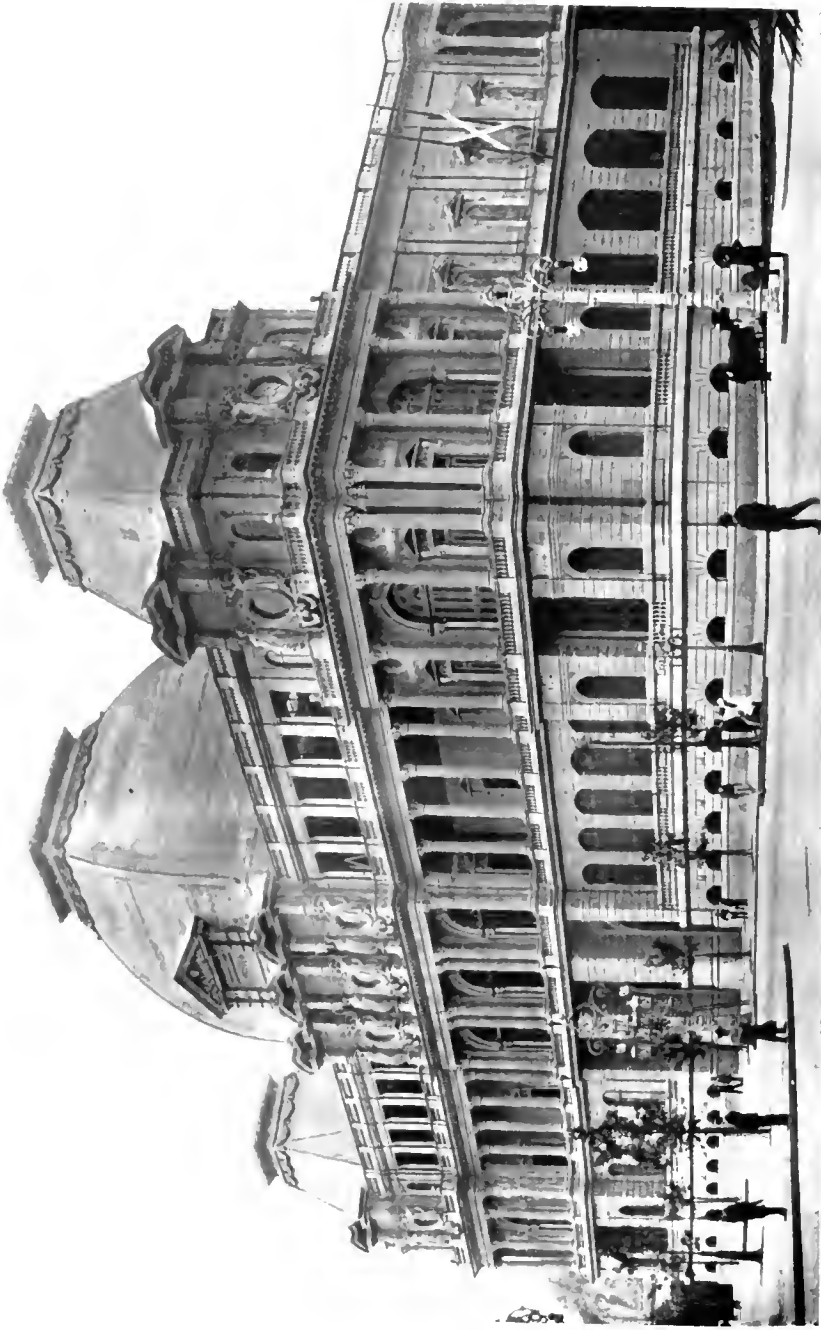


THE "DEVIL'S NOSE," ZIGZAGGED BY THE GUAYAQUIL AND QUITO RAILROAD,  
ECUADOR









ESCOLA NACIONAL DE BELLAS ARTES, RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL



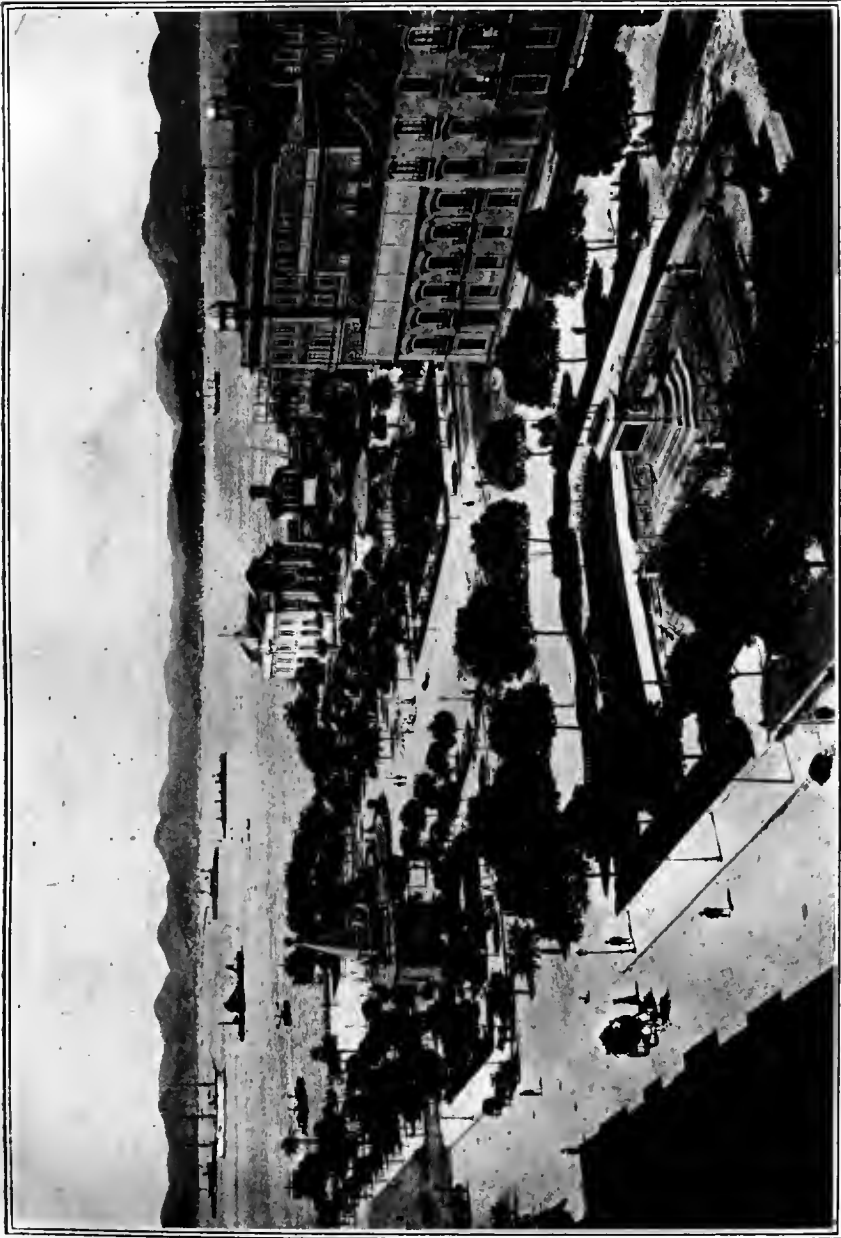
NATIONAL CONGRESS, SANTIAGO, CHILE







MAIQUETIA, VENEZUELA, WITH LA GUAIRA IN THE DISTANCE



THE "PIRACA 15 DE NOVENBRO." RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL









SECTION OF OUTER WALL OF THE PRE-INCAN FORTRESS AT CUZCO, PERU



FORTRESS OF SACSAPHUAMAN, CUZCO, PERU  
One of the most imposing of pre-Incan ruins







"SUBURBS OF HEREDIA," HEREDIA, COSTA RICA  
This picture, by Don Armando Céspedes, was given the first prize by the Athenaeum of Costa Rica.

# The Journal of American History

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FIRST QUARTER

## International Co-operation in the Western Hemisphere

BY

FRANK ALLABEN

Editor-in-Chief, The Journal of American History



THE Pan-American Financial Conference, held in Washington May 24 to 29, 1915, has inaugurated a new epoch in the relations of the twenty-one Republics in the Western Hemisphere; and in this sympathetic drawing together and co-operation of so many free peoples we find at least one great blessing growing out of the present fearful war in Europe. With the breaking out of that war the feeling that the Republics of the West should seek to unite their interests and support one another was no doubt instinctive in thousands of American hearts. In some cases this found almost instant expression, a vague groping after the right thing to do.

This feeling was a burden upon the Editor-in-Chief of THE JOUR-

NAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, and, with the hearty approval of other members of the staff, about ten days after the declarations of war by the principal European nations he sent out a letter to the Presidents of all the American Republics, and to our United States Cabinet Officers, Senators, Representatives, and Governors, suggesting a drawing together of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and some form of co-operative action. As this effort may be typical of others made then or since, the letter sent is reproduced here, together with some of the replies received. It will be seen from some of these responses, as it was still more evident from many others, that most minds were dazed and stunned by the war-catastrophe. It required time to learn what our real needs were and what form our co-operation should take. A suggestion that the Exposition at San Francisco be made a rallying-centre for the American Republics appealed strongly to the Exposition managers. Had this been taken up vigorously it is quite possible, as we suggested, that a visit to the Pacific Coast by Americans during 1915 might have assumed the character of a patriotic pilgrimage and duty, instead of being merely a pleasure trip, thus realizing a much greater financial success than now appears possible. But evidently no one had the imagination to organize such a movement.

On the other hand, the reply of Assistant Director Hon. Francisco J. Yánes to a letter to Hon. John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan American Union, made it apparent that that splendid organization was alert, as ever, to serve all the American nations in the war emergency. These letters are here given, as well as an exchange of correspondence with the Director-in-Chief of the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

What other proposals along these lines were made we do not know, but the first official suggestions for conference and co-operation were made public about November 26, 1914, the initiative being taken by several of the South American governments through their ambassadors at Washington. According to press notices sent out at that time representations were made to the Washington Government by Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay, embodying the following proposals:

1.—The establishment of neutral zones on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North and South America within which the belligerents shall be asked to agree not to engage in hostilities or interfere with commercial vessels. A meridian would be designated as the limit in each case.



## INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

2—The convocation of a general conference of diplomatic representatives and commercial delegates of all the countries of this hemisphere, with power to vote on steps which can be taken to protect and restore Pan-American trade.

3—The appointment by the Pan-American Union of a commission to recommend steps that would remove dangers to Pan-American trade.

4—Prohibition by all nations of the two Americas of the privilege hitherto exercised by the belligerents of coaling in neutral ports, or the issuance of only a sufficient quantity of coal to enable a belligerent vessel to reach the nearest port of another country.

In an editorial, "One Hemisphere to the Other," the *New York World* of November 28 said: "Whether it is possible to localize the war or not, the Latin-American suggestion that a conference of nations on this hemisphere be held is a good one. All have suffered severely in their finance and commerce, and all have had to meet many vexatious questions of neutrality. Hardly an issue of any kind can be imagined involving more closely the interests of all the peoples of the two Americas. With identical problems to solve, no harm and much good would be likely to result from such a convocation. . . . Torn by war, the Eastern Hemisphere could not fail to give a respectful hearing to the Western united in behalf of peace and civilization."

A little later, on December 9, 1914, a special commission was appointed at a meeting of the governing board of the Pan-American Union, in Washington, under a resolution introduced by Ambassador Naon of Argentina, in part as follows: "A special commission is hereby appointed to consist of nine members, of which the Secretary of State of the United States shall form part, acting as chairman thereof *ex officio*."

"This commission shall study the problems presented by the present European war and shall submit to the governing body the events it may deem of common interest."

But something more was required, and at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Treasury and upon the hearty recommendation of President Wilson, Congress by a special act authorized the issuing of invitations to all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere to send delegates to a Pan American Financial Conference in Washington for the week, May 24-29, an appropriation being made for the entertainment of the visiting delegations as the guests of the United States.

An account of the Conference is given, following the letters above-mentioned. The necessity for co-operation throughout the

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Western Hemisphere toward a common defense against foreign aggression was emphasized by Mr. Santiago Perez Triana in an elequent address, which is given in this Number of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, as is also an outline of a plan for co-operation of the American Republics in creating a supreme international tribunal, communicated by the Editor of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY in an open letter to the delegates.



Letter to the Director General of the  
Pan-American Union from the  
Editor-in-Chief of The  
Journal of American  
History

August 13, 1914.

The Honorable John Barrett,  
Director General, Pan American Union,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:



TRUST success will crown your efforts to arouse the United States to grasp the opportunity Providence offers for mutual commercial service between the Americas. The present emergency seems to require some improvised medium of exchange to enable the business houses of the two continents to begin immediate correspondence to learn the needs and possibilities of supply and demand. While the National City Bank here only awaits the operation of our new banking law to establish branch banks in South America, and while the new ship-registry law would open the way for American capital to invest in American shipping, it will yet require much time for individual business houses to investigate the South American markets to discover openings for business.

Can this process be expedited? Can the Pan American Union act as a sort of emergency clearing-house for information?

For example, could South American Governments invite their business houses to register general statements of their requirements, while business houses here file their catalogues, or furnish editions for distribution in South America?

These catalogues being now mostly in English, might serve for compiling, in Spanish and Portuguese, descriptive directories of reputable United States manufacturers and dealers, with their lines, with similar lists in English of South American importers for distribution here.

I shall be glad to learn what may be done toward this end.

Very truly yours,

FRANK ALLABEN.

The Honorable Francis J. Vanez,  
Assistant Director of the Pan-  
American Union, to the Editor-  
in-Chief of The Journal of  
American History

PAN-AMERICAN UNION

Washington, D. C.  
August 25, 1914.

Dear Sir:



IN THE absence of Director-General Barrett, I have to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed note of August 13. Pressure of business due to the overwhelming mail received at this office in reference to the Latin-America situation, has prevented my answering before.

The Pan American Union is doing everything in its power to promote friendly and commercial intercourse between the United States and the Latin-American republics. That it is already an "emergency clearing-house for information" is shown by the enormous number of inquiries constantly being received and answered regarding those countries. I think, however, it is something more than an emergency clearing-house, and that it does permanent service in supplying commercial information.

Your suggestion that South American governments invite their business houses to register general statements of their requirements and that business houses here file their catalogues or furnish editions for distribution in South America, has been noted.

South American imports cover practically the whole range of human wants and needs, because the South American republics, gener-

REPLY OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION

ally speaking, are not manufacturing countries. They want practically everything that we want and they import, at least in finished articles, just as many kinds of things as we import, and a great many more which we produce and therefore do not import.

Thanking you for your letter and suggestion, I am

**Yours very truly,**

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. P. Jones". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the typed name.

**Acting Director General.**

Mr. Frank Allaben,  
New York, N. Y.

# Proposal To Make the Panama-Pacific International Exposition a Centre of Co-operation Between North and South America

New York, 15 August, 1914.

The Executive Committee,  
Panama-Pacific International Exposition,  
San Francisco, California.

Gentlemen:



ENCLOSE the substance of a letter which has just been transmitted to the Presidents of all the Republics in Central and South America. A similar communication will also be sent, with requests for response, to the President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, etc.

Will your Committee, if you approve of the suggestions made, please send me as promptly as possible some statement indicating ways and means whereby the Exposition at San Francisco may be made a centre of co-operation between North and South America?

The principal European Nations, which declined to participate in this Exposition, are now engaged in the most gigantic war in human history. The Exposition represents, not war, but the progress of peace; and, held in the Western Hemisphere, while Europe is gripped in a death-struggle of conflicting ambitions, it becomes typical of the better aspirations of the free and peaceful Nations of America.

If this idea can be taken up energetically and sown in hearts and imaginations throughout North and South America, will it not make a pilgrimage to San Francisco in 1915 not merely a recreation and pleasure, but a sacred patriotic duty? Let the free peoples of the

THE EXPOSITION A CENTRE OF AMERICAN CO-OPERATION

New World be summoned to go up to San Francisco in 1915 in protest against war and aggression and in approval of peace and righteousness.

Very truly yours,

FRANK ALLABEN.

Editor-in-Chief, The Journal of American History.

**Supplementary Communication to the Executive  
Committee of the Panama-Pacific  
International Exposition**

August 17, 1914.

Gentlemen:

I sent you a copy of a letter sent by The Journal of American History to the Presidents of the Central and South American Republics, and which is now being sent to the public men of this country; and requested some expression from you which could be used to further the patriotic idea of making the Exposition an expression of unity and good fellowship between North and South America.

I herewith enclose the substance of a letter sent several days ago to the Honorable John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan American Union. This letter explains itself; but it occurs to me that the idea of a clearing-house for exchange of information to establish better trade relations between North and South America might be made a very effective and popular and permanently valuable feature of the Exposition.

Of course the exhibits, with men in charge and literature for distribution, would serve in this direction. But cannot some definite place and system of record and exchange of needs, commercial and financial, be provided and kept in operation while the Exposition remains open? And cannot this be made known as a valuable feature for the business men of the Western Hemisphere?

Very truly yours,

FRANK ALLABEN.

# May There Not Be Co-operation Between the Peoples of This Hemisphere?

Suggestions to This End Made to Men Distinguished in the Public Life of the United States, and to the Presidents of the Central and South American Republics, by the Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of American History, August 15, 1914



THE cause of permanent international peace and righteousness throughout the Western Hemisphere had just been powerfully advanced by the success of the joint-efforts of the United States, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Chile, in behalf of afflicted Mexico, when the whole world was shocked by the opposite phenomenon across the Atlantic of a conflagration

of war, involving the greater part of Europe. This fearful world-disturbance necessarily throws the peaceful Nations of the New World upon their own resources and into closer co-operation with one another. In order that some good may be gathered out of this calamity, not by commercial interchange alone, but in lasting moral and spiritual benefit, may there not be co-operation between the peoples of this Hemisphere in some or all of the following ways?

1. By a joint-expression of the great sorrow of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere over the calamity which has fallen upon the peoples of Europe and indirectly upon the peoples of the whole world.

2. By a joint-expression of the hope that the powers of Europe will consider the earnest desire of their brethren in the West to serve them through mediation and to render such service toward alleviation of the distresses of war as lies within the power of neutrals.

3. By a joint-expression of profound conviction that no spirit of aggression, no coveting of territory, and no race antipathy should be permitted ever to whet the swords of the free peoples of the New World against one another.



CO-OPERATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

4. By general co-operation in turning the present period of exclusion of Americans from Europe into a time of special international travel and intercourse between the Nations of the Western Hemisphere,—a time of “seeing the Americas” and seeking a better acquaintance and understanding with all our New World neighbors.

In view of the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915, with its remarkable exhibits from all the American Nations, and in view of the present necessity of closer trade relations between these Nations, may not the Nations of South and Central America consider themselves in a special way the invited guests of the United States in 1915, and the United States consider herself especially invited to return the visit of South and Central America in 1916?

The Journal of American History is about to devote a special issue to the historic relations of North, Central, and South America, and earnestly desires to bring before the people of the United States any expression along the above lines, or otherwise suggested by the present crisis, which you may be pleased to send for that purpose, believing that such a word from you will be of the greatest service at this time.

With sentiments of deep respect, I have the honor to be

Very truly yours,

FRANK ALLABEN,  
Editor-in-Chief.

# Response of the Director-in-Chief of the Panama-Pacific Interna- tional Exposition

EXPOSITION BUILDING,  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,  
FIRST SEPTEMBER, 1914.

Frank Allaben, Esq.,  
Editor-in-Chief, The Journal of American History,  
Number 30 East Forty-Second Street, New York.

Dear Sir:



HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letters of August 15th and August 17th, together with the copies of letters sent by you to the Presidents of Central and South American Republics and to the Honorable John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan American Union. In reply I desire to state that the idea suggested in your communication, to-wit: That the conditions both moral and commercial which have been engendered by the present crisis in Europe be dealt with at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and that the steps to be taken in view of said conditions find expression at the Exposition, is a good one and is being given serious attention by the Exposition Management.

It is but fair to say, however, that the Exposition has no funds at its disposal, nor is it likely to have such funds, for the national propaganda required by a movement such as you suggest. We have been forced to this attitude by similar suggestions which have been made by a considerable number from over three hundred organizations which will hold conventions in this city in 1915; to them the same reply has been made. Moreover it has been decided by us that no series of congresses or conventions shall be directly under the auspices of the Exposition.

RESPONSE OF THE DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF

We shall be pleased to hear further from you on this subject and shall be glad to give consideration to any suggestions which you may have to make.

Yours respectfully,

  
Director-in-Chief.

# Sympathetic Response from the President of Cuba to the Plan of All-American Co-Operation

REPUBLICA DE CUBA  
PRESIDENCIA

Havana, Cuba,  
August 24th, 1914.

Dear Sir:



IS EXCELLENCY, the President of the Republic, directs me to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of the 15th instant, which he has read with great attention.

His Excellency furthermore requests me to inform you that your scheme to obtain the joint co-operation of the people of this Hemisphere to appeal to the people of Europe to end the war raging there has his heartiest sympathy and that he prays your endeavors may meet with the success they deserve.

With the assurance of my most distinguished consideration, I beg to remain, dear Sir,

Mr. Frank Allaben,  
New York.

Yours very truly,

*Rafael Canton*

Secretary to the President

# A Celebration of Peace and Amity Between All the Nations on the Western Continent

By

HIS EXCELLENCY, EDWARD F. DUNNE

Governor of Illinois

State of Illinois Executive Department Springfield

EDWARD F. DUNNE  
Governor

August 20,  
1914.

Dear Sir:



IN ANSWER to yours of the 15th instant, I think it would be wise for the authorities having in charge the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to do everything in their power towards making the Exposition a celebration of peace and amity between all the nations on the western continent. These nations at the present time are singularly blessed in that peace and amity prevail among them.

Some general rule participated in by all these nations, having for its object the tender of their sympathy for the nations of Europe, and their kindly offices in and about putting an end to the horrible war now prevailing in Europe, should be inaugurated.

Peace and arbitration should be branded into every demonstration and exhibition held on the grounds at San Francisco. I would respectfully recommend that the matter be brought to the attention of the Panama-Pacific delegates who meet monthly at Washington, and some effort be made through them to organize this western world movement of peace and arbitration.

Very truly yours,



Mr. Frank Allaben,  
The Journal of American History, New York.

# Extension of the Principle of Arbitration To Be Result of the European War

By

HIS EXCELLENCY, SIMEON E. BALDWIN

Governor of Connecticut

SIMEON E. BALDWIN

Governor

KENNETH WYNNE

Executive Secretary

FRANK D. ROOD

Executive Clerk

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS

HARTFORD

August 18, 1914.

Mr. Frank Allaben, Editor,  
The Journal of American History,  
30 East 42nd Street, New York.

Dear Sir:



OUR letter of August 15th is received. I am inclined to think that the present European war will lead in the outcome to the extension of the principle of arbitration, or of the judicial settlement of international disputes.

You will find my views in these respects stated in the Quarterly Bulletin Number 17, published this month by the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, at Baltimore.

Yours very truly,

*Simeon E. Baldwin*

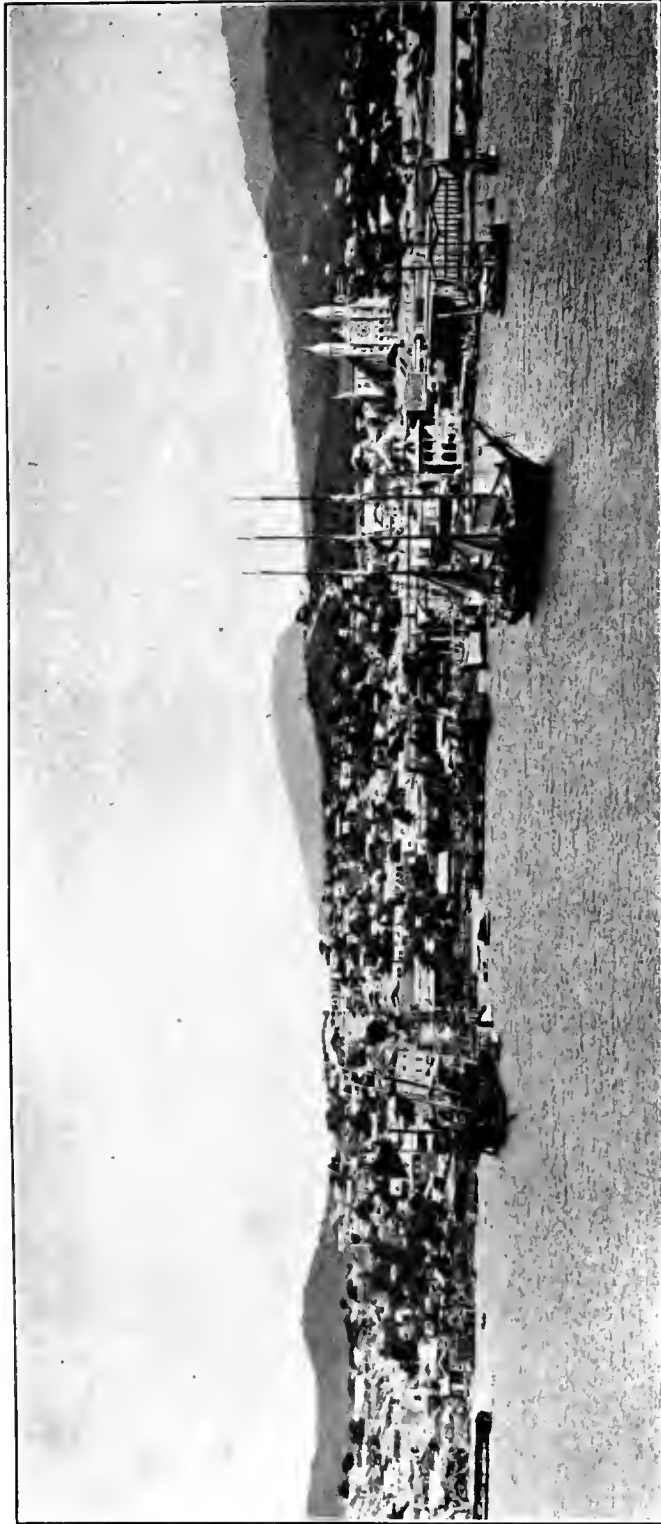


THE PLAZA MURILLO, LA PAZ









HARBOR OF PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI



CUSTOM-HOUSE, PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI







WEST WALL OF THE KALASASAYA PALACE, PRE-INCA RUINS OF TIA-  
HUANACU, BOLIVIA

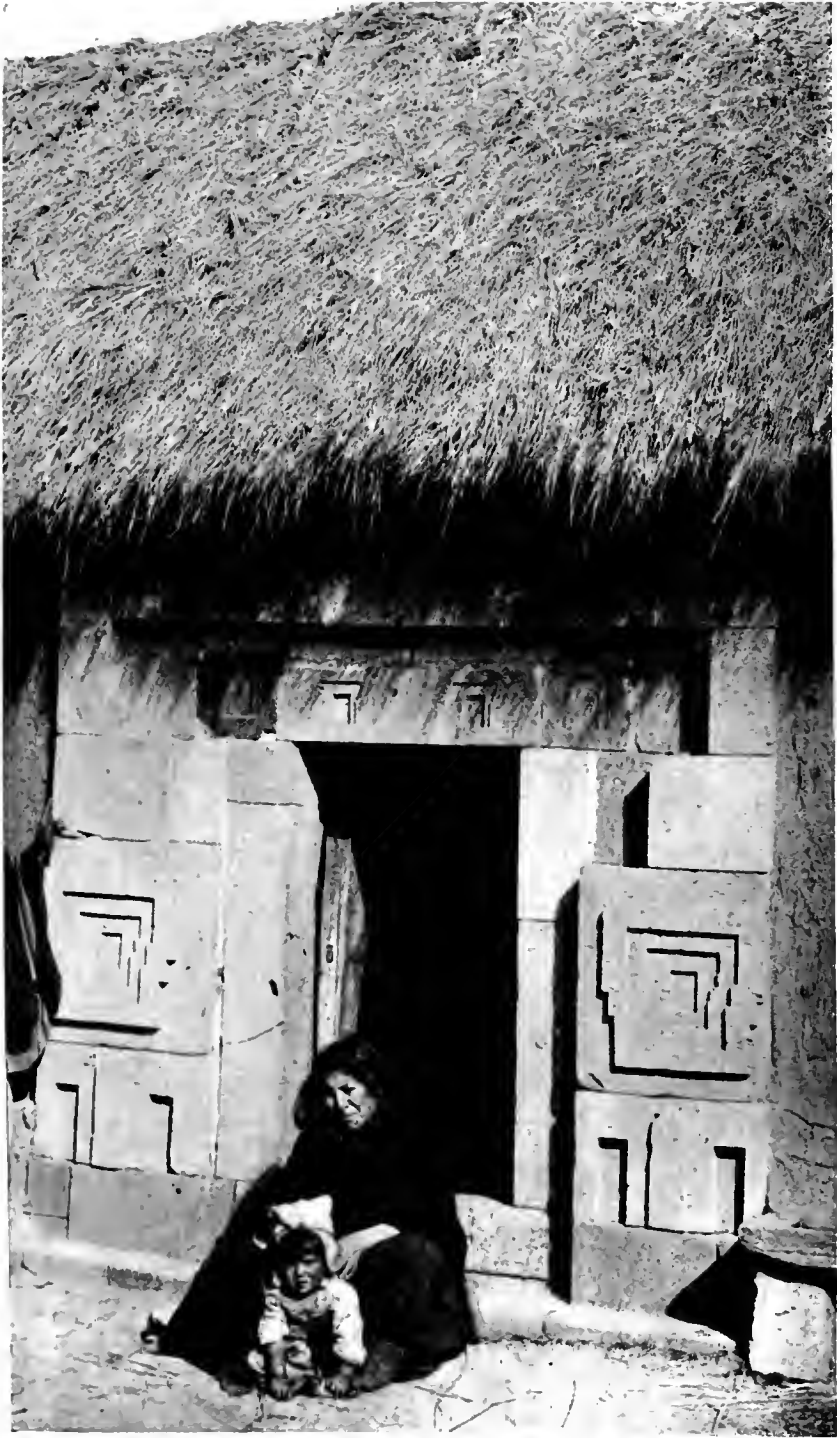


DETAIL OF MONOLITHIC IDOL, RUINS OF TIAHUANACU







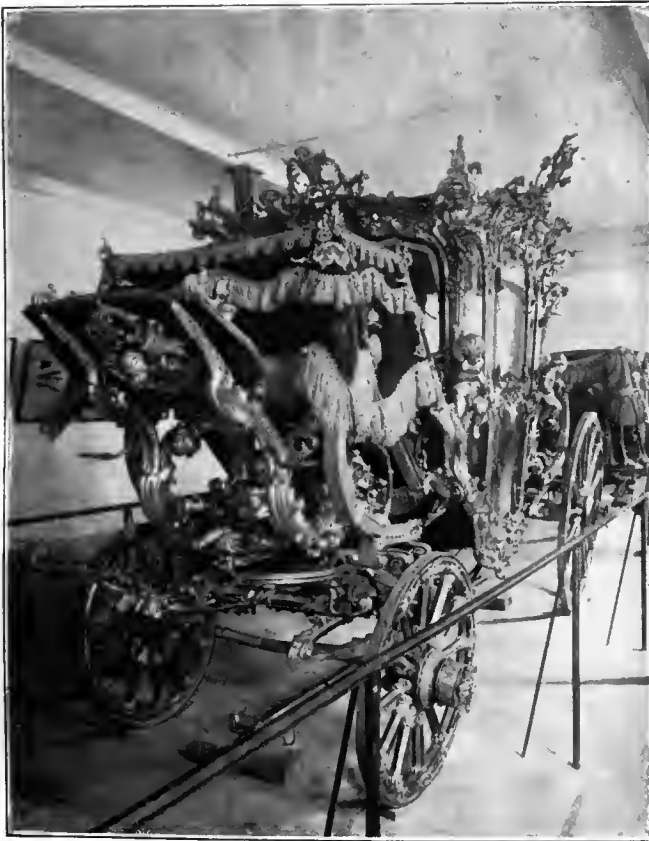


A HUT IN MODERN TIAHUANACU

In the village of Tiahuanacu are huts with thatched roofs whose entrances are formed by stones which once formed parts of the ancient ruins of the prehistoric city.



CORRIDOR OF THE CENTRAL POSTOFFICE, CITY OF MEXICO



MAXIMILIAN'S STATE COACH  
Preserved in the National Museum, City of Mexico







PALACE OF FINE ARTS, SANTIAGO DE CHILE

# The War in Europe Should Serve to Unite the American Peoples

By  
HIS EXCELLENCY, SAMUEL V. STEWART  
Governor of Montana

Executive Office Helena, Montana

August 21, 1914.

Mr. Frank Allaben, Editor,  
The Journal of American History,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:



REFERRING to your letter of the fifteenth instant: The world is full of peace-lovers, notwithstanding the fact that to-day millions of men are under arms in Europe, and the hearts of these lovers of peace must swell with approval when they contemplate the attitude of the United States in the troublous times. Nothing less than an inspired wisdom could have brought us down to the present day without a call to arms, and it is cause for intense gratification that those in power, in the present crisis, are possessed of a stout determination to prevent our country from being in any way drawn into the embroilment.

The great heart of the American people beats in full sympathy with the people of the contending nations, sorrowing over the appalling toll that war inevitably will take, and there is everywhere the sincere hope that the European powers may accept the good offices of our country as mediator to the end that the ravages of conflict may cease.

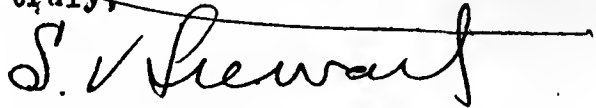
This deplorable clash of arms should serve to draw the people of the Western Hemisphere more closely together than ever. There was never a more propitious occasion for "seeing the Americas," the countries of our own new land, and by friendly intercourse and closer acquaintance more indissolubly cementing the ties that bind us one to another. In the circumstances, the people of Central and South

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

America should be made to feel that they are specially desired at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915, as it should be the desire of our people to return the visit in 1916. We should be neighbors in all that the word implies, and anything that may be done to further this plan is worthy of all commendation.

My voice is for peace and good will among all the nations of the earth, and I trust that this condition may speedily be brought about.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "S. V. Stewart". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the typed name. A horizontal line is drawn across the signature, extending from the left edge of the signature to the right edge of the page.

Governor of Montana.



# Commercial Greed a Danger Great as War

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY, L. E. PINKHAM

Executive Chamber Honolulu, Hawaii

September 23, 1914.

Frank Allaben, Esq.,  
Editor-in-Chief,

The Journal of American History,  
30 East 42nd Street, New York.

Dear Sir:



OUR favor of the 15th August is before us. As Governor of the mid-Pacific outpost of the United States and in contact with Oriental populations and problems, of which the people of the mainland have no practical conception, it would be improper for me, from any point of view, to discuss the situation.

Peace has its tragedies as well as war, and commercial greed is more destructive of society and the spirit of manhood.

**Respectfully,**

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'L. E. Pinkham'.

Governor of Hawaii.

# An Opportunity for the American Republics To Fraternize in the True Spirit of Liberty, Justice, and Peace

BY

THE HONORABLE JOHN H. SMALL, OF NORTH CAROLINA

October 17, 1914.

Mr. Frank Allaben,  
Editor-in-Chief,  
The Journal of American History,  
30 East 42nd Street,  
New York.

My dear Sir:



HAVE kept on my desk your letter of August 15, intending at the time to reply, but, as sometimes happens with us all, this good intention became derailed and has just again gotten on the track.

Your comments arising out of the European War, and the opportunity which you emphasize for the Republics of North and South America to fraternize in the true spirit of liberty, justice, and peace impressed me very much.

At one time I thought of introducing a resolution in the House of Representatives, along the line of the thought expressed in your letter, but a conference with some of my colleagues indicated that the time was not opportune.

At any rate, on my own account, I wish to express to you the pleasure I received on reading your communication, and my sympathy with the aspirations which you set forth.

Very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John H. Small', written in a cursive style.

# Senator Bristow's Opinion

United States Senate

Washington, August 20, 1914.

Mr. Frank Allaben, Editor-in-Chief,  
The Journal of American History,  
30 East 42nd Street, New York.

My dear Mr. Allaben:



HAVE yours of August 15th, and in reply wish to say that I think the nations of the Western Hemisphere should have friendly commercial and social relations.

Very truly yours,

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Joseph B. Bristow". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long, sweeping underline.

# Taxation Reform As a Preventive of War

BY

THE HONORABLE WARREN WORTH BAILEY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Chairman of the Committee on Mileage,  
United States House of Representatives

Frank Allaben,  
New York.

Dear Sir:



**I**N RESPONSE to yours of August 15, asking me for an expression touching on the calamity which has fallen upon the peoples of Europe and indirectly upon the peoples of the whole world, permit me to say that in my judgment this frightful condition was rendered possible only by that system of indirect taxation which has permitted governments to extort enormous tribute from the people without the people realizing the fact. Were taxes laid directly on the people for the support of general governments in the same way they are laid and collected for local purposes, the taxpayers would be in open revolt against the frightful exactions which everywhere have prevailed, largely for war purposes. In our own country sixty cents out of every dollar paid into the federal treasury go to meet the cost of wars past or anticipated. "Preparedness" is costing us as dearly as it has cost the nations now in conflict in Europe, and our "preparedness" is no better guaranty of peace than we find that other "preparedness" proved to be.

While I sympathize with the general proposition laid down in your communication, suggesting a joint expression of the great sorrow of the peoples of the western hemisphere over the calamity which has fallen upon the peoples of Europe; by a joint expression of the hope that the powers of Europe will consider the earnest desire of their brethren in the west to serve them through mediation and to render such service toward alleviation of the distresses of war as lies within the power of neutrals; by a joint expression of profound conviction that no spirit of aggression, no coveting of territory, and no race antipathy should be permitted ever to whet the swords of

## TAXATION REFORM AS A PREVENTIVE OF WAR

the free peoples of the New World against one another; and by general co-operation in turning the present period of exclusion of Americans from Europe into a time of special international travel and intercourse between the nations of the western hemisphere, I am still constrained to believe that all these must fail as far as offering a final solution of the frightful problems which wars present or wars to come present; and my suggestion would be that the peoples of the western hemisphere should devote themselves rather to the working out of a plan of direct taxation which would make so tremendously for peace, so surely against that "preparedness" which is the infallible precursor of war.

You may be interested in knowing that I have in contemplation a measure looking to this end for presentation to Congress at the proper time. Under the measure which I have conceived we should raise a very large part of the federal revenues by a tax on land values, apportioned among the states on the basis of population, as required by the Constitution. There is no mechanical or other difficulty in the way, at least none that should be unduly troublesome. The land value tax is the most easily levied and the most readily and cheaply collected of all taxes; and it has the merit of staying exactly where it is put. It cannot be shifted. It cannot in the slightest degree hamper industry or retard development. It has in fact exactly the contrary effect. It infallibly stimulates industry and as infallibly promotes progress and development. It imparts new life into enterprise and tends steadily toward a higher level of diffused prosperity. It would break down the monopoly of natural resources and in doing so liberate labor and make it possible for every man to be economically free. The Lloyd George budget, while being merely tentative in character, has embodied the principle which is incorporated in the measure I have in preparation. Lloyd George has taken merely the first step. It is possible that it may not have produced the results which those who so bitterly opposed it feared, but it has produced an effect and a very profound one on the economic conditions of the British Isles, with the certainty that never again will land values as a source of revenue be ignored by the imperial government. Were the Tories to be restored to power to-morrow, they would not repeal the legislation which Lloyd George embodied in his famous budget.

Yours very truly,

*Wm. North Bailey*

# A Letter From Senator Cummins

United States Senate

September 3, 1914.

My dear Sir:



HAVE your interesting letter of the 15th ultimo. I would like to do something, say something, or both, that would be helpful in view of the awful calamity which has fallen upon Europe, but I am not clear as yet just what ought to be said or ought to be done, and therefore I must take time for further reflection before making any specific proposal.

With high regard, I am

**Yours very truly,**

*Albert B. Cummins*

Frank Allaben, Editor,  
30 East 42nd Street,  
New York, N. Y.

# New World Victories of Peace

BY

THE HONORABLE HENRY T. RAINEY OF ILLINOIS

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

August 24, 1914.

Frank Allaben,  
Editor-in-Chief,  
The Journal of American History,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:



THE Latin-American Nations of the Western Hemisphere owe much to the United States. Within the last few months the efforts of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, and the United States have brought peace to the unfortunate people of Mexico, and have assured to that Country in the future Presidents elected by the people, not brigands who have been successful leaders of revolutions, and the concerted action of these Nations has served to bring nearer together all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. It is a tremendous victory for peace.

The building of the Panama Canal means much in the matter of the establishment of freer trade relations between all the American Republics. The building of the Canal is a tremendous victory for commerce and for peace.

The San Francisco Exposition will be the greatest and the most important Exposition ever given in the Western World, even if only the United States and the other Republics of this Hemisphere participate.

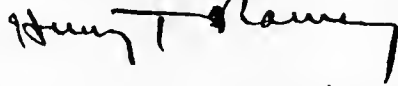
We propose to treat Colombia fairly and to do what we can, in that fair, honest, courageous spirit which ought to prevail between Nations, to rectify any wrong we may have done her in the past. The pending Treaty with Colombia, when it is adopted, is a victory for peace, greater than any victory in the war now raging over half the world can possibly be.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Two or three years from now some of the Nations of Europe may be celebrating victories, won only at the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of treasure. In this Hemisphere we will have nothing to celebrate except victories of peace, bringing about more friendly and freer trade relations, and bringing together those Nations of the Western Hemisphere which govern themselves, in closer bonds of friendship and of peace than ever.

I am glad to learn that The Journal of American History is about to devote one issue to a discussion of the historic relations of North, Central, and South America. I know of no more opportune time for such a presentation than this. You will render millions of people a splendid service.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Henry T. Lawrence". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text "Very truly yours,".



# The Pan American Financial Conference

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN



THE PAN AMERICAN UNION says, in its *Bulletin*, of the Pan American Financial Conference held in Washington during the week of May 23-29, 1915, that it "was undoubtedly one of the most important meetings which has ever been called together in the Western Hemisphere."

The idea of Pan American Congresses goes back to the one held on the Isthmus of Panama in 1826, the fruit of Bolivar's magnificent ideal of moral union of the Americas. To this the United States was invited to send delegates, but one of them died on the journey to Panama, and the other arrived after the adjournment of the meeting. We were invited to take part also in the next Pan American Congress, at Lima in 1847, but our engagement in the Mexican War prevented our doing so. Our co-operation was not invited to the third and fourth Congresses, at Santiago in 1856 and at Lima in 1864.

In addition to these, there have been other important gatherings of representatives of Latin-American Nations. One of the most notable of these was in 1887-88, at Montevideo, when delegates from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, discussed and concluded treaties on international law, these treaties being ratified by the delegates' Governments.

The present splendidly effective agency for the promotion of co-operation among the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, the Pan American Union, should be considered as the direct heir of Bolivar's far-visioned ideals. In 1888 the Congress of the United States authorized the President to invite the Latin-American Governments to send delegates to Washington, for the consideration, with us, of a number of matters of common concern. To James G. Blaine, then

## THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Secretary of State, should much credit be given for the carrying through of this design, and he presided over the Conference, which lasted from October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890.

From this Conference came into being the International Bureau of American Republics, "for the collection and publication of information relating to the commerce, products, laws, and customs of the countries represented."

The next Pan American Congress, under the new organization, was called by Mexico, at the suggestion of President McKinley, and met at the City of Mexico, from October 22, 1901, to January 31, 1902.

Perhaps the Pan American Conference which has had the most far-reaching effects was that held in Rio de Janeiro, in the summer of 1906. All of the twenty-one Republics, except Venezuela and Haiti, were represented. Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, although not officially a delegate, attended the Congress, and his brilliant address is one of the most vital contributions to Pan American intercourse.

In 1910, at the fourth Congress, the name of the Pan American Union was adopted.

The man whose inspiration was the creator of the Pan American Financial Conference of 1915 is the Honorable William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and he acted as presiding officer. A special Act of Congress was passed to authorize the Congress, and it was the United States Government which issued the invitations to attend. The Ambassadors and Ministers of the Latin-American Republics to the United States cooperated in the most generous spirit and the Conference, in its inception and in all of its workings and achievements, is a gratifying example of the national neighborliness toward which All-America has been aiming, and which we of the New World hope may serve as a torch to light the blackness of war-benighted Europe.

On the eve of the Conference Secretary McAdoo said:

"During the last six months every country of the American Continent has suffered severely by reason of the European conflict. Financial distress and the paralyzation of industry has been accompanied by real suffering on the part of the masses of the people. In some instances a serious emergency situation has arisen which can only be met by finding new sources of supply from which to secure working capital.

"One of the most serious questions confronting the Republics of this Continent is the utter inadequacy of transportation facilities since

## THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

the outbreak of the European war. Not only have freight charges advanced, but in a great number of instances transportation facilities have not been available at any price. One of the important questions confronting this Conference will be whether the Republics of America can safely continue to be dependent on the merchant marine of European countries for the maintenance of their normal commercial relations. Many of the countries of South America are eager for the establishment of transportation lines that will not be dependent on the vicissitudes of European affairs.

“The financial questions to be considered by the Conference cover the most pressing needs of all the countries of the American Continent. The programme will extend over the entire range of public and private financial needs, as well as the problems connected with the extension of commerce.

“It is expected that the most important results will be secured through the confidential conferences that will take place in the respective Group Committees. Each delegation from Central and South America will meet with a group of eminent American financiers and business men from every section of the United States. The opportunity thus offered for a frank and free interchange of views can not help but be of inestimable value in the formulation of definite and practical plans. It will require considerable time to bring these plans to full fruition, but a step, and an important step, will have been taken in creating for the Republics of the American Continent a firm, definite, and practical basis for co-operative action and mutual benefit.”

The week of the Conference was socially a brilliant one. Those who have been in Washington in springtime know its gracious beauty—the exquisite freshness of April melting into June’s soft, glowing loveliness.

The social welcome to the Conference began with a ball on Monday evening, May 24, in the beautiful building of the Pan American Union. Its picturesque “Patio,” reminiscent of Spanish-America, of the charm of Old-World Spain, and of the olden times, more far, more exotic, of Moorish courts and palaces, made a setting never to be forgotten, with its green plants, its tropic parrots, flaunting the red and yellow of the Spain whence came our guests’ ancestors centuries ago, and the silver fountain plashing murmurous welcomes musical as the liquid-silver tongue of old Castile.

The reception on Tuesday at the Argentine Embassy, with its *rose-blanche* ball-room, the tea at Chevy Chase, the pilgrimage of

the delegates to Washington's home and tomb at Mount Vernon, whither they sailed on the President's yacht, the *Mayflower*, the garden-party given by Secretary and Mrs. Bryan, the reception of the Chinese Minister and Madame Shah, will long stand forth in the brilliant galaxy of historic festivities which illuminated the serious work of profound thought and conclusions of deepest import achieved by the Conference.

A memorable incident of the pilgrimage to Mount Vernon occurred when the *Mayflower* came opposite Washington's tomb. Officers and men stood reverently at attention while the bugler played "Taps," and as the clear, soft notes died in echo against the hills the splendid triumph-music of "The Star-Spangled Banner" blazed out the glory that Washington lived and died to make come true.

Pageantry of banners is always to be seen in Washington, but during the week of the Conference the City was aflame with flags. Ensigns of the twenty Latin-American Nations, the splendid young Republics of the West, mingled with the Oriental gorgeousness of that of China,—new Republic of an ancient State,—while banners of the fighting lands of Europe held their usual place, and everywhere the Stars and Stripes blazoned forth their loyal friendship for sister "lands of the free," their tribute of honor to all "homes of the brave."

# America for Americans

A Splendid Exposition of the Real Meaning and the Present Necessity of Maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, Delivered Before the Pan-American Financial Conference

BY

THE HONORABLE SANTIAGO PEREZ TRIANA

Chairman of the Delegation from Colombia to the  
Pan American Financial Conference



THE happiness of the peoples that inhabit the American Continent is to be attained by the maintenance and the strengthening of the principles of social, political, and international life which have governed this continent since the days when its emancipation, in its northern section, was first proclaimed. Those principles are the principles of democracy, according to which all men are born equal, and equality of opportunities before the law granted to them all.

This continent, therefore, stands first and foremost for liberty through democracy.

At various times in the history of these nations weighty utterances have been made and transcendent measures have been taken. They are found, as it were, like the footprints of destiny on the path of history. Thus a continental status or condition of affairs has been arrived at, which consists in the inviolability of the continent to political activities of conquest or colonization from outside.

This status has been consecrated by the development of history up to the present moment, and it constitutes the essential safeguard of American liberties. I use the word American in the full integrity of its meaning, covering north, centre, and south on the continent and the adjacent islands geographically entitled to the designation.

The portentous and sombre events that are being developed at the present lurid moment of history across the seas accentuate with glaring emphasis the fundamental importance of the status of inviolability of the continent. That inviolability stands, as it were, as a contention wall, which the foresight of the owner of an orchard had set up against the possible irruptions of a wayward torrent in the neighborhood. Thus, it happens that the swollen waters in the pres-

ent case, unable to overflow the protected precincts, have continued their mad career to the abyss. In this manner the condition of the inviolability of the continent has acted as the determining cause of the present world-wide cataclysm centred in Europe.

A very concise analysis, or rather recapitulation of the pertinent facts of European international life during the last half century, will suffice to demonstrate the justness of the preceding appreciation. This analysis is not made here in any spirit of bitter or adverse criticism. It is simply a statement of facts that have their intrinsic weight and importance and gravitate accordingly in the criterion of men.

The system of the balance of power which has obtained in Europe with increased strength during the last thirty years, and which dated from a far longer period of time, had culminated in the constitution of two separate groups of powerful nations. These nations prided themselves on having maintained the peace of Europe since the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; their allegation was truthful on the surface; during that period no human blood had been shed in battle on the soil of those nations.

On the other hand, the selfsame system begot all the burdens of war, save the killing of men, in the shape of a latent state of warfare throughout Europe and in wars of conquest.

The two great groups thus accomplished the distribution among the most favored of their number of every inch of ground on the continents or on islands of the eastern hemisphere that they could wrest from weaker hands. In each and every instance the division of the spoils facilitated the soothing of outraged feelings of unsatisfied ambition and quieted the squeamish scruples of conscience.

Thus peace in Europe was maintained at the expense of the sovereignty and independence of foreign peoples in the Eastern Hemisphere. This may have been an evil or a boon to humanity—it is not for me to say. Men are wont to talk of the "claims of superior peoples," of the "white man's burden," of the "higher civilization," &c., and if the prosecution by fire and steel of those noble ideals did not happen to coincide every time with material gain one would be more able readily to comprehend and appreciate their lofty disinterestedness.

The Eastern Hemisphere having been parceled, labeled, and distributed, it became necessary to find new fields for the energies left unoccupied, brewing and simmering at home, which unavoidably would entail disaster otherwise.

New lands to conquer! That was the cry of the hour. The new

lands exist—they are broad and they are bountiful. The sun smiles upon them; they have rivers, forests, and plains, all teeming with wealth, and they are so vast that there is room in them for the overcrowded generations of the congested lands in the next few centuries.

The congested lands are heavy with a humanity that comes to the light of life with a burden of tradition in the shape of taxes and servitudes deep rooted in the past centuries. (For let it be remembered that the European nations are still paying for the Napoleonic war.) But those new lands were unattainable; they stood there before the hungry gaze of the two powerful groups of nations like a glorious mirage of possibilities.

The wall of contention, the inviolability of the American continent, prevented the irruption of the torrent of conquest and political organization on the American continent; and that torrent had to flow on, on in its mad career, to plunge into the abyss into which it has fallen, the depth of which no human eye can venture to fathom.

The inviolability of this continent is the protecting shield of human liberty. It must be maintained at all costs. It must be fortified by all possible means. Whatever the outcome of the European conflagration may be, it is safe to say that the desire for political conquest upon the American continent will persist. Such a desire lies in the very nature of things as they are; it is not the result of premeditated perversity of collectivities or of individuals. It lies in the very essence and nature of things.

The hour of watchfulness for us Americans of all sections has only just begun, and we would be unworthy of the men who achieved our emancipation and who founded our nationalities if through neglect or sordid temporizing we were to jeopardize the patrimony of freedom of the coming generations. The first element for the protection of the continent is universal harmony and efficient co-operation. Financial relationships which signify the lifeblood of industry and commerce are of paramount importance in this connection, but there are other indispensable steps rendered necessary by the revelation of the present hour.

All feelings of fear or of distrust must disappear. It is necessary that all the nations of the continent should declare in a solemn manner that the era of conquest of territory has come to an end on the American continent, alike from outsiders as from other nations on the continent, and that redress whenever it can be accomplished should be carried out; but it is often impossible to retrace steps of history, and in such cases by-gones will have to be by-gones, and the dead past will have to bury its dead. The attempt to straighten the

course of history, following the current up the stream toward its source, would be idle and futile.

It is the future that concerns us. The microbe of imperialism is one of easy growth. Men assembled in collectivities called nations have been accustomed, when occasion has arisen, throughout all history, to accept iniquity as their guiding principle, and the honest man who, single-handed, would not take an ear of corn from his neighbor's field, as soon as he finds himself armed with a collective conscience, will not only take the ear of corn, but the whole field, and the life of his neighbor and of his neighbor's family to boot. And then he will present himself, demanding the crown of patriotism and the halo of glory in recognition from the future generations.

The microbe must be extirpated from the continent. It has been proclaimed within recent days from the highest summit of executive power in this land that honesty and justice and not convenience should be the guiding principle of life, alike individual and national.

That utterance should stand, as it were, as the pennant of our hopes and our endeavors. The inviolability of the continent has been effective for outsiders, but not so for some nations of the continent. I do not speak in a spirit of complaint or of censure; I simply state facts. Thus a spirit of distrust has been created which it is indispensable to eliminate. The atmosphere of cordiality throughout the continent must be diaphanous, without a single shadow on the horizon.

The disappearance of distrust will permit of the real union in sentiment of all the nations of America, and that union will mean strength for the protection of the continent and of the ideals of liberty and democracy to which it is dedicated.

The territorial responsibilities of the American nations are weighty beyond comparison. The total population of the Latin part of the continent could be comfortably housed in any of the large Latin-American nations, such as Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, or Argentina, for instance, leaving the rest of the continent empty and free for newcomers.

It is not difficult to imagine the speech of a Prime Minister at a private Cabinet sitting in one of the congested monarchies in the presence of his sovereign:

"Sire, here at home we have reached the extreme possibilities of taxation, and the armaments call for more and more expenditure. We are becoming irredeemably poor. We have not only a congested population, but a yearly surplus of humanity which for years uncountable has gone to strengthen the human framework of nations across



## AMERICA FOR AMERICANS

the ocean that may be our rivals and our enemies of tomorrow. Thus we lose the very blood of our life.

“And yet we could find new homes for our people; homes that should be racially, socially, and, above all things, politically, the prolongation of our nation. There is only one thing that stands in the way, that is the alleged inviolability of the American continent.

“It is true that that continent is open to our subjects as individuals; that there they can find a home socially and politically on the same conditions as the children of any other nation of that continent. But that does not serve our purpose; we do not want new individual homes for our subjects across the ocean; we want new homes for our flag in those new lands. We must smash, annihilate, and pulverize that vaunted inviolability with our iron-covered right hand.

“There are other nations like us, suffering from conditions identical to ours. In an hour of incomprehensible madness those nations and ourselves waged war among ourselves with disastrous results, from which only ruin and misery and disaster untold have accrued. Let us now be wise and unite our forces to seize lands which are the gift of God Almighty to those of His children upon earth who can till them and exploit them, and which it is a crime of unpardonable arrogance to maintain waste and desert on the plea of a pretended system of continental solidarity and of hazy utopias of democracy, liberty, and what not.”

Such speeches would not fall upon unheeding ears, among peoples tortured by the burdens of the past and tormented by the uncertainties of the future. Whenever they supervene it becomes of paramount and vital importance for the nations of America that it should be known that throughout the breadth and length of the continent they are unanimous in sentiment; that the continent will be inviolate from conquest or political colonization; that it is open and free to the wandering and peaceful multitudes, but that it is closed to the conquering flags.

# An International Supreme Court for the Western Hemisphere

An Open Letter to the Delegates to the Pan-American Financial  
Conference at Washington from the President of The National  
Historical Society

To the Delegates to the Pan American Financial Conference,  
Gentlemen:



TAKE the liberty of addressing this open letter to you, because you severally represent the highest ideals of our American Republics, and are now engaged in rendering all our peoples one of the greatest services in their history. I have not ventured to intrude upon your labors, but write only as your Conference is about to break up.

What is here proposed contemplates one step only beyond the forms of international co-operation you have been considering, and bases itself upon principles generally recognized and upon treaties already in existence.

As you know, it has been widely urged that following the present war in Europe a confederation of the European Powers, a kind of United States of Europe, should be formed. As a proposal in the interest of international peace, such a project must enlist our sympathies. Yet I call your attention to the fact that such a European combination, should it be effected with the best of motives, would instantly be recognized by us, human nature being what it is, as a new menace to all the peoples of the New World.

I mention this possibility simply to emphasize the fact that a world-crisis has arisen which should incite the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, now at peace, to a strenuous effort to discover and put into operation some practical international solution around which all the law-abiding nations of the earth might unite, instead of leaving us in separated groups, which might at any time clash.

Race questions have embroiled Europe in the most terrible war in the world's history. Race issues between the East and West already

## AN INTERNATIONAL SUPREME COURT

exist. A race struggle for the domination of Africa is one of the clearly-discernible probabilities of the near future.

In the Republics of the Western Hemisphere, on the other hand, a remarkable process of race amalgamation has been going on, demonstrating to the whole world that, within national bounds, and under free institutions, there is no just reason why differences of birth should prevent the happy progress of the human family. One problem remains, toward whose solution you, gentlemen, have just been making a most valuable contribution, to wit: can our American Republics, Latin-American and Anglo-Saxon, demonstrate to the world that, as race differences may be blended in a common civilization within a nation, so may they also be blended in a perfect co-operation between nations that shall enthrone international law and peace over international self-will and war?

With this preface, I propose for your consideration, and that of all thoughtful men and women, the following outline of a plan to inaugurate among our American Republics an International Supreme Court, in which all the other nations of the earth may also participate, on the same equitable basis as ourselves, if they elect to do so.

1. The United States Government has already signed treaties with a majority of the American Republics, calling for a joint commission between the United States and each of the signatory Republics, to which will be referred, for a year's study if necessary, any dispute arising between the two nations which cannot be settled by diplomacy. Let the United States sign such treaties with all the American Republics, and let the people of the United States demand that their Senate abrogate all pretense to exercise rights inconsistent with the same.

2. Let each of the other American Republics execute such a treaty with every other American Republic. I understand that Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have very recently taken such a step among themselves.

While such treaties, it is hoped, would prevent war as a result of a sudden inflaming of the public mind, they would not make war impossible between two disputing nations. This end requires a further step.

3. Let each of the participating nations appoint a judge to sit in an International Supreme Court; if an even number of judges results, let them elect another judge, making the total number odd, and let the decision of a majority determine the law. Let any dispute, which cannot be amicably adjusted between two or more nations after the recommendation of their joint commission is before them, be re-

ferred to this International Supreme Court, and let its decision be international law, enforced, if necessary, by the combined police power—the combined armies and navies—of all the nations represented in the Court. Any participating power, refusing to bow to this tribunal, would thus become an outlaw-State. Felonious nations would be dealt with by the combined arm of the law-abiding nations, as criminal individuals are now dealt with by a law-abiding community.

4. The judgments of the International Supreme Court, although commanding absolute obedience while in force, should nevertheless be subject to rehearings at the ends of certain stated terms of years, making full provision for any reversals required by human conscience under growing enlightenment. With this provision, war—except as an exercise of police power to compel obedience to law, as police power is now used within a nation,—could no longer find a righteous excuse.

This plan holds out no impracticable dream of total disarmament. Not until the human heart changes, and we may dispense with laws, jails, and police within nations, may we contemplate total disarmament as a practical possibility. But the proposed plan affords a just and practical basis for a reduction of armies and navies to the minimum necessary for efficient police power within each nation, and efficient police power of the combined nations in maintaining international peace. The new doctrine will be that armies and navies are for police power only, to maintain accepted law, and not for that barbarous and beast-like duelling between nations which we call war—a method which never determines right or wrong, but only who is strongest.

Much more could be said, but I forbear. I write this much, however, under the profound conviction that the whole world now looks to the free peoples of the Western Hemisphere for some illuminating suggestion. If we, with our high ideals and comparative freedom from many of the problems of Europe, are unwilling to curb our national wills and ambitions within some such limits of international law and legal procedure as here proposed, how can we hope that other nations of the earth will consent to do so?

With deep respect,

FRANK ALLABEN.

New York, May 28, 1915.

# The Courteous Reply of the Chilean Delegates

CONGRESO FINANCIERO PANAMERICANO

1915

Washington, D. C.

MAY 30TH, 1915.

THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY:



THE CHILEAN DELEGATES ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR OPEN LETTER OF RECENT DATE, AND ARE GLAD TO CONFESS THAT THEY HAVE READ ITS CONTENTS WITH GREAT INTEREST.

# The Goal of Pan-American Solidarity

The Conference a Part of the Great International Mission  
of the American Republics, As Outlined in the Speech of the  
Secretary-General

BY

L. S. ROWE, LL. D.



THESE have been happy days for me, in some respects the happiest of my life, for I have had the feeling as never before that we are at the beginning of a new epoch in the international relations of the American Continent. I begin to see, coming to full fruition, a new concept of international relations, one built up on the idea of co-operation and mutual benefit rather than of rivalry and jealousy.

Important as have been the questions presented to this Conference, I cannot help but feel that its significance is far deeper than the questions included in the programme. It is an inspiring spectacle that may well arouse the enthusiasm of every patriotic citizen to realize that, at a time when hatreds and antagonisms are dominating so great a part of the Old World, the Republics of America assemble in a spirit of mutual helpfulness to take counsel of one another, and to devise ways and means through which they can promote the spirit of union and co-operation.

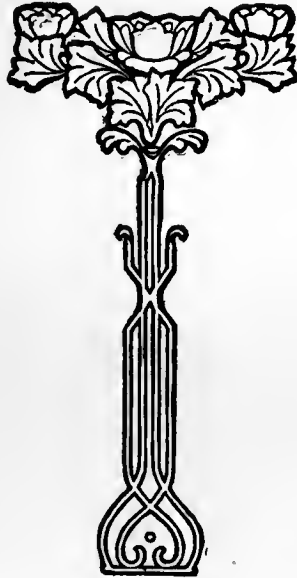
Viewed from the broadest possible standpoint, it means that the great mission of the Republics of the American Continent is coming to full fruition. We may well rejoice at this great privilege of giving to the world, at a critical moment, an example of international solidarity. A new note has been struck in international relations which cannot help but resound throughout the civilized world.

I am free to confess that my enthusiasm is not aroused by the mere thought of belonging to a country covering a vast area or containing one hundred or two hundred millions of inhabitants; but it is my ambition that the country to which I belong shall be a leader

## THE GOAL OF PAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

in setting a new standard in international relations, and will give to the world a new idea, namely, that its own welfare, its own greatness, its significance in the onward march of civilization, depend on and are in direct ratio with the service which it is able to perform to other nations, and particularly to its sister Republics on the American Continent.

Important and far-reaching as is the significance of this Conference, its full and final import can only be judged in that larger perspective in which loom up the successive steps toward the goal of Pan American solidarity.



## Practical Results of the Pan-American Financial Conference



CONCRETE results of the greatest importance to all countries of the Western Hemisphere were predicted at the close of the Pan American Financial Conference, at the close of its six days of exchange of views, discussion of problems purely American, and those which have arisen out of the international tangles of the European war.

The movements here and enterprises which will develop out of the Conference will not necessarily be visible to the rank and file of us at once; but the fulfillment of the delegates' plans for co-operation, and all our business and other relations with Latin-America have been energized to wiser efficiency, strengthened closer in union, by the cordial spirit of mutual understanding wrought by this week's work.

When the Congress of the United States convenes, Secretary McAdoo will make the official report, together with his suggestions as to the carrying-out of the proposed operations.

Probably the subject of discussion paramount in the attention paid to it, was that of transportation facilities between the Americas.

Mr. McAdoo said: "We are not here to discuss government ownership or ship subsidy. We have been anxious above all to keep the political aspects out of this Conference. Questions of government ownership of steamships or of ship subsidies have assumed a political aspect in this country, and I think this Conference should avoid them."

The Secretary of the Treasury also said that he should lay before the President the necessity of continuing the work of the delegates, calling attention to the fact that the representatives of the various countries participating in the Conference were without power to take decisive common action in the matter of inter-American transportation, but that each country must deal separately with the question. He said that the "Group Committees" of the Conference would be succeeded by permanent committees to continue the work here.

Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, made the following statement:



"The Pan American Conference was a happy conception. It has turned out better, however, than its very best friends could have anticipated. The results promise to be really substantial, and not confined to expressions of good fellowship embalmed in an unopened volume of proceedings.

"The Conference has been characterized by practical business sense. It has not been a gathering for mere felicitous speechmaking. The results promise to be extremely helpful in giving impetus to the movement for closer trade relations and in removing obstacles that stand in the way.

"There was one point on which every member in attendance at the conference seemed to agree, and that was that the greatest obstacle in the way of this trade development is a lack of transportation facilities. There were wide divisions of opinion as to how to meet the demand, but there was unanimous agreement that it must be met before really great results are attained."

The support of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in furtherance of better understanding between the United States and Latin-America was promised in a resolution presented by Mr. John H. Fahey, the Chamber's President, and this resolution was adopted. A plan for settlement of commercial disagreements by arbitration is to be drawn up by Mr. Fahey, Mr. Vanderlip, and Senor Aldao of the Argentine Republic.

The President of the Illinois Commercial Federation, Mr. C. A. Kiler of Champaign, Illinois, one of the delegates, with the Costa Rican group, said: "Bringing into conference so many men representing the best interests of the people of the American Continents, at a time when Europe appears to have gone mad, was a master stroke, and will surely lead to lasting benefit for all of us."

Mr. Kiler said also: "In my judgment, the address of Doctor Santiago Perez Triana of Colombia was the greatest single feature of the Conference, with the exception of that other great speech, by President Woodrow Wilson. This address will go a long way toward securing the ends and aims of the Conference.

"I wish it could be made possible to exchange professors from our universities for those from Latin-American universities for a series of lectures similar to those which we have had in exchange with European and Japanese universities. We have much to learn from Latin-America.

"John Barrett's work as the head of the Pan American Union is much appreciated by the delegates from all countries, and the importance of this Conference shows the rare judgment he had when

he took up this work years ago. If ever a man lived to see his visions and dreams come to pass, that man is John Barrett.

"I have had the honor to serve on the Committee for Costa Rica, of which Senor Mariano Guardia is Chairman. Doctor Guardia is the Minister of Finance in Costa Rica. We also were fortunate in having J. M. Keith, an American citizen who has lived in Costa Rica for thirty years and who is thoroughly conversant with conditions there, as well as in the other Republics of Central and South America. Two New York bankers, E. A. de Lima and Lewis E. Pierson, did the heavy work for the United States delegates serving on our Committee. Both of these gentlemen have had experience in international banking and are practical business men who know how to go ahead and get things done.

"The Costa Rica Committee has worked to render a useful report, as I feel sure every other Committee has also so endeavored.

"I go back to Illinois feeling that the Pan American Conference will stand in history as the Commencement exercises stand in a university. We have found our interests to be mutual with those of Latin-America, and this surely marks the beginning of great things."

Co-operation between bankers in the United States and merchants in the other American countries is essential. The bankers should be in close touch with the merchants and should have accurate and detailed reports of their financial situation. In regard to this, Mr. W. S. Kies, foreign trade adviser of the National City Bank, New York, said:

"We must ask your earnest and sincere aid in this matter of credit extension. We have heard from many sources of the high sense of business honor obtaining among your leading firms, but it is always true that a man to be thoroughly appreciated must be personally known. We desire sincerely to know you better. May we not count on your help in this matter?"

"Through your commercial organization and through such permanent committees as it is hoped may grow out of this great conference, will you not co-operate with us by urging upon your merchants and your business men the desirability of giving to such United States banks, and to the representatives of such commercial interests as may be located in your respective countries, full and complete information regarding their responsibility and financial standing?"

"Our merchants, I can assure you, will be equally frank, and our banks and our credit organizations are even now prepared to give to your merchants information in complete detail concerning the com-

mercial houses in this country who may wish to do business with you.

"This Conference will produce results lasting and permanent, if there shall develop from it a sincere and earnest spirit of co-operation in a permanent movement for mutual education and acquaintance along commercial lines."

The suggested banking co-operation between this country and Latin-America was amplified by Secretary of State William J. Bryan, at a dinner given during the Conference, and Mr. Bryan's plan was described in detail in a pamphlet issued by the National City Bank of New York.

This plan is that the United States have a system for interchange of credits with the other American Republics, so that the latter should not be obliged to pay a high rate of interest on loans made them. Mr. Bryan suggested that we should take from one of these nations its obligations bearing four *per cent.* interest and should give such country an equal amount of three *per cent.* United States bonds. The one *per cent.* thus coming to our Government would be applied to amortization of the South American bonds, which would take forty-seven years if the sinking fund were invested at three *per cent.*

The National City Bank is enthusiastic over this project and calls especial attention to one issue: "Every dollar wisely expended in the development of these countries will yield benefits to the United States. An essential part of such a programme, of course, although Mr. Bryan did not touch on it in his brief presentation, would be that our Government should be entirely satisfied with the purpose for which each loan was to be incurred, that those purposes should be designed for the internal development of the countries borrowing, and that that development should be of a character, generally speaking, which would tend to increase their commerce and make them more prosperous and valuable neighbors."

All delegates to the Conference agreed that the solution of the problem of transportation between the United States and Latin-America is essential to the success of closer relations. A permanent committee was recommended to this end, its members to represent Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and the United States.

Two sub-committee reports were submitted. One, signed by Delegates, Señor Alda of Argentina, Senor Cavalcanti of Brazil, and Senor Cosio of Uruguay, proposed a fast line of large steamers, whose route should be between the United States and Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Montevideo, the estimated time for the voyage to Rio de Janeiro to be fifteen days. It was proposed that these ships be exempt

from all fiscal charges for a period of five years, and that this plan should be pushed energetically to completion, bids to be called for not later than the close of 1915, to be acted on within three months. The expense would be divided by agreement between the South American Governments and that of the United States.

The other sub-committee report, signed by the other members and by Senor Veraga of Chile, proposed two fast steamship lines, one of these to be from this country to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina; the other to be from the United States to Ecuador, Peru, and Chile.

In a separate report, Senor Veraga proposed that a corporation be formed, the stock to be offered to public subscription, and unsubscribed shares to be taken by the Latin-American Governments and that of the United States, in proportions to be determined. Senor Veraga proposed that this organization be incorporated under the laws of New York State, and that the steamers should be registered in the several countries in proportion to the capital subscribed.

A compromise resolution was offered by Mr. David R. Francis of St. Louis, and this was unanimously adopted. The resolution was:

“Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that improved ocean transportation facilities between the countries comprising the Pan American Union has become a vital and imperative necessity, and that every effort should be made to secure at the earliest possible moment such improved means of transportation, since it is of primary importance to the extension of trade and commerce and improved financial relations between the American Republics.”

Mr. Roger W. Babson of Boston spoke of government-ownership of steamship lines between this country and the other American Republics. He said: “The time has come when we should either put up or shut up. Let us flirt with these Latin-Americans no longer. Let us either cease our caressing words or else show our faith by works. This means, let us buy their bonds, help them in financing their public works, organize banks which will loan money to their people, adapt our manufactured goods to their needs, and, most important of all, build ships which will make possible that interchange of peoples and goods which is fundamental to the growth, prosperity, and happiness of the Americans.”

In reference to ship subsidies, Mr. Babson said: “The experience of these Latin-American countries with subsidies has been very unfortunate. However large these subsidies have been, Germany, England, or one of their own neighbors have outbid them, and the value of the subsidy has been lost. The use of subsidies, I was told by these South

American officials, consisted in giving one larger than is given to the ships of competing nations. There seems to be no value to subsidies when the nations begin to bid against one another, which is the inevitable result under present conditions. My South American friends also complained bitterly of the deteriorating effects of subsidy legislation, or all other legislation as it opened the way to graft.

"Hence, until all shipping engaged in foreign trade is under uniform laws, and flies an international flag, the only means of building up a merchant marine is by the use of government-owned ships. This is not only theory, but is the result of practical experience with all the different systems as used by the South American countries. In fact, the President of one of these countries asked me: 'Can democracy lead to any other solution?'

"Before going to South America, I was opposed to a government-owned merchant marine, but I am now convinced that it is an absolute necessity for cementing together the Americas. I therefore beg of you, my fellow-countrymen, who are official guests at this Conference, not to oppose this principle without first going to South America and studying the need."

An address was made at the Conference by Mr. W. C. Le Gendre of the banking firm of Brown Brothers and Company, New York. Mr. Le Gendre said: "In casting about, during the recent discussion of the proposed shipping bill, I ran across some information, and will quote the following case of Captain Dollar of San Francisco. This gentleman owns both United States and foreign vessels. He had stated that in a single instance, in taking a ship from the foreign flag, and putting it under the American flag, it necessitated the employment of four additional quartermasters at \$70 a month, an extra engineer at \$70 a month, three water-tenders at \$75 a month,—and, incidentally, nobody seems to know what a water-tender is on a foreign ship.

"The total cost was \$680 a month, simply for changing the flag on that ship, or \$8,160 a year. In addition to that, the difference in cost for tonnage dues entering every port is based on a much larger tonnage measurement under the American flag. The total cost, or the total difference in cost, of operating that ship would closely approximate \$12,000 a year. Is there any object for an American, who can own ships and operate them under the English flag, for instance, to put them under the American flag, and pay that additional amount? Is not this the reason why we do not get American ships? It seems to me that this statement sums up the whole question. It might not be amiss to add that a person more expert and better informed than

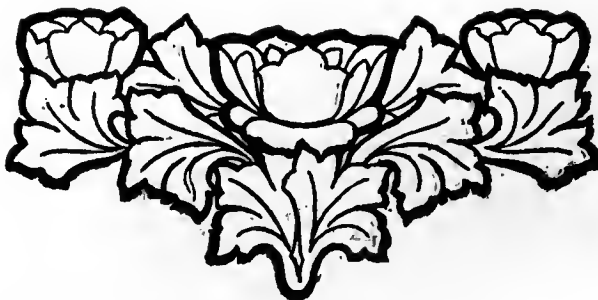
myself could add further expense in respect of port dues and other expenses incurred in loading and unloading."

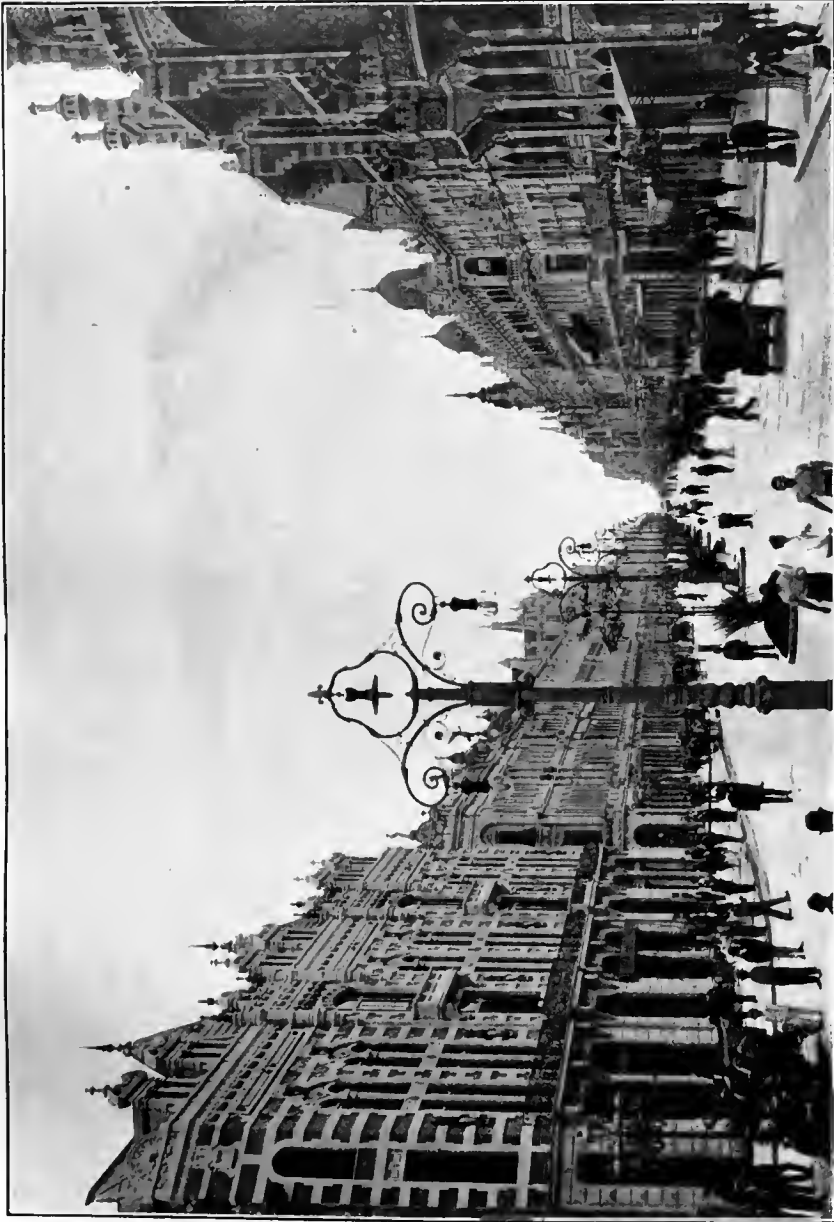
At the close of the Conference, Secretary McAdoo announced that measures recommended by the Conference are to be brought before Congress next winter. Mr. McAdoo also stated that he should counsel the President to recommend, in his next annual message to Congress, that the plans to bring more closely together the business relations of the American nations be put into operation.

The recommendations of the Conference will be laid before the South and Central American Governments also.

The most important results of the Conference might, perhaps, be summed up as they were by the *Baltimore Sun*.

"Strong recommendations for the establishment of fast and direct steamship lines, 'at the earliest possible moment,' between the two American Continents, the creation of an 'International High Commission' to propose uniform trade and commercial laws to the various Pan American nations, an agreement to organize a 'trade dispute court' to arbitrate business differences between merchants of the two Continents, and the appointment of permanent committees to act as a 'clearing-house of business and financial information' for each of the Latin American countries in the United States, constitute the concrete results of the Pan American Financial Conference."





AVENIDA RIO BRANCO, RIO DE JANEIRO









PITPANS OR NATIVE CANOES OF GUATEMALA



**THE GRENADIERS OF SAN MARTIN PASSING THROUGH THE STREETS  
OF BOULOGNE-SUR-MER**  
Sent by the Argentine Republic to represent the army, at the unveiling of a  
statue to General San Martin, who himself founded this regiment







IN THE MUSEU GOELDI, PARA, BRAZIL.  
A corner of the room devoted to Amazonian archaeology



PICKING CACAO PODS, SANTO DOMINGO









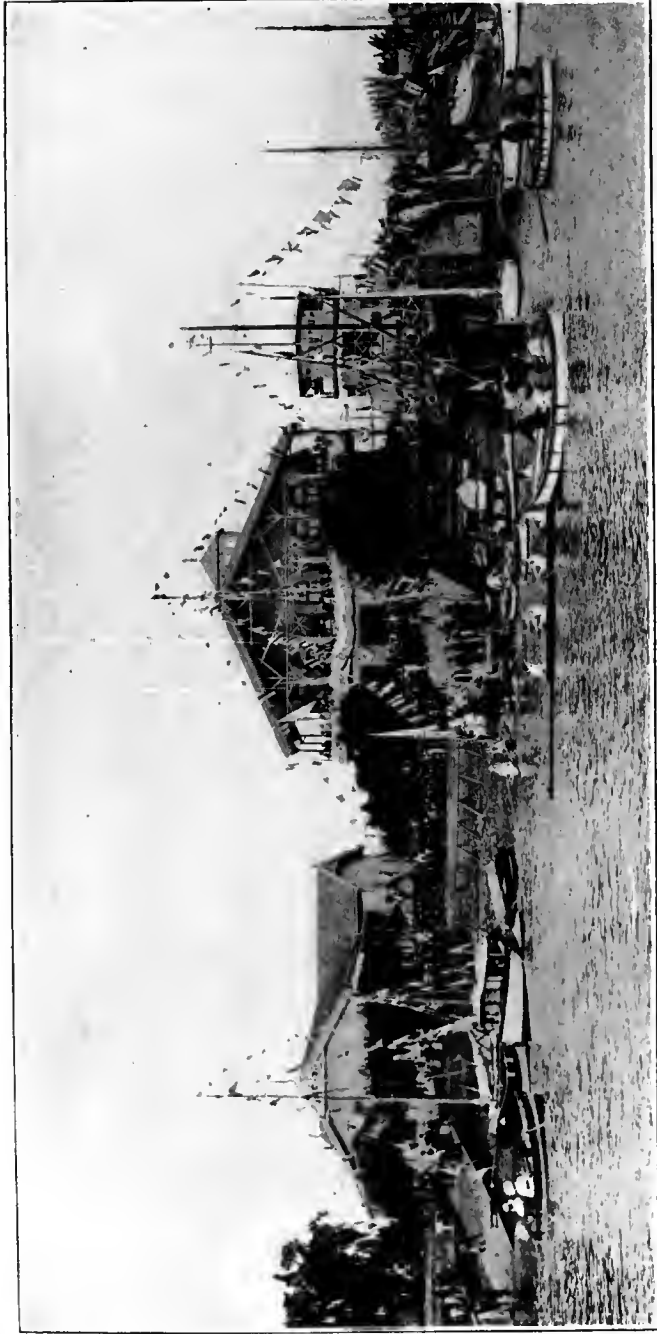
A SKY SCRAPER IN BUENOS AIRES, SAID TO BE THE FIRST IN SOUTH AMERICA



STATUE OF MURILLO, THE PATRIOT LEADER, AT LA PAZ, BOLIVIA







BOAT CLUBS ON THE TIGRE RIVER, NEAR BUENOS AIRES

# The Work of the Pan-American Financial Congress

BY

THE HONORABLE JOHN BASSET MOORE



THE following digest of the recommendations of the various groups of the Conference was presented at its close by John Bassett Moore, formerly Counselor of the State Department, this digest not including, however, the work of the Transportation Committee, nor that of the Uniform Laws Committee.

## Bolivia

First, the report of Bolivia is a full review of the financial conditions and trade and commerce, including its natural resources, particularly its minerals, rubber, timber, fruit, and live stock. It also deals with the question of railway extension transportation—ocean and interior; with the monetary situation, banking and finance, and suggests the organization of a central commercial agency in connection with or under the supervision of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

## Chile

The group report of Chile recommends the adoption by the various countries of legislation, first, to facilitate the drawing of bills of exchange upon one another by the financial institutions of South American countries and the financial institutions of the United States; second, to make bonded warehouse warrants and receipts available as collateral security for the development of international commerce.

It recommends the advisability of permitting the payment of such part of the export duties on nitrates from Chile to the United States, such parts as are now paid in ninety days' sight drafts, sterling on London, in ninety days' sight drafts in dollars in New York, at such rates of exchange as may be periodically fixed by the Chilean authorities; also, that such changes be made in the laws of the United States

as will enable bankers to extend their credit, discount, and rediscount facilities so as to conform to the trade customs and necessities of Latin America. It also recommends that a permanent inter-American commission be established to study commercial problems and conditions.

### **Colombia**

The Colombian delegates recommend, first, special committees on uniform law and on transportation for each country similar to those appointed in connection with this conference; second, the cooperation of those committees in financial and commercial matters; third, the consideration of the establishment of a general executive council to meet in Washington at least once a year; fourth, the consideration of the appointment of a board of engineers to investigate projects which require financing.

### **Costa Rica**

The report of the Costa Rican group gives a full survey of the public finances of that country, its monetary situation, banking situation and financing of private enterprises; emphasizes the need of trade facilities and the extension of inter-American markets. The subject of the merchant marine and improved transportation facilities are very fully covered.

### **Cuba**

The report of the Cuban group, after a survey of the commercial relations, recommends that the high duties that hamper the importation of Cuban tobacco into the United States be ameliorated, and in view of the abolition by the United States of import duties on sugar, the principle of the reciprocal reduction of duties be extended by treaty stipulations in addition to those that already exist, so as to preserve the principle of reciprocity as the foundation of trade relations between the two countries.

This report also deals with the question of transportation, with that of the parcel post, the extension of credit, sending out of experts, capable commercial representatives, with samples, and also of making uniform, so far as may be practicable, of commercial laws and the extension of the system of arbitration for the settlement of commercial disputes.

### **Dominican Republic**

The report of the Dominican Republic reviews the present state of the public finances in that country and suggests remedies for present inconveniences. Particularly, it advises a reduction of the



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duties on Dominican tobacco in the United States and the making of an adequate reciprocity treaty between the Dominican Republic and this country. The present banking situation and extension and liberalizing of bank facilities are dealt with; also financing, first of public improvements and second of private enterprises.

There is a discussion also of the extension of inter-American markets; the development of the merchant marine and improved transportation facilities are emphasized; also attention is drawn to the desirability of the modification of the existing postal conventions in this particular, first, the extension to the countries embracing the Pan-American Union of the same letter rates as now exist between the United States, Cuba, and Mexico; second, the extension to the same countries of the same rate of newspaper postage as exists in the United States, and third the adoption by the same countries of uniform service for postal money orders and parcel post.

### **Ecuador**

The situation in Ecuador is very fully presented by a document and report presented in a memorandum to the president of this conference—the Secretary of the Treasury before the conference met—on conditions in that country. This report is very full of suggestions as to the work that might properly be undertaken by this conference. These suggestions are grouped under eleven heads, and in all embrace thirty-two different topics.

### **Guatemala**

The report of the Guatemala group contains a review of the financial and commercial conditions of that country; recommends, first, the practical demonstration in Guatemala of agricultural machinery and tools made in the United States; second, that the attention of American manufacturers be drawn to the opportunity for the use of portable sawmills in cutting the woods of the country, and of improved sugar cane machinery; third, that the shipment of wares be made in packages suitable to transportation facilities or requirements in the various countries; fourth, that the American manufacturers maintain in Guatemala City a permanent exhibition of their products; fifth, that a uniform postal system through the Americas be adopted; sixth, the uniform classification of articles for the purpose of levying on customs duties; seventh, the grant by American merchants of credits of not less than ninety days for the payment of purchases; eighth, the sending out of expert agents to sell goods; ninth, affording facilities in American schools for young

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men from Latin America; tenth, increased attention in Latin-American countries to the study of political economy, finance and business questions in the schools; eleventh, the interchange of professors and students; twelfth, the teaching of Spanish in the United States and in courses in history and geography of Latin America; thirteenth, the more general establishment of chambers of commerce; also the improvement of transportation facilities, the appointment of consulting commissions in each country and the improvement of banking facilities.

### Nicaragua

The report of the Nicaragua group reviews the political, commercial and financial condition of that country, describes its natural resources, emphasizes the importance of improving banking facilities, and draws attention to the fact that Nicaragua has a field for the investment of capital.

### Panama

The report of the Panama group makes recommendation in regard to the acceptance of coupon books issued by the Panama Canal Company, and the purchase of commodities and certain changes in the practices of commissary owned directly or indirectly by the United States. It also recommends the abolition of discriminatory freight rates of the Panama Railroad Company; and that the use of the canal for transportation between the ports of Panama and Colon be secured freely. It also recommends that the federal reserve board open branch banks in North, Central and South America; that shipping facilities be improved, and that in sending out quotations or prices and in the drawing of drafts computations be made upon the United States dollar.

### Salvador

The report of the Salvador group emphasizes the lack of commercial treaties between that country and the United States. It recommends the establishment of a chamber of commerce to Salvador, it strongly urges co-operation of banking institutions in establishing reasonable credit, and recommends the exchange of students and of the wider dissemination of commercial and agricultural information.

### Uruguay

The report of the Uruguay group deals first with the improvement of transportation by abolishing discriminatory duties and by granting direct or indirect subsidies to shipping, or both; second,

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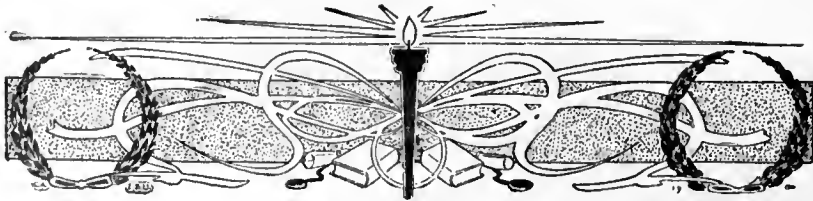
the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures, and, meanwhile, making up prices, invoices and bills of lading in the metrical unit; third, that cheaper cable rates be secured, and that the governments undertake in co-operation the development of wireless telegraph systems. The report also recommends the establishment of the international monetary unit; also improved banking facilities, granting the more liberal credits, and the adhesion of the North American countries to the South American postal convention of Montevideo of June, 1911. The report also recommends the making of reciprocity arrangements; also the interchange of students, and, lastly, the decrease of duties on the necessities of life and the adoption of progressive taxes on inheritance, and also the co-operation of the governments forming the Pan-American Union in measures in devising and in the enforcement of measures to overcome frauds in these particulars.

### **Brazil**

The Brazil reports deal with the financing of transactions involving importation and exportation of goods, and the question of local commercial banking and the various questions of trade and of commerce. It recommends, in particular, first, that greater prominence be given in the public schools and other educational institutions of the United States to the study of the Central and South American countries, their geographical location, natural resources, government and languages; second, that emphasis be given to the necessity of greater liberality being exercised in the interpretation of customs regulations by the countries of North America, and Latin America, especially, with respect to the free entrance of drawback of duty on travelers' samples or other samples introduced into the respective countries, solely for the purpose of promoting trade; third, with the necessity of more effective protection of trade marks; fourth, to facilitate reciprocal business relations between merchants and manufacturers of both nations and the granting of such reasonable credit in both directions as may be safe and desirable, and it recommends the establishment of a reliable means whereby merchants and manufacturers of either nation can determine with reasonable accuracy the financial responsibility of the purchaser of the other nation; fifth, it strongly recommends that there be established between the United States and Latin-American countries a system of direct exchange based on the dollar unit of the United States of North America; sixth, in order to facilitate the interchange of products adapted to the needs of American countries.

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It recommends the formation of bureaus of standards of the respective countries to standardize, in so far as possible, the requirements of each country, and recommends to the manufacturers and purchasers of the several countries the immediate recognition of such standards and corresponding weights and measures; seventh, attention is drawn to the favorable results which have followed the granting by Brazil and Cuba of preferential duties applying to certain products of the United States and recommends the extension of reciprocal tariff concession between the Latin American countries and the United States; eighth, it emphasizes the extreme necessity for rapid, frequent and dependable marine transportation service to provide adequately for the maintenance and development of commerce between the countries of North and South America.



# Latin America's Invitation to the Business Men of the United States



THE Latin American delegates to the Pan American Financial Conference unanimously adopted a resolution, proposing a visit by delegates from the United States banking, commercial, and industrial interests represented at the Conference to the South and Central American represented, this visit to take place within the next six months.

A committee will be appointed from among the Latin American delegates to arrange for such a tour by business men of the United States.

The Honorable John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union, said that he regarded such a wholesale invitation as distinctively characteristic of the Latin American people, and he added that he has no doubt each and every one of the Governments of South and Central America will appropriate a large sum toward the entertainment of the visiting delegates from this country.

The resolution, which was presented by Doctor Pedro Cosio, Chairman of the delegation from Uruguay to the Pan American Financial Conference, is as follows:

"The Latin American countries here represented invite the banks, industrial and commercial interests represented in this congress to unite within a period of six months in visiting the various countries of South and Central America, where they will be received by the governments, chambers of commerce, industrial interests, etc.

"2. In this respect the governments of the countries visited will consider it an honor to entertain the delegates as their guests.

"3. Details respecting itineraries, places to be visited, etc., will be determined in due time.

"4. A special committee representing the countries here assembled will be formed by the governments' representatives of said countries accredited to the government of the United States with the object of formulating the necessary arrangements to carry out this proposition."

# The Personnel of the Pan-American Financial Conference

## Honorary Presidents



THEIR Excellencies, the Ministers of Finance: Señor Doctor Enrique Carbo, Argentina; Señor Doctor C. Rojas, Bolivia; Senhor Doctor Rivadavia da Cunha Correa, Brazil; Señor Doctor Alberto Edwards, Chile; Señor Doctor P. L. Mantilla, Colombia; Señor Doctor Mariano Guardia Carazo, Costa Rica; Señor Doctor Leopoldo Cancio E., Cuba; Señor Doctor Salvador B. Gautier, Dominican Republic; Señor Doctor Juan F. Game, Ecuador; Señor Doctor Guillermo Aguirre, Guatemala; Señor General Leopoldo Cordova, Honduras; Señor Doctor Pedro R. Cuadra, Nicaragua; Señor Doctor Aristides Arjona, Panama; Señor Doctor Jeronimo Zubizaretta, Paraguay; Señor Doctor L. F. Villarán, Peru; Señor and Señor Doctor R. Cardenas, Venezuela.

## Vice-Presidents

The Honorable Andrew J. Peters, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; the Honorable Samuel Hale Pearson, Chairman of Argentina Delegation; the Honorable Ignacio Calderon, Chairman of Bolivia Delegation; the Honorable Doctor Amaro Cavalcanti, Chairman of Brazil Delegation; the Honorable Luis Izquierdo, Chairman of Chile Delegation; the Honorable Santiago Perez Triana, Chairman of Colombia Delegation; the Honorable Mariano Guardia, Chairman of Costa Rica Delegation; the Honorable Doctor Pablo Desvernine y Galdos, Chairman of Cuba Delegation; the Honorable Francisco J. Peynado, Chairman of Dominican Republic Delegation; the Honorable Doctor Juan Cueva Garcia, Chairman of Ecuador Delegation; the Honorable Carlos Herrera, Chairman of Guatemala Delegation; the Honorable General Leopoldo Cordova, Chairman of Honduras Delegation; the Honorable Pedro Rafael Cuadra, Chairman of Nicaragua Delegation; the Honorable Aristides Arjona, Chairman of Panama Delegation; the Honorable Hector Velazquez, Chairman of Paraguay Delegation; the Honorable Isaac Alzamora, Chairman of Peru Delegation; the Honorable Alfonso Quiñones, Chairman of Salvador Delegation; the Honorable Pedro Cosio, Chairman of Uruguay Dele-

## THE PERSONNEL OF THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

gation, and the Honorable Pedro Rafael Rincones, Chairman of Venezuela Delegation.

### **Official Delegates**

ARGENTINA: Señor Don Samuel Hale Pearson, Señor Doctor Ricardo C. Aldao, Señor Doctor V. Villamil, Señor Doctor John E. Zimmerman. BOLIVIA: Señor Doctor Ignacio Calderon, Señor Doctor Adolfo Ballivian. BRAZIL: Doctor Amaro Cavalcanti. CHILE: Señor Doctor Luis Izpuierto, Señor Doctor Augusto Villanueva. Señor Doctor Gonzalos Vergara Bulnes. COLOMBIA: Señor Doctor Santiago Perez Triana, Señor Doctor Roberto Ancizar. COSTA RICA: Señor Doctor Mariano Guardia, Mr. John M. Keith. CUBA: Señor Doctor Pablo Desvernine y Galdos, Señor Doctor Porfirio Franca y Alvarez de la Campa, Señor Doctor Octavio Zayas. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Señor Doctor Francisco J. Peynado, Señor Doctor Enrique Jimenez. ECUADOR: Señor Doctor Juan Cueva Garcia, Señor Doctor Vicente Gonzalez, Señor Doctor Enrique Gallardo. Carlos Herrera, Señor Doctor Juan Lara. HONDURAS: Señor Doctor GUATEMALA: Senor Doctor Victor Sanchez Ocana, Señor Doctor Leopoldo Cordova, Señor Dactor D. Fortin, Señor Doctor Alejandro S. Lara. NICARAGUA: Señor Doctor Pedro Rafael Cuadra, Mr. Albert Strauss. PANAMA: Señor Doctor Aristides Arjona, Señor Doctor Ramon F. Acevedo, Señor Doctor Ramon Arias, Jr. PARAGUAY: Señor Doctor Hector Velaquez, Mr. William Wallace White. PERU: Señor Doctor Isaac Alzamora, Señor Doctor Eduardo Higginson. SALVADER: Senor Doctor Alfonso Quinones, Señor Doctor Jose Suay, Señor Doctor Roberto Aguilar. URUGUAY: Señor Doctor Pedro Cosio, Señor Doctor Gabriel Terra, Señor Doctor Carlos Maria de Pena; and VENEZUELA: Señor Doctor Pedro Rafael Rincones.

### **Members of the Diplomatic Corps**

His Excellency, the Ambassador of Argentina, His Excellency, the Ambassador of Brazil, His Excellency, the Ambassador of Chile, the Minister of Bolivia, the Minister of Colombia, the Minister of Costa Rica, the Minister of Cuba, the Minister of the Dominican Republic, the Minister of Ecuador, the Minister of Guatemala, the Minister of Honduras, the Minister of Nicaragua, the Minister of Panama, the Minister of Paraguay, the Minister of Peru, the Minister of Salvador, the Minister of Uruguay, the Minister of Venezuela.

### **Executive Officers**

The Presiding Officer, the Honorable William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; Secretary General, L. S. Rowe, LL. D.; Assistant Secretaries General, Mr. William

Franklin Sands, Mr. Basil Miles, Mr. J. S. Gittings, Jr., Mr. Brooks B. Parker.

**Gentlemen Who Attended the Conference**

Aerts, G. A., President Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati; Allen, Frederic W. (*vice* J. J. Storrow, Boston); Ardrey, J. Howard, Cashier City National Bank, Dallas, Texas; Arnold, J. J., banker, Chicago; Austin, Richard L., Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, Philadelphia.

Bancroft, Charles G., President International Trust Company, Boston; Honorable John Barrett, Director General Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.; Belmont, August, New York; Bippus, W. F., Treasurer National Cash Register Company, Dayton, Ohio; Bixby, William K., St. Louis, Missouri; Boyd, L. C., banker, Indianapolis; Brand, Charles J., Chief Office of Markets and Rural Organization, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.; Brown, F. Q., New York; Brown, James, Brown Brothers and Company, New York; Bryan, Honorable William Jennings, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.; Honorable John Burke, Treasurer of the United States, Washington, D. C.; Burleson, Honorable Albert Sidney, Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.; Butterworth, William, President Deere and Company, Moline, Illinois.

Calderon, Senor Don Ignacio, Minister of Bolivia, Washington, D. C.; Chamorro, General Don E., Minister of Nicaragua, Washington, D. C.; Clapham, A. G., President Commercial National Bank, Washington, D. C.; Clausen, John, Crocker National Bank, San Francisco; Conant, Charles A., New York; Cone, Caesar, Greensboro, North Carolina; Couklin, Franklin, Newark, New Jersey; Coolidge, J. Randolph, Boston; Cordova, Doctor Don G., Minister of Ecuador, New York; Cornell, Charles L., Treasurer Niles-Bement-Pond Company, New York; Crane, Charles R., Chicago; Curtis, Frederic R., Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, Boston.

Da Gamo, His Excellency, Domicio, Ambassador of Brazil, Washington, D. C.; Davies, Honorable Joseph E., Chairman Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.; Davison, Henry P., New York; Deans, H. G. P., Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, Chicago; De Cespedes, Doctor Carlos M., Minister of Cuba, Washington, D. C.; Defrees, Joseph H., Chicago; De Lanoy, William C., Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.; Delano, Frederick A., Vice Governor, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; De Lima, E. A., banker, New York; de Navarro, Alfonso, Vice-President Atlas Portland Cement Company, New York; De Pena, Doctor Carlos M., Minister of Uruguay, Washington, D. C.; Dominica, Doctor Don Santos A., Minister



## THE PERSONNEL OF THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

of Venezuela, Washington D. C.; Douglas, William H., New York; Downey, Honorable George E., Comptroller of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.; Duval, G. L., New York.

Eaton, Frederick H., New York; Edson, John Joy, Washington, D. C.; Eldridge, H. R., Vice-President National City Bank, New York; Elliott, Honorable Milton C., Counsel Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Emerson, Guy, New York; Erskine, A. R., Vice-President Studebaker Company, South Bend, Indiana; Esberg, A. I., New York.

Fahey, John H., Boston; Fairchild, Samuel J., New York; Falconer, Charles E., President Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, Baltimore; Fancher, E. R., Governor Federal Reserve Bank, Cleveland; Farguhar, A. B., York, Pennsylvania; Farrell, James A., President United States Steel Corporation, New York; Fisher, Edmund D., banker, New York; Flint, Charles R., New York; Forgan, J. B., President First National Bank, Chicago; Francis, David R., St. Louis, Missouri; Frederick, Leopold, New York; Fuerth, Otto H., New York; Fuller, Paul, New York.

Gallihier, W. T., President American National Bank, Washington, D. C.; Gary, Elbert H., Chairman Board United States Steel Corporation, New York; Given, T. Hart, President Farmers Deposit and National Bank, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Goldstein, L. S., New Orleans; Goodhue, F. A., Vice-President First National Bank, Boston; Goodwin, Elliot H., Secretary United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C.; Gorrell, Frank E., National Cannery Association, Washington, D. C.; Grace, Joseph P., New York; Green, C. A., Foreign Department R. G. Dun and Company, New York; Gregory, Honorable Thomas Watt, Attorney General, Washington, D. C.; Grevstad, Honorable N. A., Ex-United States Minister to Uruguay; Guggenheim, Daniel, President American Smelting and Refining Company, New York.

Ham, Clifford D., Iowa; Hamlin, Charles S., Governor Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Hammond, John Hays, New York; Harding, W. P. G., member Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Hardy, Caldwell, banker, Norfolk, Virginia; Harper, Robert N., President District National Bank, Washington, D. C.; Harris, A. M., New York; Harris, Honorable William J., Commissioner Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.; Harrison, Fairfax, President Southern Railroad Company, Washington, D. C.; Hart, Francis R., Boston; Hasings, S. M., Chicago; Hepburn, A. B., Chase National Bank, New York; Hollander, Professor J. E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; Holliday, John H., Indianapolis;

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Howard, A. B., New York; Hurley, Honorable Edward M., Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.

Imhoff, C. H., Vice-President Irving National Bank, New York; Ingle, William, Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, Richmond, Virginia.

Jaffray, C. T., Vice-President First National Bank, Minneapolis; Jay, Pierre, Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, New York; Jiminez, Doctor Enrique, Minister of Dominican Republic, Washington, D. C.; Johnson, Alba B., President Baldwin Locomotive Works, Philadelphia; Johnston, Archibald, Vice-President Bethlehem Steel Corporation, New York; Jones, De Witt Clinton, American Dyewood Company, New York; Jordan, G. G., banker, Columbus, Georgia; Joy, Benjamin, National Shawmut Bank, Boston.

Keith, Charles S., Keith and Perry, Kansas City; Kelly, N. B., Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia; Kent, Fred I., Vice-President Bankers' Trust Company, New York; Kies, W. S., National City Bank, New York; Kiler, Charles A., Champaign, Illinois; Kretz, George H., New York.

Lage, Frederick, New York; Lane, Miles B., President Citizens' and Southern National Bank, Savannah; Legerdie, William C., New York; Loeb, William, Jr., American Smelting and Refining Company, New York; Lufkin, E. C., The Texas Company, New York; Lyerly, Charles A., President First National Bank, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

McChord, Joseph A., Governor Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta; McCrosky, James Warren, J. G. White and Company, New York; McQueen, H. C., banker, Wilmington, North Carolina; McRoberts, Samuel, Vice-President National City Bank, New York; Maddox, Robert F., American National Bank, Atlanta; Mahana, George S., Corn Products Refining Company, New York; Malburn, William P., Washington, D. C.; Martin, William McC., Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, St. Louis, Missouri; Meeker, Arthur, Armour Grain Company, Chicago; Mendez, Senor Don J., Minister of Guatemala, Washington, D. C.; Miller, Honorable Adolph G., member Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Miller, J. Z., Jr., Chairman Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City; Minotto, James, Guaranty Trust Company, New York; Mitchell, C. D., President Chattanooga Plow Company, Chattanooga, Tennessee; Moore, Honorable John Bassett, Professor of International Law, Columbia University, New York; Morales, Doctor Don E. A., Minister of Panama, Washington, D. C.; Morgan, J. P., New York; Muchnic, Charles, American Locomotive Company, New York.

Naon, His Excellency, Romulo S., Argentine Ambassador, Washington, D. C.; Newton, Honorable Byron R., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Nickerson, J. F., Vice-President Chicago Association of

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Commerce, Chicago; Norris, George W., banker, Philadelphia; Norton, Charles D., First National Bank, New York; Numsen, George N., President National Cannery Association, Baltimore.

O'Brien, Honorable Edward C., New York; Olcott, Honorable J. Van Vechten, President Pan American States Association, New York; O'Neil, J. F., President Fulton Foundry Company, St. Louis, Missouri; Osborn, William H., Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C.; Osborne, Honorable John E., First Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.; Owen, T. Hart, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Owens, Doctor Clarence J., Managing Director Southern Commercial Congress, Washington, D. C.

Paine, A. G., Jr., President New York and Pennsylvania Company, New York; Parker, Walter, Chamber of Commerce, New Orleans; Parry, Honorable W. H., Commissioner Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.; Patchin, Robert H., National Foreign Trade Council, New York; Penfield, Walter S., lawyer, Washington, D. C.; Penny, David H. G., Vice-President Irving National Bank, New York; Pepper, Charles M., Washington, D. C.; Perry, Marsden J., President Union Trust Company, Providence, Rhode Island; Phillips, Honorable William, Third Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.; Pierson, Lewis E., President Austin Nichols Company, New York; Potter, W. C., Guaranty Trust Company, New York; Price, Theodore H., New York.

Raskob, John J., Treasurer E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company, Wilmington, Delaware; Redfield, Honorable William Cox, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C.; Reynolds, George M., Commercial and Continental Bank, Chicago; Reynolds, Honorable James B., National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.; Rhett, R. G., banker, Charleston, South Carolina; Rhoads, Charles J., Governor Federal Reserve Bank, Philadelphia; Rice, E. W., Jr., President General Electric Company, New York; Rich, John H., Minneapolis; Richards, George H., Remington Typewriter Company, New York; Rossel, John S., Wilmington, Delaware; Rovensky, J. E., National Bank of Commerce, New York; Rowe, W. S., President First National Bank, Cincinnati; Rublee, Honorable George, Commissioner Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.; Rue, Levi L., Philadelphia; Rupert, J., New York; Ryan, John D., President Amalgamated Copper Company, New York.

Sachs, Samuel, Goldman, Sachs, and Company, New York; Saunders, W. L., New York; Schiff, Mortimer L., New York; Schmidt, George P., New York; Schoonmaker, S. L., Chairman Board of American Locomotive Company, New York; Seligman, Isaac M., J. W.

Seligman and Company, New York; Shapleigh, A. L., Commercial Club, St. Louis, Missouri; Sherrill, Charles H., New York; Shirley, James J., T. A. Gillespie Company, New York; Simmons, W. D., Philadelphia; Smith, James E., banker, St. Louis, Missouri; Speyer, James, New York; Storrow, James J., Boston; Straight, Willard, New York; Strong, Benjamin, Jr., Governor Federal Reserve Bank, New York; Suarez-Mujica, His Excellency, Don Eduardo, Chilean Ambassador, Washington, D. C.; Sulzberger, G. F., Sulzberger and Sons, New York; Sutter, Charles S., Chairman Business Men's League of St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri; Swiggett, Doctor Glen L., Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

Tedcastle, A. W., Boston; Thomas, E. P., United States Steel Products Company, New York; Thompson, Honorable Arthur, member Nicaraguan-Mexican Commission, Washington, D. C.; Toby, George P., A. B. Leach and Company, New York; Townley, Calvert, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Traversia, Honorable Martin, Treasurer of Porto Rico. Untermyer, Samuel, New York.

Velazquez, Hector, Minister of Paraguay, New York; Vanderlip, Frank A., President National City Bank, New York.

Wade, F. J., banker, St. Louis, Missouri; Warburg, Honorable Paul M., member Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Warden, Charles W., President Continental Trust Company, Washington, D. C.; Warfield, Edwin, President Fidelity Trust Company, Baltimore; Warren, Charles B., President Board of Commerce, Detroit; Warren, Charles W., Continental Trust Company, Washington, D. C.; Wells, Rolla, Governor Federal Reserve Bank, St. Louis, Missouri; Wexler, Solomon, President Whitney-Central National Bank, New Orleans; Wheeler, Harry A., Vice-President Union Trust Company, Chicago; White, J. G., President J. G. White and Company, New York; Wiggin, A. H., New York; Williams, John Skelton, Comptroller of the Currency, Washington, D. C.; Williams, R. Lancaster, Baltimore; Willis, H. Parker, Secretary Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Wilson, Honorable William Bauchop, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Wilson, Doctor W. P., Director Commercial Museum, Philadelphia; Wing, Daniel G., President First National Bank, Boston; Wood, Edward Randolph, Vice-President Philadelphia Board of Trade, Philadelphia; Woolley, Robert W., Auditor for the Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Yanes, Honorable Francisco J., Assistant Director General Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

# The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations

From an Address Delivered Before the American Peace Society,  
at Boston, 1849

BY

CHARLES SUMNER



PEACE is the grand Christian charity, fountain and parent of all other charities. Let Peace be removed, and all other charities sicken and die. Let Peace exert her gladsome sway, and all other charities quicken into life. Peace is the distinctive promise and possession of Christianity,—so much so, that where peace is not, Christianity cannot be. It is also the promise of Heaven, being the beautiful consummation of that rest and felicity which the Saints above are said to enjoy. There is nothing elevated which is not exalted by peace. There is nothing valuable which does not gain from peace. Of Wisdom herself it is said, that all her ways are pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. And these golden words are refined by the saying of the Christian Father, that the perfection of joy is peace. Naturally Peace is the longing and aspiration of the noblest souls, whether for themselves or for country. In the bitterness of exile, away from the Florence immortalized by his divine poem, and pacing the cloisters of a convent, where a sympathetic monk inquired, "What do you seek?" Dante answered, in accents distilled from the heart, "*Peace!*" Not in aspiration only, but in benediction, is this word uttered. As the Apostle went forth on his errand, as the son forsook his father's roof, the choicest blessing was, "Peace be with you!" When the Savior was born, Angels from Heaven, amidst choiring melodies, let fall that supreme benediction, never before vouchsafed to the children of the Human Family, "Peace on earth, and good-will towards men!"

I shall meet all assaults; and show, by careful exposition, that our objects are in no respect visionary,—that the cause of Peace does not depend upon any reconstruction of the human character, or upon

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1. Those of the American Peace Society.

holding in check the general laws of man's being,—but that it deals with man as he is, according to the experience of history,—and, above all, that our immediate and particular aim, the abolition of the Institution of War, and of the whole War System, as *established* Arbitrer of Right in the Commonwealth of Nations, is as practicable as it would be beneficent.

I begin by putting aside questions, often pushed forward, which an accurate analysis shows to be independent of the true issue. Their introduction has perplexed the discussion, by transferring to the great cause of International Peace doubts which do not belong to it.

One of these is the declared right, inherent in each individual, to take the life of an assailant in order to save his own life,—compactly called the *Right of Self-Defence*, usually recognized by philosophers and publicists as founded in Nature and the instincts of men. The exercise of this right is carefully restricted to cases where life itself is in actual jeopardy. No defense of property, no vindication of what is called *personal honor*, justifies this extreme resort. Nor does this right imply the right of attack; for, instead of attacking one another, on account of injuries past or impending, men need only resort to the proper tribunals of justice. There are, however, many most respectable persons, particularly of the denomination of Friends, who believe that the exercise of this right, even thus limited, is in direct contravention of Christian precepts. Their views find faithful utterance in the writings of Jonathan Dymond, of which at least this may be said, that they strengthen and elevate, even if they do not always satisfy, the understanding. "We shall be asked," says Dymond, "Suppose a ruffian breaks into your house, and rushes into your room with his arm lifted to murder you; do you not believe that Christianity allows you to kill him?" This is the last refuge of the cause. Our answer to it is explicit,—*We do not believe it.*" While thus candidly and openly avowing an extreme sentiment of non-resistance, this excellent person is careful to remind the reader that the case of the ruffian does not practically illustrate the true character of War, unless it appears that war is undertaken simply for the preservation of life, when no other alternative remains to a people than to kill or be killed. According to this view, the robber on land who places his pistol at the breast of the traveller, the pirate who threatens life on the high seas, and the riotous disturber of the public peace who puts life in jeopardy at home, cannot be opposed by the sacrifice of life.

Of course all who subscribe to this renunciation of self-defense must join in efforts to abolish the Arbitrament of War. Our appeal

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is to the larger number who make no such application of Christian precepts, who recognize the right of self-defense as belonging to each individual, and who believe in the necessity at times of exercising this right, whether against a robber, a pirate, or a mob.

Another question, closely connected with that of self-defense, is the asserted *Right of Revolt or Revolution*. Shall a people endure political oppression, or the denial of freedom, without resistance? The answer to this question will necessarily affect the rights of three million fellow-citizens held in slavery among us. If such a right unqualifiedly exists,—and sympathy with our fathers, and with the struggles for freedom now agitating Europe, must make us hesitate to question its existence,—then these three millions of fellow-men, into whose souls we thrust the iron of the deadliest bondage the world has yet witnessed, must be justified in resisting to death the power that holds them. A popular writer on ethics, Dr. Paley, has said: It may be as much a duty at one time to resist Government as it is at another to obey it,—to wit, whenever more advantage will in our opinion accrue to the community from resistance than mischief. The lawfulness of resistance, or the lawfulness of a revolt, does not depend alone upon the grievance which is sustained or feared, but also upon the probable expense and event of the contest.” This view distinctly recognized the right of resistance, but limits it by the chance of success, founding it on no higher ground than expediency. A right thus vaguely defined and bounded must be invoked with reluctance and distrust. The lover of peace, while admitting, that, unhappily, in the present state of the world, an exigency for its exercise may arise, must confess the inherent barbarism of such an agency, and admire, even if he cannot entirely adopt, the sentiment of Daniel O’Connell: “Remember that no political change is worth a single crime, or, above all, a single drop of human blood.”

These questions I put aside, not as unimportant, not as unworthy of careful consideration, but as unessential to the cause which I now present. If I am asked—as advocates of Peace are often asked—whether a robber, a pirate, a mob, may be resisted by the sacrifice of life, I answer, that they may be so resisted,—mournfully, necessarily. If I am asked to sympathize with the efforts for freedom now finding vent in rebellion and revolution, I cannot hesitate to say, that, wherever Freedom struggles, wherever Right is, there my sympathies must be. And I believe I speak not only for myself, but for our Society, when I add, that, while it is our constant aim to diffuse those sentiments which promote good-will in all the relations of life, which exhibit the beauty of Peace everywhere, in *national* affairs as well

as international, and while especially recognizing that central truth, the Brotherhood of Man, in whose noonday light all violence among men is dismal and abhorred as among brothers, it is nevertheless no part of our purpose to impeach the right to take life in self-defence or when the public necessity requires, nor to question the justifiableness of resistance to outrage and oppression. On these points there are diversities of opinion among the friends of Peace, which this Society, confining itself to efforts for the overthrow of War, is not constrained to determine.

Waiving, then, these matters, with their perplexities and difficulties, which do not in any respect belong to the cause, I come now to the precise object we hope to accomplish,—*The Abolition of the Institution of War, and of the whole War System, as an established Arbiter of Justice in the Commonwealth of Nations.* In the accurate statement of our aims you will at once perceive the strength of our position. Much is always gained by a clear understanding of the question in issue; and the cause of Peace unquestionably suffers often because it is misrepresented or not fully comprehended. In the hope of removing this difficulty, I shall *first* unfold the character of War and the War System, involving the question of Preparations for War, and the question of a Militia. The way will then be open, in the *second* branch of this Address, for a consideration of the means by which this system can be overthrown. Here I shall exhibit the examples of nations, and the efforts of individuals, constituting the Peace Movement, with the auguries of its triumph, briefly touching, at the close, on our duties to this great cause, and the vanity of Military Glory. In all that I say, I cannot forget that I am addressing a Christian association, for a Christian charity, in a Christian church.

And, first, of *War and the War System in the Commonwealth of Nations.* By the Commonwealth of Nations I understand the Fraternity of Christian Nations recognizing a Common Law in their relations with each other, usually called the Law of Nations. This law, being established by the consent of nations, is not necessarily the law of all nations, but only of such as recognize it. The Europeans and the Orientals often differ with regard to its provisions; nor would it be proper to say, that, at this time, the Ottomans, or the Mahometans in general, or the Chinese, have become parties to it.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing elements of this law are the Law of Nature, the truths of Christianity, the usages of nations, the opinions of publicists, and the written texts or enactments found in diplomatic acts or treaties. In origin

<sup>1</sup>. Since the delivery of this Address, Turkey and China have accepted our Law of Nations.



and growth it is not unlike the various systems of municipal jurisprudence, all of which are referred to kindred sources.

It is often said, in excuse for the allowance of War, that nations are independent, and acknowledge no *common superior*. True, indeed, they are politically independent, and acknowledge no common political sovereign, with power to enforce the law. But they do acknowledge a common superior, of unquestioned influence and authority, whose rules they are bound to obey. This common superior, acknowledged by all, is none other than the Law of Nations, with the Law of Nature as a controlling element. It were superfluous to dwell at length upon opinions of publicists and jurists declaring this supremacy. "The Law of Nature," says Vattel, a classic in this department, "is not less *obligatory* with respect to states, or to men united in political society, than to individuals. An eminent English authority, Lord Stowell, so famous as Sir William Scott, says, "The *Conventional Law of Mankind*, which is evidenced in their practice, *allows* some and *prohibits* other modes of destruction." A recent German jurist says, "A nation associating itself with the general society of nations *thereby recognizes a law common to all nations*, by which its international relations are to be regulated."<sup>1</sup> Lastly, a popular English moralist, whom I have already quoted, and to whom I refer because his name is so familiar, Dr. Paley says, that the principal part of what is called the Law of Nations derives its obligatory character "*simply from the fact of its being established, and the general duty of conforming to established rules* upon questions and between parties where nothing but *positive regulations* can prevent disputes, and where disputes are followed by such destructive consequences."

The Law of Nature is, then, the Supreme Law of the Commonwealth of Nations, governing their relations with each other, determining their reciprocal rights, and sanctioning all remedies for the violation of these rights. To the Commonwealth of Nations this law is what the Constitution and Municipal Law of Massachusetts are to the associate towns and counties composing the State, or what, by apter illustration, the National Constitution of our Union is to the thirty several States which now recognize it as the supreme law.

But the Law of Nations,—and here is a point of infinite importance to the clear understanding of the subject,—while anticipating and providing for controversies between nations, recognizes and

1. Hefftner, Das Europaische Volkerrecht der Gegenwart.

establishes War as final Arbiter. It distinctly says to nations, "If you cannot agree together, then stake your cause upon *Trial by Battle*." The mode of trial thus recognized and established has its own procedure, with rules and regulations, under the name of Laws of War, constituting a branch of International Law. "The Laws of War," says Dr. Paley, "are part of the Law of Nations, and founded, as to their authority, upon the same principle with the rest of that code, namely, upon the fact of their being *established*, no matter when or by whom." Nobody doubts that the Laws of War are established by nations.

It is not uncommon to speak of the *practice* of War, or the *custom* of War,—a term adopted by that devoted friend of Peace, the late Noah Worcester. Its apologists and expounders have called it "a judicial trial,"—"one of the highest trials of right,"—"a process of justice,"—"an appeal for justice,"—"a mode of obtaining rights,"—"a prosecution of rights by force,"—"a mode of condign punishment." I prefer to characterize it as an INSTITUTION, established by the Commonwealth of Nations as Arbiter of Justice. As Slavery is an Institution, growing out of local custom, sanctioned, defined, and established by Municipal Law, so War is an institution, growing out of general custom, sanctioned, defined, and established by the Law of Nations.

Only when we contemplate War in this light can we fully perceive its combined folly and wickedness. Let me bring this home to your minds. Boston and Cambridge are adjoining towns, separated by the River Charles. In the event of controversy between these different jurisdictions, the Municipal Law establishes a judicial tribunal, and not War, as arbiter. Ascending higher, in the event of controversy between two different counties, as between Essex and Middlesex, the same Municipal Law establishes a judicial tribunal, and not War, as arbiter. Ascending yet higher, in the event of controversy between two different States of our Union, the Constitution establishes a judicial tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States, and not War, as arbiter. But now mark: at the next stage there is a change of arbiter. In the event of controversy between two different States of the Commonwealth of Nations, the supreme law establishes, not a judicial tribunal, but War, as arbiter. War is the institution *established* for the determination of justice between nations.

Provisions of the Municipal Law of Massachusetts, and of the National Constitution, are not vain words. To all familiar with our courts it is well known that suits between towns, and likewise between

counties, are often entertained and satisfactorily adjudicated. The records of the Supreme Court of the United States show also that States of the Union habitually refer important controversies to this tribunal. Before this high court is now pending an action of the State of Missouri against the State of Iowa, founded on a question of boundary, where the former claims a section of territory—larger than many Germany principalities—extending along the whole northern border of Missouri, with several miles of breadth, and comprising more than two thousand square miles. Within a short period this same tribunal has decided a similar question between our own State of Massachusetts and our neighbor, Rhode Island,—the latter pertinaciously claiming a section of territory, about three miles broad, on a portion of our southern frontier.

Suppose that in these different cases between towns, counties, states, War had been *established* by the supreme law of arbiter; imagine the disastrous consequences; picture the imperfect justice which must have been the end and fruit of such a contest; and while rejoicing that in these cases we are happily relieved from an alternative so wretched and deplorable, reflect that on a larger theatre, where grander interests are staked, in the relations between nations, under the solemn sanction of the Law of Nations, War is *established* as Arbiter of Justice. Reflect also that a complex and subtile code, known as Laws of War, is established to regulate the resort to this arbiter.

Recognizing the irrational and unchristian character of War as established arbiter between towns, counties, and states, we learn to condemn it as established arbiter between nations. If wrong in one case, it must be wrong in the other. But there is another parallel supplied by history, from which we may form a yet clearer idea: I refer to the system of *Private Wars*, or, more properly, *Petty Wars*, which darkened even the Dark Ages. This must not be confounded with the *Trial by Battle*, although the two were alike in recognizing the sword as Arbiter of Justice. The *right to wage war* (*le droit de guerroyer*) was accorded by the early Municipal Law of European States, particularly of the Continent, to all independent chiefs, however petty, but not to vassals; precisely as the *right to wage war* is now accorded by International Law to all independent states and principalities, however petty, but not to subjects. It was mentioned often among the "liberties" to which independent chiefs were entitled; as it is still recognized by International Law among the "liberties" of independent nations. In proportion as any sovereignty was absorbed in some larger lordship, this offensive *right* or "liberty" gradually

disappeared. In France it prevailed extensively, till at last King John, by an ordinance dated 1361, expressively forbade Petty Wars throughout his kingdom, saying, in excellent words, "We by these presents ordain that all challenges and wars, and all acts of violence against all persons, in all parts whatsoever of our kingdom, shall henceforth cease; and all assemblies, musters, and raids of men-at-arms or archers; and also all pillages, seizures of goods and persons illegally, *vengeances and counter-vengeances*, surprisals and ambuscades . . . . . All which things we will to be kept and observed everywhere without infringement, on pain of incurring our indignation, and of being reputed and held disobedient and rebellious towards us and the crown, and at our mercy in body and goods." It was reserved for that indefatigable king, Louis the Eleventh, while Dauphin, as late as 1451, to make another effort in the same direction, by expressly abrogating one of the "liberties" by Dauphiné, being none other than the *right of war*, immemorially secured to the inhabitants of this province. From these royal ordinances the Commonwealth of Nations might borrow appropriate words, in abrogating forever the Public Wars, or, more properly, the Grand Wars, with their *Vengeances and counter-vengeances*, which are yet sanctioned by International Law among the "liberties" of Christian nations.

At a later day, in Germany, effective measures were taken against the same prevailing evil. Contests there were not confined to feudal lords. Associations of tradesmen, and even of domestics, sent defiance to each other, and even to whole cities, on pretences trivial as those sometimes the occasion of the Grand Wars between nations. There are still extant *Declarations of War* by a Lord of Frauenstein against the free city of Frankfort, because a young lady of the city refused to dance with the uncle of the belligerent,—by the baker and other domestics of the Margrave of Baden against Esslingen, Reutlingen, and other imperial cities,—by the baker of the Count Palatine Louis against the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Rottweil,—by the shoeblocks of the University of Leipsic against the provost and other members,—and, in 1477, by the cook of Eppenstein, with his scullions, dairy-maids, and dish-washers, against Otho, Count of Solms. Finally, in 1495, at the Diet of Worms, so memorable in German annals, the Emperor Maximilian sanctioned an ordinance which proclaimed a permanent Peace throughout Germany, abolished the *right* or "liberty" of Private War, and instituted a Supreme Tribunal, under the ancient name of Imperial Chamber, to which recourse might be had, even by nobles, princes, and states, for the determination of disputes without appeal to the sword.

*Trial by Battle*, or "judicial combat," furnishes the most vivid picture of the Arbitrament of War, beyond even what is found in the system of *Petty Wars*. It was at one period, particularly in France, the universal umpire between private individuals. All causes, criminal and civil, with all the questions incident thereto, were referred to this senseless trial. Not bodily infirmity or old age could exempt a litigant from the hazard of the Battle, even to determine differences of the most trivial import. At last substitutes were allowed, and, as in War, bravoes or champions were hired for wages to enter the lists. The proceedings were conducted gravely according to prescribed forms, which were digested into a system of peculiar subtlety and minuteness,—as War in our day is according to an established code, the Laws of War. Thus do violence, lawlessness, and absurdity shelter themselves beneath the Rule of Law!

The Church, to its honor, early perceived the wickedness of this system. By voices of pious bishops, by ordinances of solemn councils, by anathemas of popes, it condemned whosoever should slay another in a battle so impious and inimical to Christian peace, as "a most wicked homicide and bloody robber;"<sup>1</sup> while it treated the unhappy victim as a volunteer, guilty of his own death, and handed his remains to unhonored burial without psalm or prayer. With sacerdotal supplication it vainly sought the withdrawal of all countenance from this great evil, and the support of the civil power in ecclesiastical censures. To these just efforts let praise and gratitude be offered! Admonitions of the Church and labors of good men slowly prevailed. Proofs by witnesses and by titles were gradually adopted, though opposed by the selfishness of camp followers, subaltern officers, and even of lords, greedy for the fees or wages of combat. In England Trial of Battle was attacked by Henry the Second, striving to substitute Trial by Jury. In France it was expressly forbidden by that illustrious monarch, St. Louis, in an immortal ordinance. At last, this system, so wasteful of life, so barbarous in character, so vain and inefficient as Arbitrator of Justice, yielded to judicial tribunals.

The Trial by Battle is not Roman in origin. It may be traced to the forests of Germany, where the rule prevailed of referring to the sword what at Rome was referred to the praetor; so that a judicial tribunal, when urged upon these barbarians, was regarded as an innovation. The very words of surprise at the German custom are yet applicable to the Arbitrament of War.

An early king of the Lombards, in a formal decree, condemned the Trial by Battle as "impious;" Montesquieu, at a later time, branded

1. Canon XII. Concll. Valent.

it as "monstrous;" and Sir William Blackstone characterized it as "clearly an unchristian, as well as most uncertain, method of trial." In the light of our day all unite in this condemnation. No man hesitates. No man undertakes its apology; nor does any man count as "glory" the feats of arms which it prompted and displayed. But the laws of morals are general, and not special. They apply to communities and to nations, as well as to individuals; not is it possible, by any cunning of logic, or any device of human wit, to distinguish between that domestic institution, the Trial by Battle, established by Municipal Law as arbiter between individuals, and that international institution, the grander Trial by Battle, established by the Christian Commonwealth as arbiter between nations. If the judicial combat was impious, monstrous, and unchristian, then is War impious, monstrous, and unchristian.

I need not dwell on the waste and cruelty thus authorized. Travelling the page of history, these stare us wildly in the face at every turn. We see the desolation and death keeping step with the bloody track; we look upon sacked towns, ravaged territories, violated homes; we behold all the sweet charities of life changed to wormwood and gall. The soul is penetrated by the sharp moan of mothers, sisters, and daughters, of fathers, brothers, and sons, who, in the bitterness of bereavement, refuse to be comforted. The eye rests at last upon one of those fair fields, where Nature, in her abundance, spreads her cloth of gold, spacious and apt for the entertainment of mighty multitudes,—or, perhaps, from curious subtlety of position, like the carpet in Arabian tale, contracting for the accommodation of a few only, or dilating for an innumerable host. Here, under a bright sun, such as shone at Austerlitz or Buena Vista, amidst the peaceful harmonies of Nature, on the Sabbath of Peace, are bands of brothers, children of a common Father, heirs to a common happiness, struggling together in deadly fight,—with madness of fallen spirits, murderously seeking the lives of brothers who never injured them or their kindred. The havoc rages; the ground is soaked with commingling blood; the air is rent by commingling cries; horse and rider are stretched together on the earth. More revolting than mangled victims, gashed limbs, lifeless trunks, spattering brains, are the lawless passions which sweep, tempest-like, through the fiendish tumult.

Horror-struck, we ask, wherefore this hateful contest? The melancholy, but truthful, answer comes, that this is the *established* method of determining justice between nations!

The scene changes. Far away on some distant pathway of the ocean, two ships approach each other, with white canvas broadly

spread to receive the flying gale. They are proudly built. All of human art has been lavished in their graceful proportions and compacted sides, while in dimensions they look like floating happy islands of the sea. A numerous crew, with costly appliances of comfort, hives in their secure shelter. Surely these two travellers must meet in joy and friendship; the flag at mast-head will give the signal of fellowship; the delighted sailors will cluster in rigging and on yard-arms to look each other in the face, while exhilarating voices mingle in accents of gladness uncontrollable. Alas! alas! it is not so. Not as brothers, not as friends, not as wayfarers of the common ocean, do they come together, but as enemies. The closing vessels now bristle fiercely with death-dealing implements. On their spacious decks, aloft on all their masts, flashes the deadly musketry. From their sides spout cataracts of flame, amidst the pealing thunders of a fatal artillery. They who had escaped "the dreadful touch of merchant-marring rocks," who on their long and solitary way had sped unharmed by wind or waves, whom the hurricane had spared, in whose favor storms and seas had intermitted their immitagable war, now at last fall by the hand of each other. From both ships the same spectacle of horror greets us. At length these vessels—such pageants of the sea, such marvels of art, once so stately, but now rudely shattered by cannon-ball, with shivered masts and ragged sails—exist only as unmanageable wrecks, weltering on the uncertain wave, whose transient lull of peace is their sole safety. In amazement at this strange, unnatural contest, away from country and home, where there is no country or home to defend, we ask again, Wherefore this dismal scene? Again the melancholy, but truthful, answer promptly comes, that this is the *established* method of determining justice between nations.

Yes! the barbarous, brutal relations which once prevailed between individuals, which prevailed still longer between communities composing nations, are not yet banished from the great Christian Commonwealth. Religion, reason, humanity, first penetrate the individual, next larger bodies, and, widening in influence, slowly leaven nations. Thus, while condemning the bloody contests of individuals, also of towns, counties, principalities, provinces, and denying to all these the right of *waging war*, or of appeal to *Trial by Battle*, we continue to uphold an atrocious *System* of folly and crime, which is to nations what the System of Petty Wars was to towns, counties, principalities, provinces, also what the Duel was to individuals: for *War is the Duel of Nations*. As from Pluto's throne flowed these terrible rivers, Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, and Phlegethon, with lament-

ing waters and currents of flame, so from this established System flow the direful tides of War. "Give them Hell," was the language written on a slate by an American officer, speechless from approaching death. "Ours is a damnable profession," was the confession of a veteran British general. "War is the trade of barbarians," exclaimed Napoleon, in a moment of truthful remorse, prompted by his bloodiest field. Alas; these words are not too strong. The business of War cannot be other than the trade of barbarians, cannot be other than a damnable profession; and War itself is certainly Hell on earth. But forget not, bear always in mind, and let the idea sink deep into your souls, animating you to constant endeavor, that this trade of barbarians, this damnable profession, is part of the War System, sanctioned by International Law,—and that War itself is Hell, recognized, legalized, established, organized, by the Commonwealth of Nations, for the determination of international questions!

"Put together," says Voltaire, "all the vices of all ages and places, and they will not come up to the mischiefs of one campaign." This strong speech is supported by the story of ancient mythology, that Juno confided the infant Mars to Priapus. Another of nearer truth might be made. Put together all the ills and calamities from the visitations of God, whether in convulsions of Nature, or in pestilence and famine, and they will not equal the ills and calamities inflicted by man upon his brother-man, through the visitation of War,—while, alas! the sufferings of War are too often without the alleviation of those gentle virtues which ever attend the involuntary misfortunes of the race. Where the horse of Attila had been a blade of grass would not grow; but in the footprints of pestilence, famine, and earthquake the kindly charities spring into life.

The last hundred years have witnessed three peculiar visitations of God: first, the earthquake at Lisbon; next, the Asiatic cholera, as it moved slow and ghastly, with scythe of death, from the Delta of the Ganges over Bengal, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Russia, till Europe and America shuddered before the spectral reaper; and, lastly, the recent famine in Ireland, consuming with remorseless rage the population of that ill-starred land. It is impossible to estimate precisely the deadly work of cholera or famine, nor can we picture the miseries which they entailed; but the single brief event of the earthquake may be portrayed in authentic colors.

Lisbon, whose ancient origin is referred by fable to the wanderings of Ulysses, was one of the fairest cities of Europe. From the summit of seven hills it looked down upon the sea, and the bay bordered with cheerful villages,—upon the broad Tagus, expanding into



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a harbor ample of all the navies of Europe,—and upon a country of rare beauty, smiling with the olive and the orange, amidst graceful shadows of the cypress and the elm. A climate offering flowers in winter enhanced the peculiar advantages of position; and a numerous population thronged its narrow and irregular streets. Its forty churches, its palaces, its public edifices, its warehouses, its convents, its fortresses, its citadel, had become a boast. Not by War, not by the hand of man, were these solid structures levelled, and all these delights changed to desolation.

Lisbon, on the morning of November 1, 1755, was taken and sacked by an earthquake. The spacious warehouses were destroyed; the lordly palaces, the massive convents, the impregnable fortresses, with the lofty citadel, were toppled to the ground; and as the affrighted people sought shelter in the churches, they were crushed beneath the falling masses. Twenty thousand persons perished. Fire and robbery mingled with earthquake, and the beautiful city seemed to be obliterated. The nations of Europe were touched by this terrible catastrophe, and succor from all sides was soon offered. Within three months, English vessels appeared in the Tagus, loaded with generous contributions,—twenty thousand pounds in gold, a similar sum in silver, six thousand barrels of salted meat, four thousand barrels of butter, one thousand bags of biscuit, twelve hundred barrels of rice, ten thousand quintals of corn, besides hats, stockings, and shoes.

Such was the desolation, and such the charity, sown by the earthquake at Lisbon,—an event which, after the lapse of nearly a century, still stands without a parallel. But War shakes from its terrible folds all this desolation, without its attendant charity. Nay, more; the Commonwealth of Nations *voluntarily agrees, each with the others*, under the grave sanctions of International Law, to invoke this desolation, in the settlement of controversies among its members, while it expressly declares that all nations, not already parties to the controversy, must abstain from any succor to the unhappy victim. High tribunals are established expressly to uphold this arbitrament, and, with unrelenting severity, to enforce its ancillary injunctions, to the end that no aid, no charity, shall come to revive the sufferers or alleviate the calamity.

It is because men see War, in the darkness of prejudice, only as an agency of attack or defence, or as a desperate sally of wickedness, that they fail to recognize it as a form of judgment, sanctioned and *legalized* by Public Authority. Regarding it in its true character, as an *establishment* of the Commonwealth of Nations, and one of the "liberties" accorded to independent nations, it is no longer the expres-

sion merely of lawless or hasty passion, no longer the necessary incident of imperfect human nature, no longer an unavoidable, uncontrollable volcanic eruption of rage, of *vengeances and counter-vengeances*, knowing no bound; but it becomes a gigantic and monstrous Institution for the adjudication of international rights,—as if an earthquake, or other visitation of God, with its uncounted woes, and without its attendant charities, were legally invoked as Arbiter of Justice.

Surely all must unite in condemning the Arbitrament of War. The simplest may read and comprehend its enormity. Can we yet hesitate? But if War be thus odious, if it be the Duel of Nations, if it be the old surviving Trial of Battle, then must its unquestionable barbarism affect all its incidents, all its machinery, all its enginery, together with all who sanction it, and all who have any part or lot in it,—in fine, the whole vast System. It is impossible, by any discrimination, to separate the component parts. We must regard it as a whole, in its entirety. But half our work is done, if we confine ourselves to a condemnation of the Institution merely. There are all its instruments and agencies, all its adjuncts and accessories, all its furniture and equipage, all its armaments and operations, the whole apparatus of forts, navies, armies, military display, military chaplains, and military sermons,—all together constituting, in connection with the Institution of War, what may be called the WAR SYSTEM. This System we would abolish, believing that religion, humanity, and policy require the establishment of some peaceful means for the administration of international justice, and also *the general disarming of the Christian nations*, to the end that the prodigious expenditures now absorbed by the War System may be applied to purposes of usefulness and beneficence, and that the *business* of the soldier may cease forever.

While earnestly professing this object, I desire again to exclude all question of self-defence, and to affirm the duty of upholding government, and maintaining the supremacy of the law, whether on land or sea. Admitting the necessity of Force for such purpose, *Christianity revolts at Force as the substitute for a judicial tribunal*. The example of the Great Teacher, the practice of the early disciples, the injunctions of self-denial, love, non-resistance to evil,—sometimes supposed to forbid Force in any exigency, even of self-defence,—all these must apply with unquestionable certainty to the established System of War. *Here, at least, there can be no doubt*. If the sword, in the hand of an assaulted individual, may become the instrument of sincere self-defence, if, under the sanction of a judicial tribunal, it may become the instrument of Justice also, *surely it can never be the Arbiter of Justice*. Here is a distinction vital to the cause of Peace,

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and never to be forgotten in presenting its claims. The cautious sword of the magistrate is unlike—or, how unlike!—the ruthless sword of War.

Condemning the War System as barbarous and most wasteful, the token and relic of a society alien to Christian civilization, we except the Navy, so far as necessary in the arrest of pirates, of traffickers in human flesh, and generally in preserving the police of the sea. But it is difficult for the unprejudiced mind to regard the array of fortifications and of standing armies otherwise than as obnoxious to the condemnation aroused by the War System. Fortifications are instruments, and standing armies are hired champions, in the great Duel of Nations.

Here I quit this part of the subject. Sufficient has been said to expose the War System of the Commonwealth of Nations. It stands before us, a colossal image of International Justice, *with the sword, but without the scales*,—like a hideous Mexican idol, besmeared with human blood, and surrounded by the sickening stench of human sacrifice. But this image, which seems to span the continents, while it rears aloft its flashing form of brass and gold, hiding far in the clouds “the round and top of sovereignty,” can be laid low; for its feet are clay.

I come now to the means by which the War System can be overthrown. Here I shall unfold the tendencies and examples of nations, and the sacred efforts of individuals, constituting the Peace Movement, now ready to triumph,—with practical suggestions on our duties to this cause, and a concluding glance at the barbarism of Military Glory. In this review I cannot avoid details incident to a fruitfulness of topics; but I shall try to introduce nothing not bearing directly on the subject.

Civilization now writhes in travail and torment, and asks for liberation from oppressive sway. Like the slave under a weary weight of chains, it raises its exhausted arms, and pleads for the angel Deliverer. And, lo! the beneficent Angel comes,—not like the Grecian God of Day, with vengeful arrows to slay the destructive Python,—not like the Archangel Michael, with potent spear to transfix Satan,—but with words of gentleness and cheer, saying to all nations, and to all children of men, “Ye are all brothers, of *one* flesh, *one* fold, *one* shepherd, children of *one* Father, heirs to *one* happiness. By your own energies, through united fraternal endeavor, will the tyranny of War be overthrown, and its Juggernaut in turn be crushed to earth.”

In this spirit, and with this encouragement, we must labor for that grand and final object, watchword of all ages, the Unity of the

Human Family. Not in benevolence, but in selfishness, has Unity been sought in times past,—not to promote the happiness of all, but to establish the dominion of one. It was the mad lust of power which carried Alexander from conquest to conquest, till he boasted that the whole world was one empire, with the Macedonian phalanx as citadel. The same passion animated Rome, till, at last, while Christ lay in a manger, this single city swayed a broader empire than that of Alexander. The Gospel, in its simple narrative, says, “And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed.” History recalls the exile of Ovid, who, falling under the displeasure of the same emperor, was condemned to close his life in melancholy longings for Rome, far away in Pontus, on the Euxine Sea. With singular significance, these two contemporaneous incidents reveal the universality of Roman dominion, stretching from Britain to Parthia. The mighty empire crumbled, to be reconstructed for a brief moment, in part by Charlemagne, in part by Tamerlane. In our own age, Napoleon made a last effort for Unity founded on Force. And now, from his utterances at St. Helena, the expressed wisdom of his unparalleled experience, comes the remarkable confession, worthy of constant memory: “The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable.” From the sepulchre of Napoleon, now sleeping on the banks of the Seine, surrounded by the trophies of battle, nay, more, from the sepulchres of all these departed empires, may be heard the words, “They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.”

Unity is the longing and tendency of Humanity: not the enforced Unity of military power; not the Unity of might triumphant over right; not the Unity of Inequality; not the Unity which occupied the soul of Dante, when, in his treatise *De Monarchia*, the earliest political work of modern times, he strove to show that all the world belonged to a single ruler, the successor of the Roman Emperor: not these; but the voluntary Unity of nations in fraternal labor; the Unity promised, when it was said, “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus;” the Unity which has filled the delighted vision of good men, prophets, sages, and poets, in times past; the Unity which, in our own age, prompted Béranger, the incomparable lyricist of France, in an immortal ode, to salute the Holy Alliance of the Peoples, summoning them in all lands, and by whatever names they may be called, French, English, Belgian, German, Russian, to give each other the hand, that the useless thunderbolts of War may all be quenched,

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and Peace sow the earth with gold, with flowers, and with corn; the Unity which prompted an early diplomatist and poet to anticipate the time when nations shall meet in Congress,—

“To give each realm its limit and its laws,  
Bid the last breath of dire contention cease,  
And bind all regions in the leagues of Peace;  
Bid one great empire, with extensive sway,  
Spread with the sun, and bound the walks of day,  
One centred system, one all-ruling soul,  
Live through the parts, and regulate the whole;”<sup>1</sup>

the Unity which inspired our contemporary British poet of exquisite genius, Alfred Tennyson, to hail the certain day,—

“When the war-drum throb no longer, and the battle-flags be furled,  
“In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.”

Such is Unity in the bond of Peace. The common good and mutual consent are its enduring base, Justice and Love its animating soul. These alone can give permanence to combinations of men, whether in states or confederacies. Here is the vital elixir of nations, the true philosopher’s stone of divine efficacy to enrich the civilization of mankind. So far as these are neglected or forgotten, will the people, though under one apparent head, fail to be really united. So far as these are regarded, will the people, within the sphere of their influence, constitute one body, and be inspired by one spirit. And just in proportion as these find recognition from individuals and from nations will War be impossible.

Not in vision, nor in promise only, is this Unity discerned. Voluntary associations, confederacies, leagues, coalitions, and congresses of nations, though fugitive and limited in influence, all attest the unsatisfied desires of men solicitous for union, while they foreshadow the means by which it may be permanently accomplished. Of these I may enumerate a few. 1. The *Amphictyonic Council*, embracing at first twelve and finally thirty-one communities, was established about the year 1100 before Christ. Each sent two deputies, and had two votes in the Council, which was empowered to restrain the violence of hostility among the associates. 2. Next comes the *Achaean League*, founded at a very early period, and renewed in the year 281 before Christ. Each member was independent, and yet all

1. Barlow, *Vision of Columbus*, Book IX.

together constituted one inseparable body. So great was the fame of their justice and probity, that the Greek cities of Italy were glad to invite their peaceful arbitration. 3. Passing over other confederacies of Antiquity, I mention next the Hanseatic League, begun in the twelfth century, completed in the middle of the thirteenth, and comprising at one time no less than eighty-five cities. A system of International Law was adopted in their general assemblies, and also *courts of arbitration, to determine controversies among the cities*. The decree of these courts were enforced by placing the condemned city under the ban, a sentence equivalent to excommunication. 4. At a later period, other cities and nobles of Germany entered into alliance and association for mutual protection, under various names, as *the League of the Rhine*, and *the League of Suabia*. 5. To these I add the combination of *Armed Neutrality* in 1780, uniting, in declared support of certain principles, a large cluster of nations,—Russia, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and the United States. 6. And still further, I refer to Congresses at Westphalia, Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Vienna, after the wasteful struggles of War, to arrange terms of Peace and to arbitrate between nations.

These examples, belonging to the Past, reveal tendencies and capacity. Other instances, having the effect of living authority, show practically how the War System may be set aside. There is, first, the Swiss Republic, or Helvetic Union, which, beginning so long ago as 1308, has preserved Peace among its members during the greater part of five centuries. Speaking of this Union, Vattel said, in the middle of the last century, "The Swiss have had the precaution, in all their alliances among themselves, and even in those they have contracted with the neighboring powers, *to agree beforehand on the manner in which their disputes were to be submitted to arbitrators, in case they could not adjust them in an amicable manner.*" And this publicist proceeds to testify that "this wise precaution has not a little contributed to maintain the Helvetic Republic in that flourishing condition which secures its liberty, and renders it respectable throughout Europe." Since these words were written, there have been many changes in the Swiss Constitution; but its present Federal System, established on the downfall of Napoleon, confirmed in 1830, and now embracing twenty-five different States, provides that differences among the States shall be referred to "special arbitration." This is an instructive example.

But, secondly, our own happy country furnishes one yet more so. The United States of America are a National Union of thirty different States,—each having peculiar interests,—in pursuance of a

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Constitution, established in 1788, which not only provides a high tribunal for the adjudication of controversies between the States, but expressly *disarms* the individual States, declaring that "*no State shall, without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.*"

A third example, not unlike that of our own country, is the *Confederation of Germany*, composed of thirty-eight sovereignties, who, by reciprocal stipulation in their Act of Union, on the 8th of June, 1815, deprived each sovereignty of the *right of war* with its confederates. The words of this stipulation, which, like those of the Constitution of the United States, might furnish a model to the Commonwealth of Nations, are as follows: "*The Confederate States likewise engage under no pretext to make war upon one another, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the Diet.* The latter shall endeavor to mediate between the parties by means of a commission. Should this not prove successful, and a judicial decision become necessary, provision shall be made therefor through a well-organized Court of Arbitration, to which the litigants shall submit themselves without appeal."

Such are authentic, well-defined examples. This is not all. It is in the order of Providence, that individuals, families, tribes, and nations should tend, by means of association, to a final Unity. A law of mutual attraction, of affinity, first exerting its influence upon smaller bodies, draws them by degrees into well-established fellowship, and then, continuing its power, fuses the larger bodies into nations; and nations themselves, stirred by this same sleepless energy, are now moving towards that grand system of combined order which will complete the general harmony.

History bears ample testimony to the potency of this attraction. Modern Europe, in its early periods, was filled with petty lordships, or communities constituting so many distinct units, acknowledging only a vague nationality, and maintaining, as we have already seen, the "liberty" to fight with each other. The great nations of our day have grown and matured into their present form by the gradual absorption of these political bodies. Territories, once possessing an equivocal and turbulent independence, feel new power and happiness in peaceful association. Spain, composed of races dissimilar in origin, religion, and government, slowly ascended by progressive combinations among principalities and provinces, till at last, in the fifteenth century, by the crowning union of Castile and Aragon, the whole country with its various sovereignties, was united under one common rule. Ger-

many once consisted of more than three hundred different principalities, each with the *right of war*. These slowly coalesced, forming larger principalities; till at last the whole complex aggregation of states, embracing abbeys, bishoprics, archbishoprics, bailiwicks, counties, duchies, electorates, margraviates, and free imperial cities, was gradually resolved into the present Confederation, where each state expressly renounces the *right of war* with its associates. France has passed through similar changes. By a power of assimilation, in no nation so strongly marked, she has absorbed the various races and sovereignties once filling her territory with violence and conflict, and has converted them all to herself. The Roman or Iberian of Provence, the indomitable Celtic race, the German of Alsace, have all become Frenchmen,—while the various provinces, once inspired by such hostile passions, Brittany and Normandy, Franche-Comté and Burgundy, Gascony and Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, are now blended in one powerful, united nation. Great Britain, too, shows the influence of the same law. The many hostile principalities of England were first merged in the Heptarchy; and these seven kingdoms became *one* under the Saxon Egbert. Wales, forcibly attached to England under Edward the First, at last assimilated with her conqueror; Ireland, after a protracted resistance, was absorbed under Edward the Third, and at a later day, after a series of bitter struggles, was united, I do not say how successfully, under the Imperial Parliament; Scotland was connected with England by the accession of James the First to the throne of the Tudors, and these two countries, which had so often encountered in battle, were joined together under Queen Anne, by an act of peaceful legislation.

Thus has the tendency to Unity predominated over independent sovereignties and states, slowly conducting the constant process of crystallization. This cannot be arrested. The next stage must be the peaceful association of the Christian nations. In this anticipation we but follow analogies of the material creation, as seen in the light of chemical or geological science. Everywhere Nature is busy with combinations, exerting an occult incalculable power, drawing elements into new relations of harmony, uniting molecule with molecule, atom with atom, and, by progressive change, in the lapse of time, producing new structural arrangements. Look still closer, and the analogy continues. At first we detect the operation of cohesion, rudely acting upon particles near together.—then subtler influences, slowly importing regularity of form,—while heat, electricity, and potent chemical affinities conspire in the work. As yet there is only an incomplete body. *Light* now exerts its mysterious powers, and all assumes an



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organized form. So it is with mankind. First appears the rude cohesion of early ages, acting only upon individuals near together. Slowly the work proceeds. But time and space, the great obstructions, if not annihilated, are now subdued, giving free scope to the powerful affinities of civilization. At last, light, thrice holy light, in whose glad beams are knowledge, justice, and beneficence, with empyrean sway will combine those separate and distracted elements into one organized system.

Thus much for examples and tendencies. In harmony with these are *efforts of individuals*, extending through ages, and strengthening with time, till now at last they swell into a voice that must be heard. A rapid glance will show the growth of the cause we have met to welcome. Far off in the writings of the early Fathers we learn the duty and importance of Universal Peace. Here I might accumulate texts, each an authority; while you listened to Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Aquinas. How beautiful it appears in the teachings of St. Augustine! How comprehensive the rules of Aquinas, who spoke with the authority of Philosophy and the Church, when he said, in phrase worthy of constant repetition, that the perfection of joy is Peace! But the rude hoof of War trampled down these sparks of generous truth, destined to flame forth at a later day. In the fifteenth century, *The good Man of Peace* was described in that work of unexampled circulation, translated into all modern tongues, and republished more than a thousand times, "The Imitation of Christ," by Thomas-à-Kempis. At last it obtained a specious advocacy from the throne. Henry the Fourth, of France, with the coöperation of his eminent minister, Sully, conceived the beautiful scheme of blending the Christian nations in one confederacy, with a high tribunal for the decision of controversies between them, and had drawn into his plan Queen Elizabeth, of England. All were arrested by the dagger of Ravallac. This gay and gallant monarch was little penetrated by the divine sentiment of Peace; for at his death he was gathering materials for fresh War; and it is too evident that the scheme of a European Congress was prompted less by comprehensive humanity than by a selfish ambition to humble the House of Austria. Even with this drawback it did great good, by holding aloft before Christendom the exalted idea of a tribunal for the Commonwealth of Nations.

Universal Peace was not to receive thus early the countenance of Government. Meanwhile private efforts began to multiply. Grotius, in his wonderful work on "The Rights of War and Peace," while lavishing learning and genius on the Arbitrament of War, bears testimony in favor of a more rational tribunal. His virtuous nature, wish-

ing to save mankind from the scourge of War, foreshadowed an Amphictyonic Council. "It would be useful, and in some sort necessary," he says,—in language which, if carried out practically, would sweep away the War System and all the *Laws of War*,—"to have Congresses of Christian Powers, where differences might be determined by the judgment of those not interested in them, and means found to constrain parties into acceptance of peace on just conditions." To the discredit of his age, these moderate words, so much in harmony with his other effort for the union of Christian sects, were derided, and the eminent expounder was denounced as rash, visionary, and impracticable.

The sentiment in which they had their origin found other forms of utterance. In Germany, at the close of the Seventeenth Century, as we learn from Leibnitz, who mentions the preceding authority also, a retired general, who had commanded armies, the Landgrave Ernest of Hesse Rhinfels, in a work entitled "The Discreet Catholic," suggested a plan for Perpetual Peace by means of a tribunal established by associate sovereigns. England testified also by William Penn, who adopted and enforced what he called the "great design" of Henry the Fourth. In a work entitled "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe," the enlightened Quaker proposed a Diet, or Sovereign Assembly, into which the princes of Europe should enter, as men enter into society, for the love of peace and order,—that its object should be justice, and that all differences not terminated by embassies should be brought before this tribunal, whose judgment should be so far binding, that, in the event of contumacy, it should be enforced by the united powers. Thus, by writings, as also by illustrious example in Pennsylvania, did Penn show himself the friend of Peace.

These were soon followed in France by the untiring labors of the good Abbé Saint-Pierre,—the most devoted among the apostles of Peace, and not to be confounded with the eloquent and eccentric Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, author of "Paul and Virginia," who, at a later day, beautifully painted the true Fraternity of Nations. Of a genius less artistic and literary, the Abbé consecrated a whole life, crowned with venerable years to the improvement of mankind. There was no humane cause he did not espouse: now it was the poor; now it was education; and now it was to exhibit the grandeur and sacredness of human nature; but he was especially filled with the idea of Universal Peace, and the importance of teaching nations, not less than individuals, the duty of doing as they would be done by. This was his passion, and it was elaborately presented in a work of three volumes,

entitled, "The Project of Perpetual Peace," where he proposes a Diet or Congress of Sovereigns, for the adjudication of international controversies without resort to War. Throughout his voluminous writings he constantly returns to this project, which was a perpetual vision, and records his regret that Newton and Descartes had not devoted their exalted genius to the study and exposition of the laws determining the welfare of men and nations, believing that they might have succeeded in organizing Peace. He dwells often on the beauty of Christian precepts in government, and the true glory of beneficence, while he exposes the vanity of military renown, and does not hesitate to question that false glory which procured for Louis the Fourteenth the undeserved title of Great, echoed by flattering courtiers and a barbarous world. The French language owes to him the word *Bienfaisance*; and D'Alembert said "It was right he should have invented the word who practised so largely the virtue it expresses."

Though thus of benevolence all compact, Saint-Pierre was not the favorite of his age. The pen of La Bruyère wantoned in a petty portrait of personal peculiarities. Many turned the cold shoulder. The French Academy, of which he was a member, took from him his chair, and on the occasion of his death forebore the eulogy which is its customary tribute to a departed academician. But an incomparable genius in Germany,—an authority not to be questioned on any subject upon which he spoke,—the great and universal Leibnitz, bears his testimony to the "Project of Perpetual Peace," and, so doing, enrolls his own prodigious name in the catalogue of our cause. In observations on this Project, communicated to its author, under date of February 7, 1715, while declaring that it is supported by the practical authority of Henry the Fourth, that it justly interests the whole human race, and is not foreign to his own studies, as from youth he had occupied himself with law, and particularly with the Law of Nations, Leibnitz says: "*I have read it with attention, and am persuaded that such a project, on the whole, is feasible, and that its execution would be one of the most useful things in the world. Although my suffrage cannot be of any weight, I have nevertheless thought that gratitude obliged me not to withhold it, and to join some remarks for the satisfaction of a meritorious author, who ought to have much reputation and firmness, to have dared and been able to oppose with success the prejudiced crowd, and the unbridled tongues of mockers.*" Such testimony from Leibnitz must have been grateful to Saint-Pierre.

I cannot close this brief record of a philanthropist, constant in an age when War was more regarded than Humanity, without offer-

ing him an unaffected homage. To this faithful man may be addressed the sublime salutation which hymned from the soul of Milton:—

“Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought  
 The better fight, who single hast maintained  
 Against revolted multitudes the cause  
 Of Truth, in word mightier than they in arms,  
 And for the testimony of truth hast borne  
 . . . . . reproach, far worse to bear  
 Than violence: for this was all thy care,  
 To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds  
 Judged thee perverse.”

Saint-Pierre was followed by that remarkable genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau, in a small work with the modest title, “Extract from the Project of Perpetual Peace by the Abbé Saint-Pierre.” Without referring to those higher motives supplied by humanity, conscience, and religion, for addressing which to sovereigns Saint-Pierre incurred the ridicule of what are called practical statesmen, Rousseau appeals to common sense, and shows how much mere worldly interests would be promoted by submission to the arbitration of an impartial tribunal, rather than to the uncertain issue of arms, with no adequate compensation, even to the victor, for blood and treasure sacrificed. If this project fails, it is not, according to him, because chimerical, but because men have lost their wits, and it is a sort of madness to be wise in the midst of fools. As no scheme more grand, more beautiful, or more useful ever occupied the human mind, so, says Rousseau, no author ever deserved attention more than one proposing the means for its practical adoption; nor can any humane and virtuous man fail to regard it with enthusiasm.

The cause of Saint-Pierre and Rosseau was not without champions in Germany. In 1763 we meet at Göttingen the work of Totze, entitled “Permanent and Universal Peace, according to the Plan of Henry the Fourth;” and in 1767, at Leipsic, an ample and mature treatise by Lilienfeld, under the name of “New Constitution for States.” Truth often appears contemporaneously to different minds having no concert with each other; and the latter work, though in remarkable harmony with Saint-Pierre and Rousseau, is said to have been composed without any knowledge of their labors. Lilienfeld exposes the causes and calamities of War, the waste of armaments in time of Peace, and the miserable chances of the battle-field, where, in defiance of all justice, controversies are determined as by the throw of dice; and he urges submission to Arbitrators, unless, in their wis-

dom, nations establish a Supreme Tribunal with the combined power of the Confederacy to enforce its decrees.

It was the glory of another German, in intellectual preëminence the successor of Leibnitz, to illustrate this cause by special and repeated labors. At Königsberg, in a retired corner of Prussia, away from the great lines of travel, Immanuel Kant consecrated his days to the pursuit of truth. During a long, virtuous, and disinterested life, stretching beyond the period appointed for man,—from 1724 to 1804,—in retirement, undisturbed by shock of revolution of war, never drawn by temptation of travel more than seven German miles from the place of his birth, he assiduously studied books, men, and things. Among the fruits of his ripened powers was that system of philosophy known as the "Critique of Pure Reason," by which he was at once established as a master-mind of his country. His words became the text for writers without number, who vied with each other in expounding, illustrating, or opposing his principles. At this period, after an unprecedented triumph in philosophy, when his name had become familiar wherever his mother-tongue was spoken, and while his rare faculties were yet untouched by decay, in the Indian Summer of life, the great thinker published a work "On Perpetual Peace." Interest in the author, or in the cause, was attested by prompt translations into the French, Danish, and Dutch languages. In an earlier work, entitled "Idea for a General History in a Cosmopolitan View," he espoused the same cause, and at a later day, in his "Metaphysical Elements of Jurisprudence," he renewed his testimony. In the lapse of time the speculations of the philosopher have lost much of their original attraction; other systems, with other names, have taken their place. But these early and faithful labors for Perpetual Peace cannot be forgotten. Perhaps through these the fame of the applauded philosopher of Königsberg may yet be preserved.

By Perpetual Peace Kant understood a condition of nations where there could be no fear of War; and this condition, he said, was demanded by reason, which, abhorring all War, as little adapted to establish right, must regard this final development of the Law of Nations as a consummation worthy of every effort. The philosopher was right in proposing nothing less than a reform of International Law. To this, according to him, all persons, and particularly all rulers, should bend their energies. A special league or treaty should be formed, which may be truly called a *Treaty of Peace*, having this peculiarity, that, whereas other treaties terminate a single existing War only, this should terminate forever all War between the parties to it. A Treaty of Peace, tacitly acknowledging *the right to wage*

*War*, as all treaties now do, is nothing more than a *Truce*, not *Peace*. By these treaties an individual *War* is ended, but not the *state of War*. There may not be constant hostilities; but there will be constant fear of hostilities, with constant threat of aggression and attack. Soldiers and armaments, now nursed as a *Peace* establishment, become the fruitful parent of new wars. With real *Peace*, these would be abandoned. Nor should nations hesitate to bow before the *law*, like individuals. They must form one comprehensive federation, which, by the aggregation of other nations, would at last embrace the whole earth. And this, according to Kant, in the succession of years, by a sure progress, is the irresistible tendency of nations. To this end nations must be truly independent; nor is it possible for one nation to acquire another independent nation, whether by inheritance, exchange, purchase, or gift. A nation is not property. The philosophy of Kant, therefore, contemplated not only *Universal Peace*, but *Universal Liberty*. The first article of the great treaty would be, that every nation is free.

These important conclusions found immediate support from another German philosopher; Fichte, of remarkable acuteness and perfect devotion to truth, whose name, in his own day, awakened an echo inferior only to that of Kant. In his "Groundwork of the Law of Nature," published in 1796, he urges a Federation of Nations, with a Supreme Tribunal, as the best way of securing the triumph of justice, and of subduing the power of the unjust. To the suggestion, that by this Federation injustice might be done, he replied, that it would not be easy to find any common advantage tempting the confederate nations to do this wrong.

The subject was again treated in 1804, by a learned German, Karl Schwab, whose work, entitled "Of Unavoidable Injustice," deserves notice for practical clearness and directness. Nothing could be better than his idea of the Universal State, where nations will be united, as citizens in the Municipal State; nor have the promises of the Future been more carefully presented. He sees clearly, that, even when this triumph of civilization is won, justice between nations will not be always inviolate,—for, unhappily, between citizens it is not always so; but, whatever may be the exceptions, it will become the general rule. As in the Municipal State *War* no longer prevails, but offences, wrongs, and sallies of vengeance often proceed from individual citizens, with subordination and anarchy sometimes,—so in the Universal State *War* will no longer prevail; but here also, between the different nations, who will be as citizens in the Federation, there may be wrongs and aggressions, with resistance even to the common power.

In short, the Universal State will be subject to the same accidents as the Municipal State.

The cause of Permanent Peace became a thesis for Universities. At Stuttgart, in 1796, there was an oration by J. H. La Motte, entitled *Utrum Pax Perpetua pangi possit, nec ne?* And at Leyden, in 1808, there was a dissertation by Gabinus de Wal, on taking his degree as Doctor of Laws, entitled *Disputatio Philosophico-Juridica de Conjunctione Populorum ad Pacem Perpetuam*. This learned and elaborate performance, after reviewing previous efforts in the cause, accords a preëminence to Kant. Such a voice from the University is the token of a growing sentiment, and an example for the youth of our day.

Meanwhile in England the cause was espoused by that indefatigable jurist and reformer, Jeremy Bentham, who embraced it in his comprehensive labors. In an Essay on International Law, bearing date 1786-89, and first published in 1839, by his executor, Dr. Bowring, he developed a plan for Universal and Perpetual Peace in the spirit of Saint-Pierre. Such, according to him, is the extreme folly, the madness, of War, that on no supposition can it be otherwise than mischievous. All Trade, in essence, is advantageous, even to the party who profits by it the least; all War, in essence, is ruinous; and yet the great employments of Government are to treasure up occasions of War, and to put fetters upon Trade. To remedy this evil, Bentham proposes, first, "The reduction and fixation of the forces of the several nations that compose the European system;" and in enforcing this proposition, he says: "Whatsoever nation should get the start of the other in making the proposal to reduce and fix the amount of its armed force would crown itself with everlasting honor. The risk would be nothing, the gain certain. This gain would be the giving an incontrovertible demonstration of its own disposition to peace, and of the opposite disposition in the other nation, in case of its rejecting the proposal." He next proposes an International Court of Judicature, with power to report its opinion, and to circulate it in each nation, and, after a certain delay, to put a contumacious nation under the ban. He denies that this system can be styled visionary in any respect: for it is proved, *first*, that it is the interest of the parties concerned; *secondly*, that the parties are already sensible of this interest; and, *thirdly*, that, enlightened by diplomatic experience in difficult and complicated conventions, they are prepared for the new situation. All this is sober and practical.

Coming to our own country, I find many names for commemoration. No person, in all history, has borne his testimony in phrases of greater pungency or more convincing truth than Benjamin Franklin.

"In my opinion," he says, "there never was a good War or a bad Peace;" and he asks, "When will mankind be convinced that all Wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other." Then again he says: "We make daily great improvements in natural, there is one I wish to see in moral philosophy,—the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this?" As diplomatist, Franklin strove to limit the evils of War. To him, while Minister at Paris, belongs the honor of those instructions, more glorious for the American name than any battle, where our naval cruisers, among whom was the redoubtable Paul Jones, were directed, in the interest of universal science, to allow a free and undisturbed passage to the returning expedition of Captain Cook, the great circumnavigator, who "steered Britain's oak into a world unknown." To him also belongs the honor of introducing into a treaty with Prussia a provision for the abolition of that special scandal, Private War on the Ocean. In similar strain with Franklin, Jefferson says: "Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than Force? . . . . . War is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong; it multiplies, instead of indemnifying losses." And he proceeds to exhibit the waste of War, and the beneficent consequences, if its expenditures could be diverted to purposes of practical utility.

To Franklin especially must thanks be rendered for authoritative words and a precious example. But there are three names, fit successors of Saint-Pierre,—I speak only of those on whose career is the seal of death,—which even more than his deserve affectionate regard. I refer to Noah Worcester, William Ellery Channing, and William Ladd. To dwell on the services of these our virtuous champions would be a grateful task. The occasion allows a passing notice only.

In Worcester we behold the single-minded country clergyman, little gifted as a preacher, with narrow means,—and his example teaches what such a character may accomplish,—in humble retirement, pained by the reports of War, and at last, as the protracted drama of battles was about to close at Waterloo, publishing that appeal, entitled "A Solemn Review of the *Custom* of War," which has been so extensively circulated at home and abroad, and has done so much to correct the inveterate prejudices which surround the cause. He was the



founder, and for some time the indefatigable agent, of the earliest Peace Society in the country.

The eloquence of Channing was often, both with tongue and pen, directed against War. He was heart-struck by the awful degradation it caused, rudely blotted out in men the image of God their Father; and his words of flame have lighted in many souls those exterminating fires that can never die, until this evil is swept from the earth.

William Ladd, after completing his education at Harvard University, engaged in commercial pursuits. Early, through his own exertions, blessed with competency, he could not be idle. He was childless; and his affections embraced all the children of the human family. Like Worcester and Channing, his attention was arrested by the portentous crime of War, and he was moved to dedicate the remainder of his days to earnest, untiring effort for its abolition,—going from place to place inculcating the lesson of Peace, with simple, cheerful manner winning the hearts of good men, and dropping in many youthful souls precious seeds to ripen in more precious fruit. He was the founder of the American Peace Society, in which was finally merged the earlier association established by Worcester. By a long series of practical labors, and especially by developing, maturing, and publishing the plan of an International Congress, has William Ladd enrolled himself among the benefactors of mankind.

Such are some of the names which hereafter, when the warrior no longer usurps the blessings promised to the peacemaker, will be inscribed on immortal tablets.

From increasing knowledge of each other, and from a higher sense of duty as brethren of the Human Family, arises among mankind an increasing interest in each other; and charity, once, like patriotism, exclusively national, is beginning to clasp the world in its embrace. Every discovery of science, every aspiration of philanthropy, are no longer municipal merely, but welcome delegates from all the nations. Science has convened Congresses in Italy, Germany, and England. Great causes, grander even than Science,—like Temperance, Freedom, Peace,—have drawn to London large bodies of men from different countries, under the title of *World Conventions*, in whose very name and spirit of fraternity we discern the prevailing tendency. Such a convention, dedicated to Universal Peace, held at London in 1843, was graced by many well known for labors of humanity. At Frankfort, in 1846, was assembled a large Congress from all parts of Europe, to consider what could be done for those in prison. The succeeding year witnessed, at Brussels, another Congress, inspired by the presence of a generous American, Elihu Burritt,—who has left

his anvil at home to teach the nations how to change their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks,—presided over by an eminent Belgian magistrate, and composed of numerous individuals, speaking various languages, living under diverse forms of government, various in political opinions, differing in religious convictions, but all moved by a common sentiment to seek the abolition of War, and the Disarming of the Nations.

The Peace Congress at Brussels constitutes an epoch. It is a palpable development of these international attractions and affinities which now await their final organization. The resolutions it adopted are so important that I cannot hesitate to introduce them.

“1. That, in the judgment of this Congress, an appeal to arms for the purpose of deciding disputes among nations is a custom condemned alike by religion, reason, justice, humanity, and the best interests of the people,—and that, therefore, it considers it to be the duty of the civilized world to adopt measures calculated to affect its entire abolition.

“2. That it is of the highest importance to urge on the several governments of Europe and America the necessity of introducing a clause into all International Treaties, providing for the settlement of all disputes by Arbitration, in an amicable manner, and according to the rules of justice and equity, by special Arbitrators, or a Supreme International Court, to be invested with power to decide in cases of necessity, as a last resort.

“3. That the speedy convocation of a Congress of Nations, composed of duly appointed representatives, for the purpose of framing a well-digested and authoritative International Code, is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as the organization of such a body, and the unanimous adoption of such a Code, would be an effectual means of promoting Universal Peace.

“4. That this Congress respectfully calls the attention of civilized governments to the necessity of a general and simultaneous disarmament, as a means whereby they may greatly diminish the financial burdens which press upon them, remove a fertile cause of irritation and inquietude, inspire mutual confidence, and promote the interchange of good offices, which, while they advance the interests of each state in particular, contribute largely to the maintainance of general Peace, and the lasting prosperity of nations.”

In France these resolutions received the adhesion of Lamartine, —in England, of Richard Cobden. They have been welcomed throughout Great Britain, by large and enthusiastic popular assemblies, hanging with delight upon the practical lessons of peace on earth and good-

## THE WAR SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

will to men. At the suggestion of the Congress at Brussels, and in harmony with the demands of an increasing public sentiment, another Congress is called at Paris, in the approaching month of August. The place of meeting is auspicious. There, as in the very cave of Aeolus, whence have so often raged forth conflicting winds and resounding tempests, are to gather delegates from various nations, including a large number from our own country whose glad work will be to hush and imprison these winds and tempests, and to bind them in the chains of everlasting Peace. Not in voluntary assemblies only has our cause found welcome. Into legislative halls it has made its way. A document now before me, in the handwriting of Samuel Adams, an approved patriot of the Revolution, bears witness to his desire for action on this subject in the Congress of the United States. It is in the form of a Letter of Instructions from the Legislature of Massachusetts to the delegates in Congress of this State, and, though without date, seems to have been prepared some time between the Treaty of Peace in 1783 and the adoption of the National Constitution in 1789. It is as follows.

“GENTLEMEN,—Although the General Court have lately instructed you concerning various matters of very great importance to this Commonwealth, they cannot finish the business of the year until they have transmitted to you a further instruction, which they have long had in contemplation, and which, if their most ardent wish could be obtained, might in its consequences extensively promote the happiness of man.

“You are, therefore, hereby instructed and urged to move the United States in Congress assembled to take into their deep and most serious consideration, whether any measures can by them be used, through their influence with such of the nations in Europe with whom they are united by Treaties of Amity or Commerce, that National Differences may be settled and determined without the necessity of WAR, in which the world has too long been deluged, to the destruction of human happiness and the disgrace of human reason and government.

“If, after the most mature deliberation, it shall appear that no measures can be taken *at present* on this very interesting subject, it is conceived it would redound much to the honor of the United States that it was attended to by their Representative in Congress, and be accepted as a testimony of gratitude for most signal favors granted to the said States by Him who is the almighty and most gracious Father and Friend of mankind.

“And you are further instructed to move that the foregoing Letter

of Instructions be entered on the Journals of Congress, if it may be thought proper, that so it may remain for the inspection of the delegates from this Commonwealth, if necessary, in any *future* time."

I am not able to ascertain whether this document ever became a legislative act; but unquestionably it attests, in authentic form, that a great leader in Massachusetts, after the establishment of that Independence for which he had so assiduously labored, hoped to enlist not only the Legislature of his State, but the Congress of the United States, in efforts for the emancipation of nations from the tyranny of War. For this early effort, when the cause of Permanent Peace had never been introduced to any legislative body, Samuel Adams deserved grateful mention.

The Legislature of Massachusetts, by a series of resolutions, in harmony with the early sentiments of Samuel Adams, adopted, in 1844, with exceeding unanimity, declare, that they "regard Arbitration as a practical and desirable substitute for War, in the adjustment of international differences;" and still further declare their "earnest desire that the government of the United States would, at the earliest opportunity, take measures for obtaining the consent of the powers of Christendom to the establishment of a general Convention or Congress of Nations, for the purpose of settling the principles of International Law, and of organizing a High Court of Nations to adjudge all cases of difficulty which may be brought before them by the mutual consent of two or more nations." During the winter of 1849 the subject was again presented to the American Congress by Mr. Tuck, who asked the unanimous consent of the House of Representatives to offer the following preamble and resolution:—

"Whereas the evils of War are acknowledged by all civilized nations, and the calamities, individual and general, which are inseparably connected with it, have attracted the attention of many humane and enlightened citizens of this and other countries; and whereas it is the disposition of the people of the United States to coöperate with others in all appropriate and judicious exertions to prevent a recurrence of national conflicts; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be directed to inquire into the expediency of authorizing a correspondence to be opened by the Secretary of State with Foreign Governments, on the subject of procuring Treaty stipulations for the reference of all future disputes to a friendly Arbitration, or for the establishment, instead thereof, of a Congress of Nations, to determine International Law and settle international disputes."

Almost contemporaneously, M. Bouvet, in the National Assembly

THE WAR SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

of France, submitted a proposition of a similar character, as follows:—

“Seeing that War between nations is contrary to religion, humanity, and the public well-being, the French National Assembly decrees:—

“The French Republic proposes to the Governments and Representative Assemblies of the different States of Europe, America, and other civilized countries, to unite, by their representation, in a Congress which shall have for its object a proportional disarmament among the Powers, the abolition of War, and a substitution for that barbarous usage of an Arbitral jurisdiction, of which the said Congress shall immediately fulfil the functions.”

At a still earlier date, some time in the summer of 1848, Arnold Ruge brought the same measure before the German Parliament at Frankfort, by moving the following amendment to the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs:—

“That, as Armed Peace, by its standing armies, imposes an intolerable burden upon the people of Europe, and endangers civil freedom, we therefore recognize the necessity of calling into existence a Congress of Nations, for the purpose of affecting a general disarmament of Europe.”

In the British Parliament the cause has found an able representative in Mr. Cobden, whose name is an omen of success. He has addressed many large popular meetings in its behalf, and already, by speech and motion in the House of Commons, has striven for a reduction in the armaments of Great Britain. Only lately he gave notice of the following motion, which he intends to call up in that assembly at the earliest moment:—

“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct her Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to enter into communication with Foreign Powers, inviting them to concur in treaties binding the respective parties, in the event of any future misunderstanding which cannot be arranged by amicable negotiation, to refer the matter in dispute to the decision of Arbitrators.”

*To be continued*





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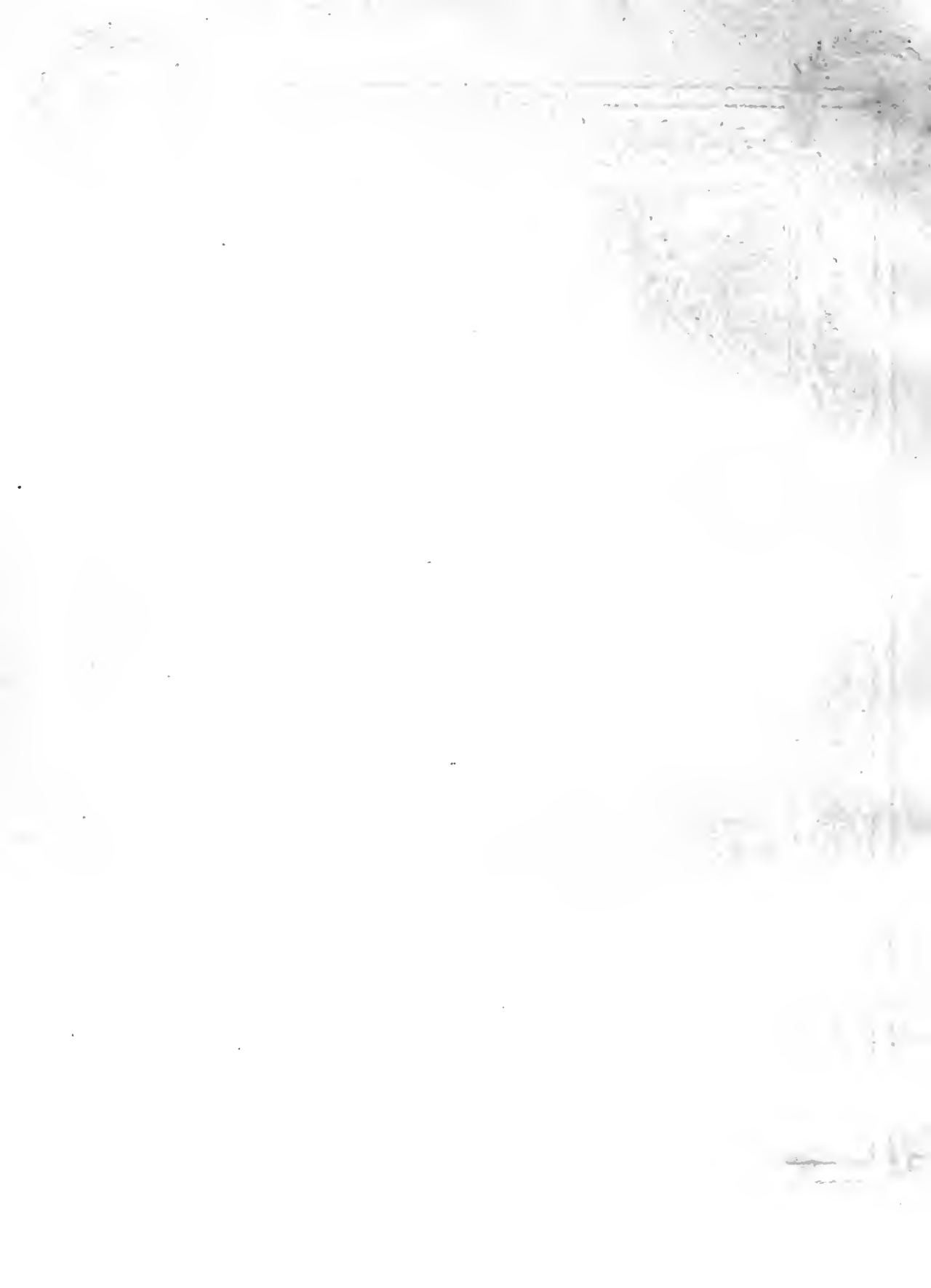
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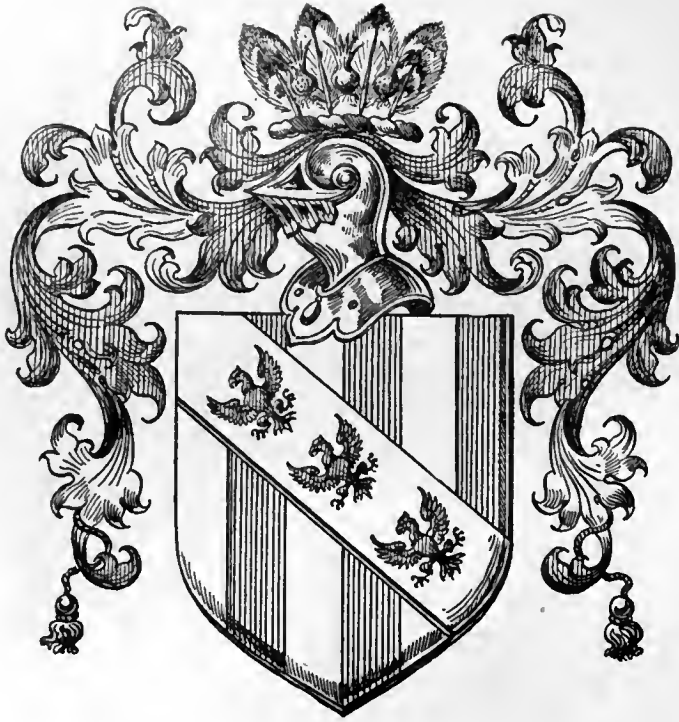
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✦ MEADE ✦



• LANGFORD •





• FLOURNOY •

## The Pictures of Old Providence, Rhode Island



IN THIS NUMBER OF THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY HAVE BEEN PRODUCED TEN OF THE EXQUISITE, DELICATE-TINTED WATER-COLORS WHICH EDWARD LEWIS PECKHAM PAINTED OF PROVIDENCE BEFORE 1850.

READERS OF THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY WILL REMEMBER WITH PLEASURE THE TWENTY-SEVEN OTHER REPRODUCTIONS OF THIS ARTIST'S WORK WHICH APPEARED IN VOLUME VI AND VOLUME VII OF THE MAGAZINE. THESE WERE MADE FROM HIS WATER-COLORS AND FROM DRAWINGS IN SEPIA AND INDIA INK, AND THEY WERE SHOWN IN THE JOURNAL AS COLOR-ENGRAVINGS AND ENGRAVINGS IN SEPIA AND BLACK-AND WHITE.

EDWARD LEWIS PECKHAM PAINTED, IN THE EIGHTEEN-THIRTIES AND THE EIGHTEEN-FORTIES, THE PROVIDENCE OF THE OLDEN TIME, STILL REMINISCENT OF THE PROVIDENCE OF COLONY DAYS—A VILLAGE-TOWN RATHER THAN A CITY IN TYPE, WITH A CHARMING COUNTRYSIDE COMING CLOSE TO AND MINGLING WITH THE STATELY OLD MANSIONS AND THE STREETS EVEN THEN BUSY WITH THE LIFE AND INDUSTRY THAT WERE TO MAKE THE PROVIDENCE OF TO-DAY,—THE SECOND RANKING CITY OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE ORIGINALS OF THE PROVIDENCE PRINTS WERE LEFT BY EDWARD LEWIS PECKHAM TO THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND IT WAS THROUGH THE COURTESY OF THIS SOCIETY THAT THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY WAS PRIVILEGED TO REPRODUCE THEM.

LION SHORE, PROVIDENCE BAY

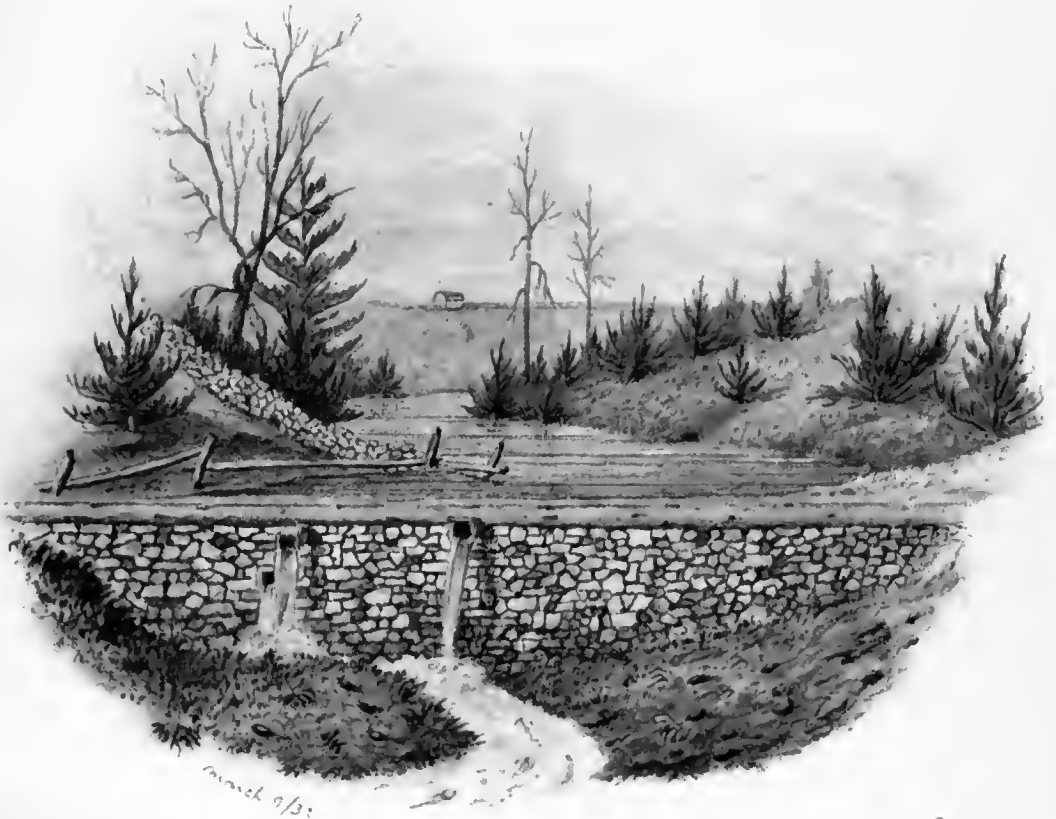








THE OBSERVATORY AND PART OF BAKERS POND



March 9/31

FURNACE POND









"THE HOLLOW"

# The Journal of American History

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NUMBER 2  
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## The Chinese Commercial Commission to the United States



AN historic event of the greatest importance, will be chronicled in our political and business annals the visit to the United States, in May, 1915, of the Chinese Commercial Commission. A voluntary association, Chinese gentlemen of high repute in their own land, eighteen came to this country for the development of relations in trade and finance, and for the establishment of a merchant marine to connect China with our ports on the Atlantic coast and on the Gulf of Mexico, *via* the Panama Canal.

Under the auspices of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, they visited many American cities and conferred with our most eminent financiers and merchants. Everywhere was emphasized the spirit of friendly co-operation existing between China, —the youngest Republic but one of the most ancient of nations,— and the United States,—with but one hundred and thirty-nine years of nationhood, but the Republic-Type of the world.

The Commission was conducted in its tour of this country by C. B. Yandell, Executive Secretary of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, and Chairman of the Special Committee on Arrangements of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast.

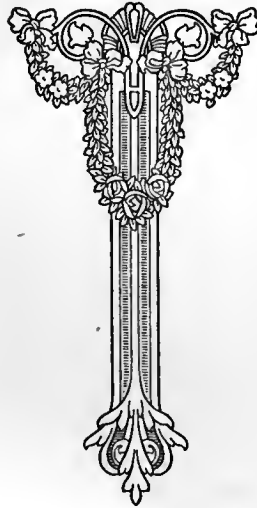
The Chairman of the Commission was Cheng Hsun Chang, one of the most eminent merchants in China, who is also a distinguished member of the National Council of Peking. His business enterprises have branches outside of China, in Java, Sumatra, and the Straits Settlements. He is a representative of the Canton Chamber of Commerce.

The other members of the Commission were as follows: Vice-Chairman, Chi Cheh Nieh, representative of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai, proprietor of the Heng Foong Cotton Manufacturing Company, and Director of the Cotton Mills Owners' Association; Honorary Secretary, David Z. T. Yui, Executive Secretary of the Lecture Department, National Committee, Young Men's Christian Association of China; Limpak Cham, proprietor of the Ceong Chan Exporting Raw Silk Company; Sheng Chen, representative of the Chamber of Commerce and the Shanghai Nanking Railway, manufacturer of lacquer ware and cloisonné; Yenpei Huang, Vice-President of the Educational Association of Kiangsu Province, and Ex-Commissioner of Education; Singming Kung, Director of the Hui Chang Machine Manufacturing Company, Shanghai; James H. Lee, importer and exporter of electrical appliances; Huan Yi Liang, mine owner, and President of the Government lead mines; Chachsin Pian, representative of the Chamber of Commerce, Tientsin, and a cotton merchant; Kuanlan Sun, Manager of the Tung Hai Agricultural Company; S. C. Thomas Sze, coal merchant, and Assistant General Manager of the Kailan Mining Administration, Tientsin; Kwong Wong, ship-builder, and President and Manager of the Yantse Engineering Works, Hankow; Chaichang Woo, Senior Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Peking; S. T. K. Woo, Superintendent of the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works; Chia Yu, embroidery merchant, and founder of the Fouciou Embroidery Institute; Soochow Hsieh Yu, Director of the Huichow Tea Trade Union, Shanghai; B. Atwood Robinson, American Honorary Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and Ministry of Finance, and President of the Chinese-American Company.

Three other Chinese gentlemen accompanied the Commission as personal secretaries: Yingming Chang, Mingtuan Siao, and Antung Kung.

THE CHINESE COMMERCIAL COMMISSION

Americans in the party were: E. T. Williams, of the State Department, E. C. Porter, of the Department of Commerce, Warren Manley, special representative of the National Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Porter, and Mrs. Robinson.



# China's J. Pierpont Morgan on China's Present Relations with Japan

An Interview with the Chairman of the Chinese Commercial Commission by Mr. Edward Marshall of The New York Times, Reproduced in The Journal of American History, through the Courtesy of The Times, for the Attention of the American People, and as a Permanent Chronicling of What China's Crisis Means to One of China's Greatest Citizens



WO things were emphasized in what Cheng Hsun Chang, the leader of the distinguished Oriental party which is visiting this country, said to me when I asked him to explain China's situation.

One was that the most populous nation in the world lies prostrate, at the mercy of Japanese exploitation, and the other is that this—now—is the opportunity of the United States to gain trade and influence in the Far East.

Cheng Hsun Chang is qualified to speak with wisdom. Besides being at the head of the Chinese Trade Commission to the United States, he is a State Councilor; he possesses the decoration of the Second Order of "Chi Ho;" he is the senior adviser to the Chinese Governmental Board of Agriculture and Commerce; he was China's special delegate to investigate commerce in the Straits Settlements, and he is the High Commissioner for the Preparation for the Opening of Chinese Interior Ports. He is known as China's J. Pierpont Morgan.

My first question was: "Would China, the newest of the world's great Republics, welcome at this crisis in her history the assistance of the United States, the oldest?"

"Heartily," was the reply. "We have taken your Republic as our model in fashioning our own. In every way we have endeavored to copy your efficient Government.

"We feel that by thus giving us a model by which we may profit you have done us a great service. We earnestly desire that you will

do us many other services—that you will consider us your protégé, as in truth we are.

“It has been the ‘open door’ policy of the United States which has done more than anything else to protect us; it is to that policy that we confidently look for further protection now, when we need help more than ever we have needed help before.”

“The extraordinary demands which have been made of our unfortunate nation by Japan since we have been absent from Peking made American friendship and support far more important to us more than ever we have needed help before.

“We are in a terrible position. We never have been a warlike nation. We are, upon the contrary, the most peaceful people in the world.

“If Japan’s stipulations, as published in *The Times*, April 1, are accurately given, there seems to be but little hope for us.

“Japan’s demands amount to a declaration that China must become a subject State. She does not openly call for annexation, but in reality she asks more than the abrogation of Chinese independence. The fulfillment of her demands would mean that China would have but one right left—that to labor—and all her labor would be for Japan’s benefit.

“She asks for police control, for military control and for business control; she asks for what would amount to a monopoly in the development, for Japan’s and not for China’s profit, of China’s natural resources, transportation and manufacturing.

“She asks for everything, intending to give in return but one thing, a government which would be autocratic, without disguise, and which would be not only unwelcome but humiliating to China.

“Thus is China likely to be the greatest victim of the European war, for it is only Japan’s service as an ally of England which puts her into a position allowing her to dare to ask such things.

“The interest of the United States in these demands should be intense, it seems to me. If they are enforced, where, then, would be your ‘open door policy’? Destroyed. For with Japan in control, as she frankly plans control, opportunities in China will be open only to the Japanese. Is not this vital to you?

“Similar demands made by Japan before the beginning of the European war instantly would have been the subject of effective protest by Great Britain. When we were in San Francisco and first learned of the demands we received from reliable sources assurances that Great Britain and our own Ministers would come promptly out in a joint statement demanding modifications.

"But what can Great Britain do? She is fighting for her life and in that fight Japan is her ally. We have been hoping daily to learn that the British demand had been made. But we are losing hope. In the past Great Britain always has been fair. China trusts her. The Chinese trust her people. But what can they do now?"

"If England cannot demand a modification and America does not demand a modification, it is hard to see whence salvation can come for China. No other country in the world is in a position to do anything whatever for us.

"The situation seems to make China's greatest disaster inevitable unless America assists us.

"It is possible, of course, that Great Britain may realize the grim necessity of coming to our aid, even though she be involved in the vast European war, with Japan as an ally. As a matter of fact, if something is not done to check Japan, Great Britain will lose more in the Far East than she stands to lose in Europe, at the worst which is conceivable, as the result of the conflict with Germany.

"I believe, and all thinking China believes, that possibly Great Britain may have paid too high a price for the assistance of Japan.

"For Japan to take advantage of the present crisis in Europe as an opportunity for the enslavement of China in the moment of her weakness has not been an honest nor an admirable course in any way. No nation ever did a more terrible thing.

"In principle, her course is not unlike the assault of a strong man upon a child of three, for China, as a republic, is but a child of three, just learning how to walk. It would have been the better and more generous course if Japan had helped us. Nations have been generous. The United States was generous with Cuba, for example.

"But instead of helping us she is making plans to throttle us, to prevent us from growth.

"I have no opinion, pro or con, to express as to the course which Germany has taken in the war which now ravages Europe, but Japan's militarism is modeled upon that of the Germans, as the Japanese Army has been trained by Germans.

"Consider the Tsing-tao episode and other events of the war, and see if Japan has not been in other ways than in mere military drill the apt pupil of her instructor. And does not this episode indicate the moral character of the Japanese? It seems to me that it must do so to all thoughtful minds."

"If England loses in the war, what will it mean for China?" I inquired.

"I hate to speculate on a contingency so terrible.



## CHINA'S PRESENT RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

"If she wins, then, with Japan as an ally, will she not feel that she must pay for Japan's service by keeping her hands off Japan's Far Eastern policies?" I asked.

"I cannot think that possible. Japan easily might demand it of her, but England never would consent to such a course.

"Certainly there is the possibility that a secret agreement between Japan and England preceded Japan's entrance into the war upon the side of the Allies, but we cannot believe that even a secret agreement would impel England to accept such a situation as is outlined in Japan's demands.

"Nearly all of these demands are detrimental to England's interests in the Far East, exactly as they are detrimental to your interests there and to every one's except Japan's.

"Having accepted Japan's help, she finds herself under a great disadvantage, of course—and she must protect her India at all hazards. It is obvious that India is more important to her than China can be. She must be very careful. If China suffers, perhaps all she can do will be to feel sorry."

"Is China capable of self-government now?" I asked.

"Of course she is. She is the oldest of the world's civilized nations and much more civilized than Japan. We eat from tables, as we sit on chairs, while Japan still sits upon the floor and eats from mats upon the floor."

"If your civilization is so much superior to that of Japan; how comes it that Japan has grown to be so much more powerful than you are?" I asked.

"That is due to the fact that the Chinese, like the Americans, are a peace-loving people. We have wished to live our own lives in our own way and have never kept a great army and a great navy ready to invade other countries.

"But Japan has become military. She has had to, for she has placed herself under the necessity of being predatory. She has been like a poor family which lives on the scale which only a rich family should affect.

"She has spent more than she has had, in order to create and maintain her militarism, and so finds herself unable to exist upon the product of her own natural resources, which is not very large.

"That army and that navy which Japan has created must be supported in some way. So she chooses to use them wickedly as a means wherewith to coerce poor China, making her pay the great bills of their expense. Japan, in other words, is like a man with a

pistol coming upon an unarmed and unsuspecting person and demanding his fortune.

"Although she is an ally of England, she has copied Germany, which has been less fair than England to China. Did she not take Tsing-tao without fair payment therefor? She had no right to take Tsing-tao, even with a payment, without consent from China, and that she never had, save under duress.

"But even this was less unfair than some of the methods which the Japanese have followed in their dealings with China. They have been high-handed to an extent which it is difficult to exaggerate.

"Let us consider some of the Japanese demands, as they were given in *The Times*.

"All rights now possessed by the German Government in Shantung must be transferred to Japan. This is making a German conquest into a Japanese conquest.

"Japan must be permitted to build such railways as she pleases. The Port Arthur lease and the Antung-Mukden Railway lease must be extended to the period of ninety-nine years.

"Japanese subjects must be permitted in South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia and must have the right to lease or own land for manufacturing contrary to existing and, in the circumstances, necessary laws.

"I must explain the necessity for the prevention of foreign ownership or long leases of Chinese land. The Chinese are a frugal people, and, as individuals, not rich. Chinese money is of small denominations. Foreign gold will buy much of it. Land is held at prices so low that they amaze Europeans and Americans.

"If foreigners, with their great comparative wealth, were permitted to buy Chinese land, Chinese individuals, tempted by what would seem to be large payments, would sell out instantly. The foreigners would soon own all the land.

"Then the population would become a tenant people. This soon might mean something akin to the peonage which so distressed Mexico and always has meant national disaster wherever it has been tried.

"The 'right to work mines,' another of the Japanese demands, would soon result in a great Japanese monopoly.

"No foreign loans could be secured for railroad building in South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia if these demands should be enforced, without Japanese consent. No foreign loans could be secured by taxes there without Japanese consent. No advisers or instructors

for political, financial, or military purposes could be employed without Japanese consent.

"And so the demands go. I cannot now recapitulate them all. They reach a climax in that Article 1, of Group V., which declares that the 'Chinese Government shall employ forceful Japanese as advisers in political, financial, and military affairs.'

"What would this mean but complete tyranny, under a less offensive name? Even the Chinese police are to be 'organized and improved' by Japanese. What would that mean but petty local and greater national tyrannies? Every question, large or small, would be settled to the satisfaction of the Japanese, not in accordance, necessarily, with justice.

"No independence whatsoever is left to China by these various demands and others which I have not enumerated. They reduce her to the status of a subject province. Does the United States wish this to occur? How far open would the door to Eastern trade be, for her, if Japan were given such complete control of China?

"The situation really is desperate. When the Russians went into Manchuria the higher class Chinese suffered, but it still was possible for the lower class to live, because the Russians were glad of their cheap labor.

"But since the Japanese have gone in even the lower class Chinese labor has been displaced, to the great distress of a numerous population, by cheap Japanese labor. Though they find it necessary to pay a little more for it, the Japanese prefer Japanese to Chinese labor. It makes their grip upon the land more firm. But what is to become of the displaced Chinese?

"Another plan of the Japanese distinctly threatens foreign trade with other nations. In Japan are few foreign stores. I have traveled through the country lately and am sure of this.

"Under Japanese control the same will be true of China, where now are many. Already, in Manchuria, the trade in piece cotton goods has been almost wholly taken from the Chinese merchants selling foreign goods and put into the hands of Japanese selling Japanese goods only.

"America's trade, in this branch, has been very large. It is dwindling and will disappear. The Japanese are peddlers rather than merchants, and carry their wares from house to house as no American or other foreigner would do. If China loses one province to Japan, that means that the United States loses the trade of that one Chinese province.

"Is it not clear, too, that the munitions of war clause means absolute military domination of China by the Japanese, even as the police clause would carry the campaign of dominance into every house and give the Japanese the power of life and death over individual Chinese?"

"It would give them the power of life and death and the power of granting freedom or enforcing imprisonment at will.

"I am a merchant, not in a position to discuss political matters, but as a citizen of China, with her best interests at heart, I am at liberty to express my individual opinions.

"I do not pretend to have political knowledge, but I am sure that, although the Japanese consider themselves wise, they have lost the confidence of all Chinese. And I think that they will find this loss of confidence more serious than they dream.

"I believe that it will more than offset any gain which may accrue through the successful operation of their ambitious schemes.

"The United States Government has been wiser, although what it did was not done because of its wisdom, but because it was right.

"In returning to China the surplus of the Boxer indemnity, to be devoted to the education of Chinese students, your country made a gain out of all proportion to the amount of money involved. It was right that this should be the case.

"In China the fact that a traveler is an American is now a passport not only to the territory but to the hearts of the native population. An American traveler is given a respect not shown to others, for none but America has occupied a stand so high-minded as that which was evidenced by the return of this large sum.

"Even a coolie will hold up his thumb at sight of one of your countrymen, and that is a sign of something more than respect—it is an admission of greatness of character. How different is the feeling which the Japanese have won for themselves in China!

"China could get on very well without any outside assistance if she were subjected to no outside interference. Thus her future would be bright. She successfully was organizing a stable Government when she was interrupted.

"All Chinese have complete confidence in Yuan Shih-kai. He truly is an able, even a great man. He could have handled the difficult situation of the construction out of old materials of a new Government if he had been unmolested. And the firm attitude which he has taken since the trouble has arisen has aroused the admiration of the whole Chinese Nation."

The aged and earnest Chinaman, who had been stating the cause

## CHINA'S PRESENT RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

of his people with a steady flow of explanation which I was certain must be eloquent, despite the fact that every word had to be translated to me before I caught its meaning, rose now and paced the room.

He made a striking figure in his robe of neutral tinted silk, his swinging stride, and his American shoes. His hair is gray. He wears no queue, his face is deeply lined, his spectacles are enormous.

I asked him what America could do. "We have much wealth," he answered, "but we have little money. You could furnish us with money, for which we could give you abundant security. This not only would enable us to insist upon our rights from Japan and permit us to continue the reorganization of our Government, but it would enable us to establish productive business enterprises.

"Another mighty service which would be rendered to us by America would be the free education here, during a term of years, of the poorer Chinese students who are anxious to learn, but who have no means of earning the money with which learning can be purchased.

"It is a fact, I believe, that these poor students would study more earnestly than and at least as intelligently as the rich young China-men who now come here and pay their own way. The same would be true of American youth in similar circumstances, would it not?

"Especially we need in China young men of our own who have been educated in the United States in agriculture and in general productive industry.

"Inasmuch as England now finds herself in a position wherein she cannot help China or protect her, it is our earnest hope that it will be felt to be the duty of the United States not only to uphold Chinese rights in state papers but in more substantial ways.

"If the United States should do this not only would China be very truly and substantially grateful, but the United States, I think, would gain in other ways, as by the maintenance of her position as a world power at a time when there are those who venture to question it.

"I am not at all averse to telling you, now that your position is so strong, while ours is so weak, that there is much criticism of America in China, despite the respect and admiration which she has won there.

"The English and the Germans assure us that the American talks only, while they work, and the statement is not without justice. If the American should work as hard for Chinese trade as the English and the Germans have worked for it he soon would gain a monopoly of it.

"During the visit of the delegation of the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce to your Pacific Coast in 1910 it was made clear that commerce between the two nations could be promoted rap-

idly only if steamship lines were established, banking facilities put into operation, and exhibition houses constructed for the display of the products of the two nations to the buyers in each.

"Thus America and China first talked such matters over, but while we talked them over with you others took advantage of your delay and carried out similar enterprises for their benefit and to your detriment.

"Japan especially gained by the suggestion which had been made by America. She immediately asked China to co-operate with her with joint capital and joint management in the establishment of the China-Japan Corporation. This was done.

"Japan's benefit has been enormous, while China would have preferred to work with the United States.

"China still would be glad to co-operate along such lines with the business men of your country. This desire has been accentuated by the pleasant and instructive experiences which we have had during our present visit to your country.

"If America would but do what Japan has done, co-operate with Chinese capitalists, half and half, in the promotion of international commercial enterprises, it would tend immensely to promote commerce. You have been talking of the establishment of exchange banks in China. That, we think, is less likely to react favorably, because it really would not be in the way of co-operation.

"Nothing of which I can think would do so much to promote peace as such a commercial alliance between the great republic of America and the young republic of Asia. With such an alliance in existence the ambitious schemes of others might be checked.

"The direct profit to the United States would be enormous. The enterprise would soon make of China a manufacturing country, and America would supply all her machinery. As China developed under such a stimulus her needs and tastes would more and more be in consonance with American products.

"We progress rapidly when we do progress. Seven years ago, even four years ago, all China wore long gowns, like that which I, because I am a man too old to change, am wearing. Now all of younger China wears American clothes. My son does.

"I cannot see why you should hesitate to take advantage of this opportunity which is at your doorsteps. But in order to do so you must study the actual needs of the Chinese, not merely shipping such goods as you may have on hand, but devising goods especially to fit our market."

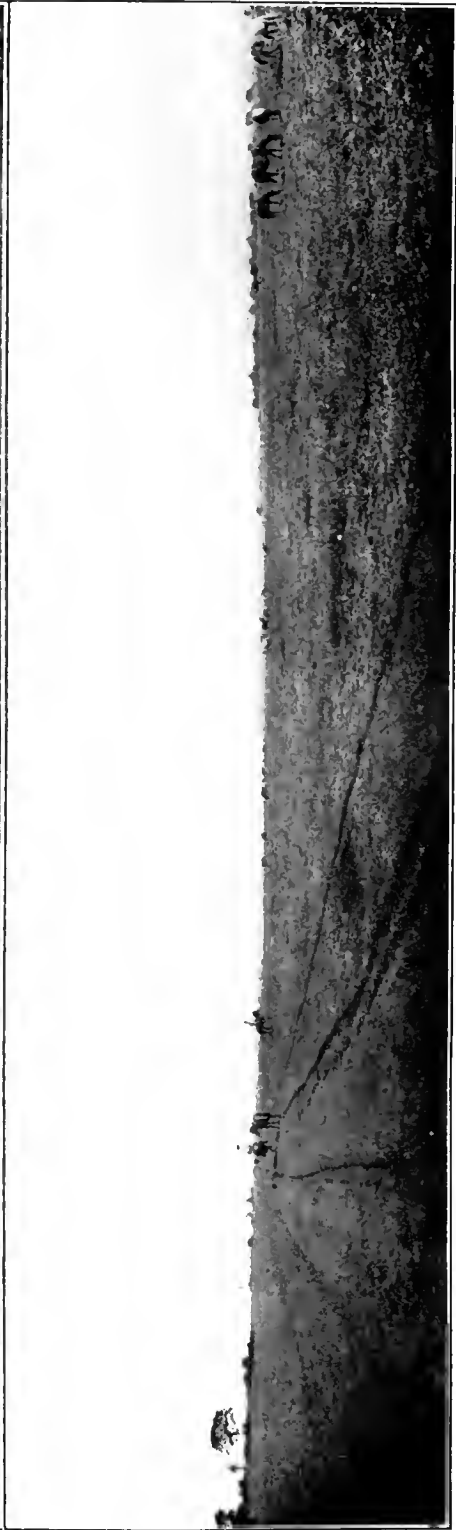


FERTILE LAND IN CUBA









AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN PANAMA  
In the upper picture is shown a street in David; in the lower a stretch of Iiano between David and Alanje

# The Chinese Commission in Washington



HE distinguished citizens of the Republic of China received a royal welcome at our National Capital. On May 28 they were guests of honor at a banquet given by the Southern Commercial Congress at the University Club, this being the culmination of a series of entertainments offered them during their stay in Washington.

A strong note of the sentiments expressed at the banquet was the contrast shown between the friendly efforts for closer co-operation of China and the United States, both Republics, and the insane rage of war-hatred in which wretched Europe now struggles.

The then Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, made an address at the banquet, in which he expressed the hope that a greater commercial intercourse may be built up between China and the United States.

Senator Hoke Smith emphasized the common commercial interests of China and our Southern States. He referred to the fact that our South furnishes China with her chief import, cotton, at the same time buying from China her largest exports, silk and tea.

The Honorable John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union, made an address, reminding his hearers that he had formerly served as Minister to China from the United States.

The Assistant Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Edwin F. Sweet, counselled that trade should be direct between the United States and China, each country cultivating its best products, and dealing in mutual interchange, rather than through any middle-man nation, as England.

The Chinese Minister to the United States, the Honorable Kai Fu Shah, said that China, in her political life, had followed the example of the United States; and that, in like manner, his country would prosper by the cultivation of close commercial ties with us. He spoke also of the contrast between the constructive effects of that development of peaceful co-operation which these two nations are seeking and

the spirit of destruction evidenced elsewhere as a result of international jealousies.

Minister Shah cordially invited the investment of American capital in China, instancing the opportunity for such investment in railways. He called attention to the fact that Americans had financed only two hundred of the six thousand miles of present Chinese railways. He also courteously referred to the welcome which his countrymen would give to American investments, above those of other nations, as knowing ours to be free from ulterior motives.

The Chairman of the Chinese Commercial Commission, through Executive Secretary, David Z. T. Yui, who acted as interpreter, expressed the appreciation of the Commission in the welcome given them, and voiced his hope for the strengthening of friendly bonds between his country and ours, as means for the development of a higher civilization, placing this goal above that of mutual commercial gain through such co-operation.

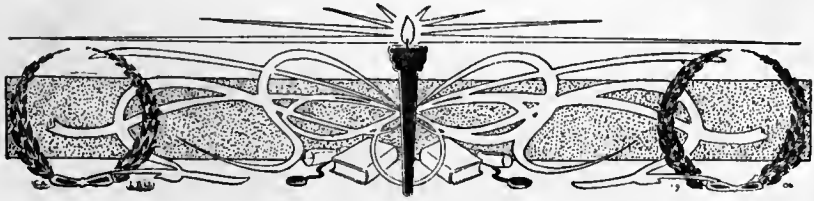
Doctor Clarence J. Owen, as Managing Director of the Southern Commercial Congress, was the host of the occasion. A part of his speech follows.

"The Southern Commercial Congress takes peculiar pleasure in receiving the honorary commercial commission of the republic of China and is honored in having these distinguished representatives of China as its guests. The congress has been instrumental in organizing certain business interests in the United States now represented in China, having as their purpose the establishment of relations in trade and finance, and for the building up of a merchant marine connecting the ports of China with the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic seaboard by way of the Panama canal. These practical plans are now being consummated by our representatives in China. We, therefore, take a peculiar delight in coming into this close personal contact with his excellency, the Chinese minister, and with his countrymen, who come to us with the same purpose of establishing ties of friendship that will lead to commerce and the most pleasing associations in diplomacy and friendly association.

"The Southern Commercial Congress was honored in its convention, held in the southwest a few weeks ago, to have as its guest Kai Fu Shah, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the republic of China. He charmed our people with his message, and his voice, together with the voices of the honorary commercial commission, brings a new understanding between the orient and the occident, a new bond of sympathy between the youngest republic and the oldest republic, between China and the United States. With a popula-

THE CHINESE COMMISSION IN WASHINGTON

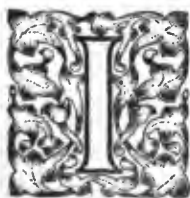
tion four times as great as that of the United States, and with the modern and progressive spirit to emerge from the spirit builded through the ages, given primarily to intellectual rather than commercial activities, China is ready, as we understand her new spirit, to join hands and hearts with us and our institutions in the extension of our commerce, in closer international relations, and in leadership in exemplifying the principles of progress and peace."



# The President of China's Message to American Manufacturers

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY, YUAN SHIH-KAI



IN THE summer of 1914, the Foreign Trade Commission of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States visited China. As a result of this visit, the President of China requested the Association to select a Commercial Adviser to the Chinese Government. This appointment is now in process of arrangement by the National Association.

The members of the Foreign Trade Commission are: Doctor Albert A. Snowden of New York City; Captain David M. Parry of Indianapolis; and Mr. John Kirby, Junior, of Dayton, Ohio.

Through Mr. Snowden, the following letter from the President of China was received by the Association.

Office of the President,  
Peking, Aug. 20, 1914.

"The National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, 30 Church Street, New York City:

"Gentlemen:

"With the closer contact of the different nations with one another through the improvements made in the means of intercommunication, the economic life of the world has followed a new course of development. The farmer who produces and the merchant who transports now all depend upon the work of the manufacturer as their pivot.

"As I understand, your association is founded on broad principles and applies the scientific knowledge of your country to the development of special branches of industries. The progress in manufactures in the United States marches abreast with the day and the month. This is a work I emulate and admire.

"Like the United States, China is a country vast in the extent of

## THE PRESIDENT OF CHINA'S MESSAGE

territory, prosperous in population, and rich in natural resources. Commerce thrives in every part of the land. Industries have a great future of development. Of the students whom China has sent to your country to be educated, many are paying especial attention to technical studies. The opening of the Panama Canal as a new trade route is another factor to promote the commercial relations between China and the United States. The visit which the representatives of your association made to China recently has given up an opportunity to cement our mutual friendship and exchange knowledge with each other. It is certain that co-operation between the Chinese and the Americans, which is thus facilitated, will unfold a new phase to the economic world, not only to the benefit of China and the United States, but also to the advancement of the cause of universal peace.

"With renewed assurance of my admiration for its past achievements and best wishes for its future, I remain,

"Yours truly,

"YUAN SHIH-KAI."

"Your Excellency:

"It is with deep appreciation of the high honor conferred upon this association that we acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's kind communication, dated Aug. 20, 1914, and forwarded to us through Dr. Albert A. Snowden, a member of our Foreign Trade Commission. This generous and comprehensive expression of goodwill, with your Excellency's valued pronouncement as to international co-operation, progress, prosperity, and peace, will be at once transmitted to the entire population of America through the medium of the public press, and we are sure that the constructive ideals therein proposed will find a ready response in the hearts of our countrymen.

"It will likewise be both a pleasure and an honor to lay your Excellency's message before the Board of Directors of this association (at their next meeting, in October), together with certain other important matters looking toward the promotion of mutual trade relations between China and the United States, which were the subject of conversation and correspondence between your Excellency's Ministers and the members of our Foreign Trade Commission during the period of their recent visit to Peking.

"We have no doubt but that the promotive interest which your Excellency takes in matters of national and international development will be of vast and ever-increasing benefit to the people of both republics as well as of advantage to the world at large. The members of our Foreign Trade Commission speak with enthusiasm of the bound-

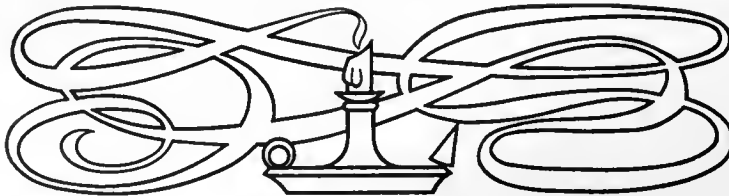
THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

less resources of the great nation of the Far East, and with equal enthusiasm as to the progress that is being made under the wise direction of your Excellency's Government. They are exceedingly grateful for the kind and courteous treatment accorded to them by the Chinese officials during their visit. This gratitude our entire association shares.

"With sincere thanks to your Excellency and with the hope that many happy years of service to the great Chinese nation may be vouchsafed to you, we remain,

"Very truly yours,

"THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.  
"To His Excellency, Yuan Shih-kai, President of China, Peking, China."





# New York Manors, Townships, and Patents: A Study of Types of Settlement

BY

JOEL N. ENO, A. M.



SEVERAL distinct types of settlement appear in the original Thirteen Colonies; yet all are probably adaptations of two fundamental types,—the feudal or proprietary, and the community type. Under the first, the king, or state, as proprietor of a whole country, gave to one man (as in the case of Lord Baltimore and William Penn), to a few men, (as in the case of Mason and Gorges), or to a stock company, (as in the case of the London Virginia Company and the Plymouth Virginia Company, and the Dutch West India Company,) the territory of a whole province, guaranteed by a written instrument, called a charter, with certain rights, franchises or privileges, and usually, provisions for the government of prospective settlers, subject to the proprietary; under the other, a charter was given to the representatives of a body of colonists, providing that “they and all others now or henceforth admitted freemen . . . . . shall be one body corporate and politic,” accompanied by the right to hold lands within certain specified limits as to territory; Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were such charter colonies, governed under the royal charter, without direct interference from Parliament.

The ordinary West-European type was manorial; the manor-house, with its adjacent group of cottages of tenants of different grades, who worked the large surrounding estate, was represented in the Southern colonies by the mansion on the great plantation, with its adjacent group of negro cabins; by the patroonships of the New York Dutch, and the manors of their English successors. The natural effect of this manner of settlement, was to make a number of separated little baronies; their proprietors an aristocracy, preservative of class distinctions; each of these baronies, was, in the South, for governmental purposes, called by its contemporary English name, parish.

The Dutch governors, and the English royal governors, as proxies for their superiors, granted patents or deeds of tracts of land to would-be settlers; in the Dutch towns, the government was retained in the power of the governor; but the English towns usually asked for and obtained the inclusion of charter privileges, as in the renewed patent to Lady Moody and her company, Dec. 19, 1645, "continuing full power of self-government and authority to build a town and erect a body politic and civil combination as free men of the Province and of the Towne of Grauesend, and to make civil ordinances." (See patent in v. I, p. 629, of Doc. Hist. of N. Y.) The English royal governors of New York who succeeded the Dutch, required the towns to take out new patents, largely for the sake of the fees therefor; Nicolls in 1665 and Dongan in 1686.

The New England type of settlement, as we have just seen in the sample transported to Long Island, from Lynn, Massachusetts, to Gravesend, was quite different from the manorial, governmentally. Though the smallest English governmental unit, the township was adopted as the model or basis, the manner of government did not differ greatly from that of the parish. The authoritative legal definition of a town in England contemporary with the earliest New England settlements is given in the first edition of Coke's Commentaries upon Littleton, published in 1628: "It cannot be a town in law, unless it hath, or in past time hath had, a church, the celebration of Divine services, sacraments and burials." But the great difference is that the manorial or feudal idea of government is entirely ignored; the people, not the proprietaries govern,—themselves: distinctions were based on character rather than on wealth; for the settlers were mainly of the middle class of society; yet the chief shaping-force was religious; lying in the fact that each of these town-communities was a transplanted congregation of dissidents from the lordship idea either in the church or the State.

Colonial New York expanded along two lines, both geographically and racially; the first, from the present Greater New York up the Hudson valley, was settled mainly from the Netherlands; the second, Long Island, except the five Dutch towns at the extreme western end, was settled mainly from New England. The Dutch who first came to New York, had only the object of trading, not of permanent settlement or colonization, in view; their only organization was that of association for business, from fortified trading houses, located conveniently for the collection of their staple, furs. The first trading-post, Fort Nassau, was built under the direction of Hendrick Corstiaensen or Christiansen on Castle (now Van

Rensselaer's) Island in the Hudson, in 1614; garrisoned by ten or twelve men, armed with two cannon and eleven stone-guns, and commanded by Jacob Eelkens. Another was built the same year at Rondout.

The charter of Oct. 11, 1614, of the United New Netherland Company, for whom they seem to have bought furs, expired January 1, 1618, and all the garrison scattered. The first known record of the name of the territory, Nieuw Nederlandt, occurs in this charter. Yet the shipments of furs advertised their value and their abundance in New Netherland to the Amsterdam merchants, and resulted in the chartering of the Dutch West India Company, June 3, 1621, under authority from the States General, broader than that of the first Company, and extending to prospective settlers.

The new Company sent out the ship "Nieuw Nederlandt" in 1623, with 31 families, Dutch and Walloons, under Cornelis J. Mey and Adrian Tienpont as first Director, to reestablish trade in New Netherland. Tienpont left eight men on Manhattan, 1624; Mey and others went for a time to the Delaware and the Connecticut, and to Long Island; but most up the Hudson, where they built Fort Orange, a small structure of logs and earth, about four miles above the site of Fort Nassau. Willem Verhulst became Director in 1625, to whom Pieter E. Hulft sent more than one hundred head of cattle, horses, sheep, and swine, with seeds and farming tools, from Amsterdam, in three ships, to Manhattan.

Peter Minuit was sent as the next Director, clearing from Holland in the Sea-Mew, after a month's delay by ice, January 9, 1626, and arriving at Manhattan May 4, 1626. In 1628 he built Fort Amsterdam, near the present Battery; and made New Amsterdam, as Manhattan settlement was now called, the market of New Netherland; whence were sent to Amsterdam 1629-30, some 130,000 guilders' worth of commodities, having almost a monopoly of the fur trade; he also established friendly intercourse with the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

Yet the Dutch trade-agencies had no basis of permanence until they were supported by the products of the land. Hence the West India Company in 1629 adopted a scheme employed elsewhere to induce agricultural settlement; that of great manors, each planted by a wealthy patron (Dutch, "patroon"); a grant of land with sixteen miles front on any river of New Netherland, or eight miles on each side and running back as far as necessary,—to any proprietor who would settle on it within four years, fifty persons above fifteen years old; otherwise to forfeit the grant. There were at first four great

patroons, 1630; Samuel Bloemaert and Samuel Godyn bought of the Indians, June 1, 1629, a tract on the lower Delaware, the Swanendael patent; Michael Pauw obtained the Hoboken-Hacking grant, named from himself, Pavonia; to which he added Staten Island and the site of Jersey City, bought from the Indians, August 10, 1630. Kiliaen van Rensselaer bought of the Indians a tract 24 by 48 miles, chartered August 13, 1630; covering most of the present Albany, Columbia and Rensselaer counties. He sent to settle on his tract three classes; first, freemen who emigrated at their own expense; secondly, tenant farmers; thirdly, farm servants. The official representative of the patroon was the schout-fiscaal or sheriff; the manor having its own local government. Rensselaerwyck was the only patroonship to survive.<sup>1</sup>

Beginning with about 30 colonists, 200 had been settled from Holland when Kiliaen died in 1646, and 62,000 acres had been added to his grant. The two manors at Swanendael were destroyed by the Indians in 1632, and bought in by West India Company in 1634; a similar fate, after some changes of ownership befell Pauw's later. Contemporaneously, 300 manors in Holland enjoyed the rights of free municipalities. Rensselaerwyck assuming considerable independence, and becoming a rival in the fur trade, the patroon system no longer was in favor with the Directors; moreover, Wouter van Twiller, Director 1633-37, taking advantage of the farm idea and of his position, to patent the most fertile lands about New Amsterdam to himself and his friends, brought a reaction lasting for many years.<sup>2</sup> Patroonships had neither a governmental nor popular backing; and against the odds of the Director's monopoly, few would venture to invest in New Netherland.

A Dutch writer of that day says of New Netherland, "It never began to be settled till every one had liberty to trade with the Indians;" which was granted by the new Director, Keift, 1638-40; this properly includes barter for and purchase of Indian lands; for it was the settled policy of the original settlers in New Netherland as well as in New England,<sup>3</sup> to give goods or money to the satisfaction of the Indian owners; and as for the inland fur trade, there were in 1646 only ten houses at Beverwyck (now Albany), the village of the Rensselaerwyck region, near Fort Orange. Kieft found six "bouweries" on Manhattan; the name of Stuyvesant's still survives as "the Bowery"; but he proceeded to boom agricultural settle-

1. Larned, *Hist. for Ready Reference*, v. 3, p. 2327.

2. Winsor, *Nar. & Crit. Hist. of America*, v. 3, pp. 399-403.

3. Eno, *The Puritans and the Indian Laws*.

## NEW YORK MANORS, TOWNSHIPS, AND PATENTS

ment by favoring both individual and co-operative taking up of land, in the neighboring region;<sup>3</sup> there were 30 bouweries in 1639. Hence we may return for a considerable period to the growth of the chief settlement; which, as far as New York State is concerned, belongs to the history of the present city, Greater New York (since January 1, 1898).

Representative government began at New Amsterdam under Kieft in 1641, with the election by all heads of families and masters, of the Twelve (Select Men or counsellors of the Director), and the Eight (later, Nine) elected representatives: It was incorporated a city in 1652, and on February 2, 1653, its city government, consisting of burgomaster and schepens, was installed in office; the city had 120 houses in 1656. For historical purposes it seems best to trace each of the five boroughs of Greater New York independently; which brings us to the third settlement, first white settler, 1623, in the present borough of Brooklyn, which is co-extensive with Kings county; in 1636, Breukelen village began with the Gowanus patent, 930 acres; and in 1646 it obtained local government. New Amersfoort (Eng. Flatlands) probably had its first settler in 1624, and here in June, 1637, van Twiller granted the first land-patent of 15,000 acres to Hudde and Gerretse. August 1, 1638, Director Kieft bought of the Indians the Boswyck tract; in like manner the whole of Kings and of Queens county was bought, 1636-1640, and granted to actual settlers, on time, according to the new order regarding patents, namely: after ten years each settler to pay to the purchaser from the Indians, one-tenth of all the produce of the land. But the slow, piecemeal Dutch settlement by land-patents to private individuals soon found itself outrun by immigration of New Englanders with their system of township patents or grants, first in Queens and then in Kings as formed later. Newtown (Dutch Middelburg, and Indian Mespath (Maspeth) patent, 13,332 acres was granted to a company of New England settlers, March 28, 1642, by Director Kieft. Hempstead patent (Dutch Heemstede) Nov. 16, 1644, to Stamford, Conn., settlers. Flushing (Dutch Vlissingen) patent by charter of Oct. 10, 1645, to New England settlers. Gravesend (Dutch's Gravensande) patent, Dec. 19, 1645, to New Englanders led by Lady Moody to Kings county lands: though 't Conijnen Eylandt (Coneyn, now Coney Island) was bought by Guisbert Op Dyck of the Nyack Indians May 7, 1654. In 1647 Long Island had some fifty farms,—approximately as many as all the rest of New Netherland combined, which was esti-

<sup>3</sup>Avery, Hist. of the U. S., v. 2, p. 228.

mated at fifty "bouweries" and three hundred inhabitants. Flatbush (Dutch Midwout, and 't vlacke Bosch) was chartered in 1651; whence New Lots was set off February 12, 1852; both now in Brooklyn borough. Easthampton, L. I. was bought by Hopkins and Eaton from the Indians in 1649; conveyed to nine settlers (six from Lynn), and held a town meeting in 1651. Jamaica (Dutch Dustdorp), now in Queens county borough, was chartered March 21, 1656, to New England settlers. Bushwick (Dutch Boswyck) bought of the Indians in 1638, and chartered February 16, 1660, is now the Greenpoint district of Brooklyn; and New Utrecht, which received its township charter Dec. 22, 1661, is located by Fort Hamilton and Greenwood cemetery.<sup>1</sup>

We diverge momentarily to the fourth settlement, the site of the old Rondout up the Hudson in Ulster county, which after a broken existence was strong enough to obtain a charter May 16, 1661, as Wiltwyck (Wild-town), a name changed to Kingston May 19, 1667; but are obliged to return quickly to keep pace with the rush of New England settlers into Long Island and Westchester county. Rye was bought of the Indians in 1662, and became a town under Connecticut jurisdiction in 1664.

There were seventeen towns, having thirty-four representatives in the first Assembly, summoned by Gov. Nicolls, and which met at Hempstead, L. I., Feb. 28, 1665; the Duke of York having superseded the Dutch as proprietor of the province in 1664, when it had 12,000 population, of which 3,000 were on Manhattan. Seawanaka (Longe Eyland) was renamed Yorkshire, after his dukedom, and like old Yorkshire was divided into "ridings"; West Riding included the present Kings county, Staten Island and Newtown; the rest was East and North Ridings. John Richbell had obtained a patent of Mamaroneck May 6, 1662, confirmed by Gov. Lovelace Oct. 16, 1668; his grant including Mamaroneck, White Plains, and Scarsdale (made a manor in 1697).

Thomas Pell had bought from the Indians (1654) a tract for a manor, 9,166 acres; he granted to Fairfield, Conn., settlers, June 24, 1664, East Chester, chartered March 9, 1666. Brookhaven, L. I., where settlement began in 1655, obtained a township charter March 13, 1666. Shelter Island, settlement begun 1652, was chartered May 31, 1666. Pelham Manor, (now Pelham, New Rochelle, and part of Westchester) was confirmed to Pell by royal patent, Oct. 6, 1666, and the remainder after selling East Chester (now,—except East Chester village,—Mount Vernon) was reserved under patent of Oct.

<sup>1</sup>Ross, *Hist. of L. I.* and Thompson, *Hist. of L. I.*

8, 1666. Westchester ("Vredeland," bought from the Indians, 1640; "Oostdorp," when settled by New Englanders, 1647) received its charter Feb. 13, 1667; it included Fordham and Morrisania manors and West Farms Patent, the latter made a town May 13, 1846, whence Morrisania Dec. 7, 1855; annexed to N. Y. city 1873-4, and now districts in the borough of the Bronx.<sup>1</sup>

On Long Island, Huntington received its charter 1666; Flatlands, 1667; Oyster Bay, named by the Dutch for its fine oysters, and settled by Connecticut people, was chartered Nov. 29, 1667.

Staten Island, sold by de Pauw to the West India Company soon after he became patroon, was sold, except de Vries' farm, to Cornelis Melyn, 1642; its settlement of about ninety persons being wiped out in the Indian wars, 1655, Melyn resold to the Company in 1659. Gov. Lovelace in 1670 repurchased it and finally extinguished the Indian claims; and it was made an independent judicial district in 1675.

Southhold, L. I., received a charter from N. Y. Oct. 30, 1676, but had town meetings before; Southampton, Nov. 1, 1676; Smithtown March 25, and New Paltz, in Ulster county, Sept. 29, 1677. Schenectady began to be settled in 1662, and was chartered 1684, but nearly wiped out by the French and Indians in 1690. Settlement in Orange county began in 1671 at Haverstraw, and the "Town of Orange" was chartered March 20, 1686. Settlement in the Hudson valley from New York city to Albany had progressed so that the region was laid out into counties among the original ten, Nov. 1683, as Westchester, Orange, Dutchess, Ulster and Albany. In 1685 New York province after 62 years of settlement had only 18,000 inhabitants, while Pennsylvania, then only in its fourth year, had 8,000.

Some of the hindrances to New York settlement have been already traced; that, in the first period, to 1638, it appealed almost solely to the commercial and wealthy class; in the second period there was destructive assault by the Indians; and at nearly all colonial periods, the selfish exploiting of the settlers for the benefit of the proprietors; whereas William Penn had a benevolent purpose, and more than that, traveled widely, as in Germany and Ireland, advertising the benefits; and lastly, lived and acted up to his advertisement. Governor Dongan, in 1686 required the towns in New York to take out new charters, and collected fees of £300 for New York and Albany, and £200 for Rensselaerwyck;<sup>2</sup> the first two were maintained wholly by trade with the Indians. Albany was incorporated a city in 1686.

Stephanus Van Cortlandt began the purchase of his manor of

1. Scharf, *Hist. of Westchester County*.

2. Roberts, *Hist. N. Y.*, v. 1, p. 194-5.

86,213 acres, August 24, 1683, from the Haverstraw Indians, and including the northern part of Westchester county; this was confirmed to him by patent, Dec. 23, 1685 and charter of June 17, 1697. Adriaen van der Donck, schout or manager of Rensselaerwyck in 1641, became the only patroon at that time in Westchester county about 1649, with his manor of Colen Donck, and the distinctive title of de Jonkheer, preserved in the name of *Yonkers*; Frederick Philipse, 1672 to 1693 included part of it in his manor of Philipsburgh, chartered by Gov. Fletcher, June 12, 1693. Livingston Manor, 160,000 acres (now in Columbia county) obtained a patent July 22, 1686, but had only 4 or 5 houses in 1701. The purchase of these large tracts for resale, was stopped by the law of 1699, providing that no grant should be made except to actual settlers; a law not abrogated till May 5, 1786.

The patents were deeds of land, not records of incorporation, as of an association or corporation; only implied or *quasi* incorporation existed in colonial New York and New England town organization; sometimes as briefly expressed as in Connecticut colonial records of the General Court, of the date Sept., 1651; "Norwauke shall bee a towne;" not till 1700 does it become so elaborate as to specify the powers granted, in Connecticut; the charter of Gravesend has been quoted because of its remarkable fulness of specification. Bedford tract, 7,623 acres obtained a township patent May 21, 1697.

The whole province of New York in 1701 is estimated to have had no greater population than Connecticut; namely, 30,000; and to have kept even pace till at least 1755, when each is estimated to have had 100,000. Patents for Rochester and Marbletown in Ulster county were issued in 1703, and for Hurley Oct. 19, 1708. Next occurs Hunter's Palatine settlement:<sup>1</sup> the Palatines came from the Lower Palatinate (i. e. territory of the Count Palatine) along the Rhine above Cologne; Alsace, Lorraine, Mainz, Treves, and the northern part of Baden and Württemberg). This country was strongly Lutheran, but in 1692 came under a Catholic ruler.

In 1709, 13,000 of these Palatines emigrated to England. Robert Hunter, then recently appointed Governor of New York, took 3,000 Palatines with him from England to settle, sailing in January, 1710, but not arriving till June 14, 1710,—a very long and hard voyage, during which 470 died; 339 remained in New York City; on May 1, 1711, 1178 went up the Hudson to East Camp (later called Germantown) and Saugerties; late in 1712 about thirty pushed on to Rhinebeck; and some 700 finally settled in Schoharie,

1. Cobb, *Story of the Palatines*.



## NEW YORK MANORS, TOWNSHIPS, AND PATENTS

and (300 in) Little Falls, 1725-26, Palatine, Palatine Bridge, Mannheim, Oppenheim, Newkirk, German Flats, Herkimer, and Germantown; although sixty families left Schoharie for Pennsylvania, 1723-28; dissatisfied with the oppressive dealings of the manorial proprietors, no more came; but the whole Palatine emigration was turned to Pennsylvania; amounting to between 30,000 and 50,000 by 1750.

After the Revolution, the new nation found each of its States except Pennsylvania, bordering east on the seaboard, but several of them with what then appeared to be limitless extension westward. How New York received the overflow of population which soon set in from New England is an interesting reversal of the relations previously existing between buyer and seller, consulting the buyers' advantage, which became the settled policy of the State and later of the national government, and might be termed the land-office system of wholesale methods and wholesale prices.

Massachusetts, by the charter of 1629 had her western boundary at the Pacific ocean, giving her a priority of claim over the grant to the Duke of York, March, 1664. It was agreed by the commissioners of Massachusetts and New York, Dec. 16, 1786, that Massachusetts should relinquish all claims to New York lands, provided that New York gave her the preëmption right, or first opportunity, to purchase from the Indians, six million acres, situated west of a line drawn north and south, from Lake Ontario through Seneca lake to the Pennsylvania north line; that is, the present Allegheny, Cattaugus, Chautauqua, Erie, Genesee, Niagara, Orleans, Ontario, Livingston, Monroe, Steuben, Wyoming and Yates, and the western part of Wayne and Schuyler counties. April 21, 1788, Massachusetts sold her preëmption right to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts for \$1,000,000, to be paid for settlement of Indian claims. They bought from the Indians in July, 1788, about 2,600,000 acres in the eastern part of the Massachusetts tract; which was quit-claimed to them by Massachusetts, Nov. 21, 1788.<sup>1</sup> They returned the remainder of the tract to Massachusetts, which was resold to Robert Morris of Philadelphia, through his agent, Samuel Ogden, March, 1791.

Phelps and Gorham had disposed of about fifty townships, each six miles square (the inauguration of the United States system of square sections), before Nov. 18, 1790, when they sold the remainder of their Indian purchase,—except two townships reserved,—to Robert Morris, whose holdings now exceeded one and one-fourth million acres. Morris soon sold to Sir William Pulteney most of the pres-

<sup>1</sup>Larned, page 2340.

ent Livingston, Monroe, Ontario, Steuben, Yates and western Wayne counties; also to Cragie, Greenleaf, and Watson, the Connecticut tract of 100,000 acres; to Ogden and Cragie, 50,000 acres each; made many other sales, mostly much smaller; and reserved 500,000 acres to himself, but became bankrupt.<sup>1</sup>

A company formed in Holland, (later called, without warrant, the Holland Company) acquired in 1792-93, the western part of the Massachusetts tract (Allegany, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie, Genesee, Niagara, Orleans and Wyoming counties), estimated at 3,600,000 acres.<sup>2</sup> In October, 1786, New York also set apart two tracts to pay her soldiers engaged in the Revolution; the first, 1,680,000 acres in Cayuga, Cortland, Onondaga, Seneca, Tompkins, and part of Oswego and Wayne counties; the second, 768,000 acres, or twelve townships in Clinton, Essex, and Franklin counties. All the town-like organizations, whether settled in the Dutch or the New England manner, provided they were strong enough to go alone, were recognized as towns, by the general enabling act of the Assembly, March 7, 1788.

1. Turner, *Pioneer Hist. of Holland Purchase*.

2. O. Turner, *Hist. of Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham Purchase & Morris Reserve*.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PEDRO MIGUEL LOCK AND APPROACHES, PANAMA CANAL



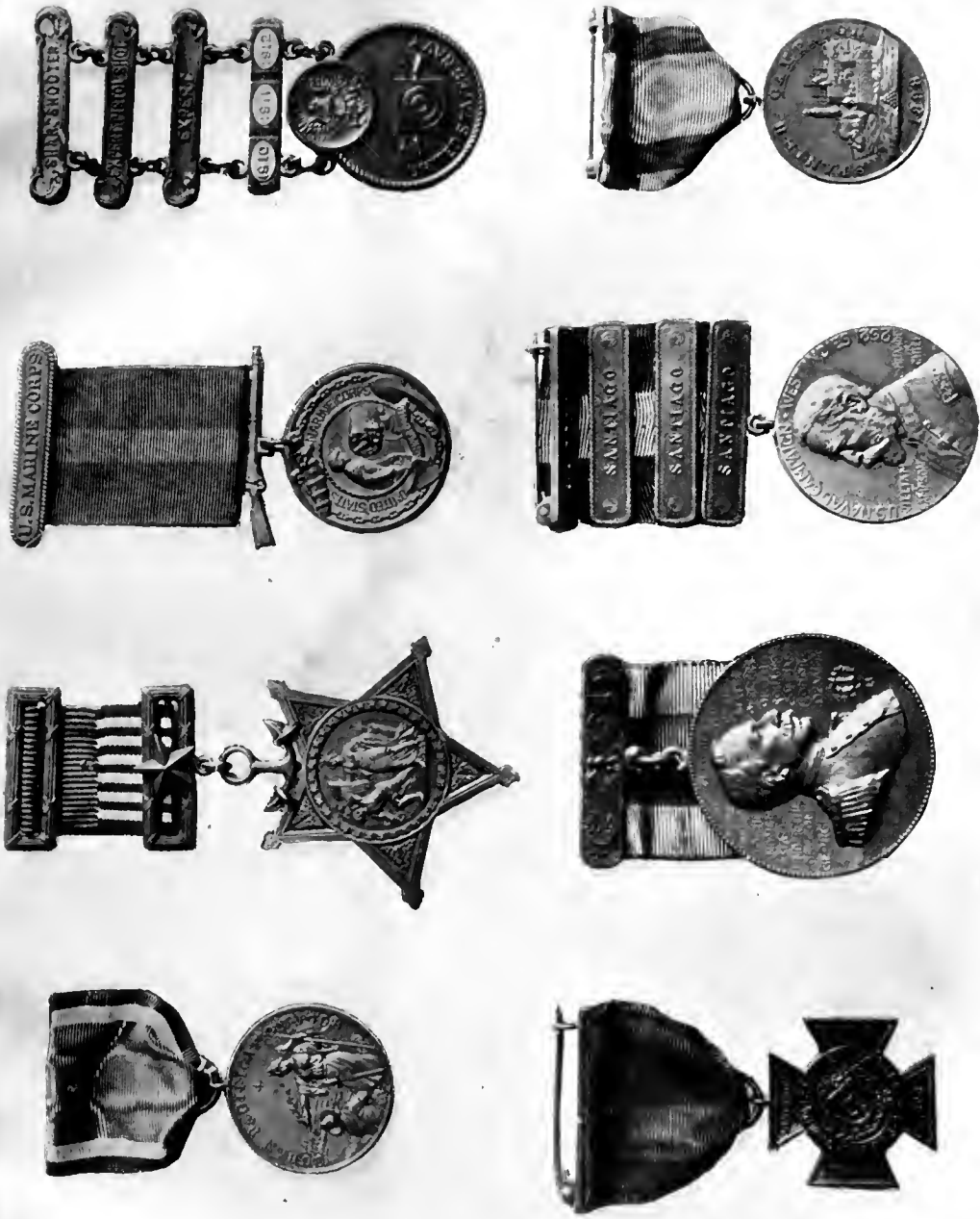




UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

Plate I

1. Army Civil War Campaign Badge. Issued to officers and men for service in the United States Army during the Civil War.
2. Naval Civil War Campaign Badge. Issued to those who served in the Navy and Marine Corps during the Boxer Uprising.
3. Naval China Relief Expedition Badge. Issued to those who served in the Navy and Marine Corps during the Boxer Uprising.
4. Naval Philippine Campaign Badge. Issued to members of the Navy and Marine Corps who served in that campaign.
5. Indian Wars Campaign Badge. Issued to those who served in the Indian campaigns.
6. Marksman's Badge. Issued for certain qualifications in the practice of small arms to members of the Army and Marine Corps.
7. Army Spanish-American Campaign Badge. Issued to those who served in the Army during the Spanish-American War.
8. Army Certificate of Merit Badge. Issued to enlisted men of the Army for merit.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

Plate II.

1. Naval Cuban Pacification Badge. Issued to medical officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps, who served in Cuba. 2. Naval Medal of Honor. 3. Marine Corps Good Conduct Medal. 4. Naval Sharpshooters' Medal with additional bars. 5. Naval Merit Badge for West Indies Campaign. Issued for especially meritorious service other than in battle, to officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps. 6. Dewey Congressional Medal. Issued to members of the Navy and Marine Corps who served with the Asiatic Squadron at Manila. 7. Naval West Indies Campaign Medal. Issued to members of the Navy and Marine Corps. 8. Naval Spanish Campaign Badge. Issued to officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps, who served in Cuban, Porto Rican or Philippine waters during the Spanish-American War.









UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

Plate III.

1. Army Philippine Insurrection Campaign Badge. Issued to members of the Army in the Philippines, issued to volunteers who served beyond their enlistment period in the Philippines. 2. Philippine Congressional Medal. Issued to members of the Navy and Marine Corps who served in the Civil War. 3. Naval Civil War Badge. Issued to all officers and men in the service of the time of issue, who had served with the Army in Cuba. 4. Army of Cuban Pacification Medal. Issued to all officers and men in the service of the time of issue, who had served with the Army in Cuba. 5. Army China Relief Expedition Badge. For service ashore in China with Peking Relief Expedition. 6. Sharpshooter's Cross. For proficiency in the practice of small arms. Second decoration, Army and Marine Corps. 7. Expert's Medal. For proficiency in the practice of small arms. Third decoration, and final, except for distinguished marksmen. 8. First Naval Good Conduct Medal.

# United States Government Medals

BY

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HERE is little doubt in the mind of the writer that many otherwise well-informed and patriotic American citizens are lacking in knowledge as to the rewards issued by the home government for deeds of valor and faithful service rendered on the field of battle and in naval engagements. Most Americans are, nevertheless, fairly well acquainted with the decorations of foreign countries, possibly because such rewards are historically much older and figure more frequently in poetry, song, history, and even fiction.

Nearly every well-read individual knows of the Victoria Cross and its nationality, the Iron Cross of Germany, the Cross of the French Legion of Honor, and the coveted Russian Cross of Saint George; but few are aware that there is a Medal of Honor issued by the United States Government; that there are two, in fact, one in the Army and one in the Navy; and, if they do possess a knowledge of these facts, they do not always recognize the decorations when seen on a soldier's or sailor's full-dress uniform, or their respective color bars on the service uniforms. They who do perhaps fail to realize the deference which is most assuredly due any such decorated officers and men. It is unfortunate that such a small number are acquainted with these medals, for there are twenty-three other official decorations which are likewise worthy of immediate recognition and respect.

In Europe, it is quite different; military decorations are generally known, and this can well be imagined when the emblems of the foreign Powers are even recognized in the United States. To be sure, foreign rewards are more numerous, due to the far greater size of the representative armies and the more frequent wars; but there must

be other reasons than these for our ignorance on the subject. It may be that we are indifferent and do not appreciate the efforts of our Army and Navy when in action. It may be that our national modesty prevents a general comprehension of these facts.

An ex-Secretary of War is credited with having remarked at the institution of the Medal of Honor, ".....and the people of the United States will rejoice to honor every soldier and officer who proves his courage ....." Who are they, and when should we give them the plaudits they deserve? We are all familiar with the Grand Army of the Republic emblem and the Legion of Honor rosette, which both have honorable significance indicating personal service or descent from a military family; but neither indicates especial courage, self-sacrifice or individual heroism.

It seems strange that a nation which has possessed for fifty years Congressional decorations for valor, already awarded to about three thousand men of the Army and Navy, should remain for so long a time practically ignorant of their existence. Be it indifference or reserve, we are undoubtedly too negligent in our attention to the conferring of these coveted decorations. Abroad, a solemn military ceremony invariably accompanies such awards—the medal is often presented by a royal personage before a parade of troops, and the name of the recipient is preserved to posterity by means of official record and Press. No such attention was accorded our heroes, however, and each was undoubtedly glad enough to secure the trophy itself. Recently it has become the custom for the President, in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, to make such presentations personally and in the presence of all the members of the Honor Medal Legion in the city.

In 1904, the War Department issued a circular, to which supplements were added in 1906 and 1909, containing the names of those who had received the Medal of Honor, briefly indicating the grounds of award and date. A perusal of this circular reveals many interesting deeds of valor, the following abstracted words and phrases from which indicate some reasons for the conferring of these particular medals: courage; bravery; gallantry; volunteer service; the capture of flags; guns; etc.; rescue, under fire, of companions and standards; leading a charge; and service while wounded. Brief remarks tell of worthy deeds deserving more lengthy chronicling and a larger field of distribution. Modesty, if it be handicapping us, is to be thrust aside by the author and Knowledge allowed to instruct us in order that Pride may achieve her proper position in regard to our national heroes.

The official recognition and ultimate reward of deliberate heroism

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

and personal achievement in the line of military duty, by the soldier's government, is neither a modern custom nor one of Medieval times, but reverts back to the glorious days of ancient history, where it was practised by the great military powers of Rome and Greece. When a worthy Roman general returned from winning a battle, he was honored with a triumphant reception; when a man saved the life of a fellow, he was crowned with a wreath of oak leaves, a distinction which carried with it State privileges priceless to the recipient yet costing the government nothing. Citizen heroes of Greece were presented with crowns and armor, although the Greeks were a race more prone to decry the lack of valor than to acclaim its presence. In the history of nearly every country, suitable public acknowledgment and timely recompense of bravery is early recorded; we, of America, although still practically in our teens, were a little dilatory in recognizing the value of such a step. It was not until 1861 that the initial official action was taken in the general requital of meritorious conduct in battle.

The first step in this direction was made during 1776-1804 when Congress issued thirteen individual medals to heroic officers in the Revolutionary War. Among the recipients were such distinguished men as George Washington, General Horatio Gates, Major Harry Lee, General Anthony Wayne, General Daniel Morgan, and Captains John Paul Jones, Thomas Truxton, and Edward Preble. Further awards were made during the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the Civil War and the Spanish American War. These were, however, distinctly personal medals and did not apply to many individuals who assisted materially in the accomplishments for which their chiefs were decorated.

It was probably George Washington who first made the compensation of justly earned honors available alike to officers and men when he wrote an order in August, 1782, providing that the veteran officers and soldiers who had served more than three years with bravery, fidelity and good conduct, should wear a stripe on the left sleeve of their coats,—two stripes for six years service,—in designation of the fact, thus establishing the present system of service stripes. He went farther: he authorized the wearing of a heart-shaped figure on the left breast of the uniform coats, of those who had personally distinguished themselves by singularly meritorious actions, and, to men possessing this insignia, he granted all the privileges extended his commissioned officers. Sergeants Elijah Churchill and Brown were the first to receive this decoration: the former for gallant conduct in the enterprises against Fort St. George and Fort Stongo, on Long Island, and the latter for conducting a forlorn hope with great bravery. These

decorations were granted in May, 1783, and seem to mark the first two Medal of Honor men in the military records of this country.

The Medal of Honor was first made available in the Navy by an Act of Congress, approved December 21, 1861, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to have prepared Medals of Honor suitably decorated with emblematic devices, to be bestowed upon such petty officers, seamen, landsmen and marines as should distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action or for other seamanlike qualities during the Civil War. This Act was subsequently extended to cover such conduct in other wars, and provide a further gratuity, on July 16, 1862, May 17, 1864, March 3, 1901, and April 15, 1904.

The first authorized Medal of Honor for the Navy is still in use and consists of a bronze five-pointed star, the points terminating in trefoil with a wreath of oak and laurel contained in each ray. In the center, within a circle of thirty-four stars, America is represented as Minerva in classical costume and helmet, her left hand supporting fasces, while with the right she holds a shield emblazoned with the United States arms, with which she vanquishes Discord, who is armed with serpents. The star is mounted on an anchor and suspended from a silk ribbon of red and white stripes arranged vertically below a field of blue. The clasps at the top and bottom of the ribbon are open bars of fasces, the lower being surmounted by a five-pointed star from which is suspended the anchor and the medal. The original design for this medal was drawn by Paquet. With the medal, a bronze button is presented, intended for wear with civilian clothes.

Under date of May, 1910, the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department published a record of the Medals of Honor issued to the bluejackets and marines of the United States Navy from 1862 to 1910, in the form of a Roll of Honor, which chronicles not only the names of the distinguished recipients but the deeds of valor performed. In all, the Navy had issued up to 1910, 641 medals; 487 of them for gallantry in actual battle, while the remainder were conferred for individual acts of bravery in times of peace. No provision is yet made for the donation of Medals of Honor to the commissioned officers of the Navy.

Undoubtedly General E. D. Townsend was one of the progenitors of the idea of the Medal of Honor, since he made a recommendation for such a medal to the War Department and the chairman of that committee in Congress early in 1861, but the original decoration which the United States Government gave to non-commissioned officers and privates of the Army who distinguished themselves by gallantry in action and soldier-like qualities in the Civil War then in progress, was

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

not authorized until July 12, 1862. The medal then authorized was not a prize for the aristocracy or those elevated to responsible positions but was essentially for the enlisted men, and thus it remained until a subsequent Act of March 3, 1863, made it available for commissioned officers in the Army as well, and perpetuated its distribution for service in subsequent wars.

The original issue of the Medal of Honor for the War Department was exactly like that of the Navy, except that the whole was suspended from a trophy of two crossed cannons, below eight cannon balls and a sword, surmounted by the American eagle, and united by the ribbon to a clasp composed of two cornucopias and the United States arms.

A large majority of those who received the first issue of the Medal of Honor were enlisted volunteers during the Civil War, although many medals were also conferred upon members of the regular army for acts of self-sacrifice performed at that time or while engaged in fighting the hostile Indians in the arduous campaigns which fell to the lot of our frontier army during 1865-1891. A list of the awards of this medal includes about fifteen hundred names of men who served in the earlier wars and about one hundred who served in the war with Spain. Since the first Medal of Honor did not seem to meet with the approval of many concerned, due to its lack of artistic appearance as compared with foreign decorations, and since the ribbon was like that of the Honduras decoration, and, in fact, neither indicated nationality nor the object of its being, an effort was made by Ambassador Horace Porter and General G. L. Gillespie to provide a new and more distinctive design. These two worthy gentlemen labored for some time before they succeeded in having drawn up a satisfactory medal and rosette, but after two years' labor it was accomplished and approved in July, 1904, by Mr. Root, the then Secretary of War.

A circular issued by the War Department, dated June 14, 1905, describes the new Medal of Honor for the Army adopted shortly before that date. It consists now of a silver pendant heavily electro-plated in gold, this departure from the use of gun-metal being necessary since the base metals would not carry the enameling now employed. In outline, the old medal has been preserved by the five-pointed star, while in its center now appears the head of the heroic Minerva turned to the right, representing the highest symbol of wisdom and righteous war. Surrounding this central feature, arranged in circular form, are the words "United States of America," representing nationality. An open laurel wreath, which encircles the star, and the oak leaves at the bases of the prongs of the star, are enameled green to give them

prominence. The medal is suspended by a light blue watered-silk ribbon, spangled with thirteen white stars representing the original States, and is attached to an eagle clasp supported on a horizontal bar. Upon the bar, which is attached to the two topmost points of the star, appears the word "Valor," indicative of the distinguished service represented by the medal. The reverse of the medal is engraved with the name of the person honored, together with the place and date of the distinguished service rendered. Army regulations specify that this medal be worn only with the full-dress uniform and special evening dress, when it may be suspended from the neck by a ribbon. A section of the ribbon, mounted on a plain bar, is provided for service uniforms. A rosette for wear with civilian dress is awarded with the medal. The present rosette, which superseded the old metallic button, is hexagonal in form and covered with silk identical with the ribbon of the medal. The center is fluted in radiating folds and spangled with white stars.

There are many men in the naval service who, although they may never have attracted sufficient attention to deserve the Medal of Honor, are well worthy of recognition by virtue of their long and faithful service; for these thoroughly efficient, though not perhaps spectacularly heroic sailors, there is also a reward known as the Good Conduct Medal, issued to those only, who have been honorably discharged and hold continuous service certificates, or who are serving under the same and bear the approval of their commanding officer.

When first issued, in 1870, this medal consisted of a simple Maltese cross bearing the words "Fidelity, Zeal and Obedience," arranged in circular form and "U. S. N.," in the center; being fashioned after suggestions made by Commander Smith, U. S. N. In 1888, however, this was recalled, and the present style adopted. It is comprised of a circular medal having in its center the design of an old warship with the word "Constitution" beneath, encircled by a rope, with an anchor in the background; around the edge runs the chain of the anchor and the words "United States Navy." This is mounted on a red ribbon and suspended from a plain bar. Further recognition is provided for, by the issue of a pin and bars. Each award carries with it a slight increase in the pay of the recipient.

At first, Marines were not included in the distribution of these medals, although after July 20th, 1896, they had in lieu of it, a testimonial setting forth the fact that the owner possessed the requisite habits and abilities. On March 20th, 1910, a medal was adopted by the Marine Corps for this purpose; itself nearly like that of the Navy, except the central figure which is that of a gunner standing by the



## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS

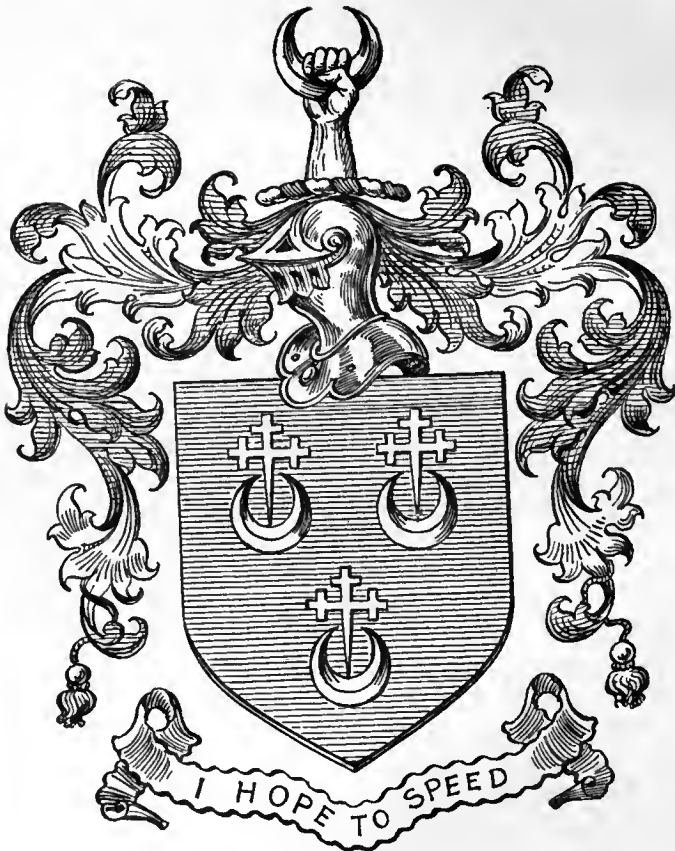
breech of a gun, and the words "Marine Corps" and "Semper Fidelis." The mount is a musket, the pin is lettered with the branch of the service, and the ribbon is blue and red. Upon the award of this medal a marine is entitled to an increase in pay.

Other medals and badges of the Navy are; the Dewey Congressional, the West Indies Campaign Medal, the Meritorious Service Medal, and the five campaign badges as follows; the Civil War, Spanish War, Cuban Pacification, Philippine Campaign, and China Relief Expedition.

The Army has medals similar to the above campaign badges and the Indian Wars badge, the Philippine Congressional Medal, and the Merit Badge as well. The official badges and medals issued by the War Department are worn with the full-dress uniform, with the exception, that the Medal of Honor which may be worn with the Special evening dress, and that the various distinctive marks awarded for excellency in marksmanship may be worn with all uniforms, except when in the field. They are all worn on the left breast of the coat in a horizontal line about four inches below the middle point of the top of the shoulder; all of those having ribbons being arranged in a single line, overlapping if necessary. Narrow bars of similar colored ribbons to the badges they represent are worn with the service uniforms, and when the decorations for marksmanship are worn with them, they appear in a line slightly below the ribbons and parallel to them. A regular order for arranging the medals, from right to left is prescribed as follows by the War Department: the Certificate of Merit badge, the Philippine Congressional Medal, the Campaign badges in the order of their dates, the Cuban Pacification Badge, the Lifesaving medal, of the Treasury Department, and the several marksmanship decorations.

In the Navy similar regulations are followed in the wearing of all decorations.

As can readily be seen the later badges, medals and ribbons issued by the Government are not only of a very attractive design, but express the sentiment of the different campaigns and other objects with particular appropriateness. It is of interest, therefore, to note that the late artist, Francis Davis Millet, designed several for the War Department. These include: the Certificate of Merit Badge, the Philippine Congressional Medal, and the five campaign badges. Millet proved an especially capable artist in this instance, knowing as he did considerable concerning the Service in which he himself had served during the Civil War. The results of his efforts stand a permanent testimonial to his ability.



•CATHCART•

# An Illinois Merchant of the Eighteenth Century

BY

CHARLES GILMER GRAY



LOOKING back from to-day, it is difficult to form a clear conception of the Illinois country as it was during the period of the American Revolution.

Very little of the vast land area was then used for agriculture. Every family might have a field measured by a few arpents in length and breadth, in which to raise the necessaries of life, but few had more. For the most part Indian tribes possessed the broad expanse both of land and water. A dozen tribes, more or less powerful, pitched their wigwams in the regions between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, the white population being gathered in settlements around the forts. The main employments were hunting, trapping and trading in peltry. Travel was accomplished with much labor, and transportation of merchandise was slow and tedious. Lakes and navigable streams were the usual, in fact, almost the only means of movement, either of person or freight.

This situation of affairs furnished the opportunity for that important factor of civilization, the merchant, to come to the front. The merchant of that, as of this or any time, was a most useful citizen in the community. He scattered his money in exchange for the commodities of the country; he infused a new spirit of enterprise among the people, himself being a living example; and he raised the standard of taste of the public, setting before them something to please the eye or to gratify their more refined desires.

This early period of the Illinois country produced several merchants of more than ordinary prominence, one of these, probably the most notable, being Thomas Bentley. Not much is known of his early history. Of English birth, he is first heard of as a merchant in Western Florida. There he traded at and around Pensacola for a time. Next, he is found trafficking along the shores of the lower

Mississippi River. His trade was principally in skins, furs, guns, and ammunition, and his dealings were mostly with the Indian tribes of the region.

In course of time he made Kaskaskia, one of the largest settlements of the Illinois country, and its capital, his centre of operations. Not long after coming here, he met and married Margaret Blauvais, a member of one of the wealthiest French families of this vicinity, in this way adding to his already considerable prestige and fortune.

At this time, his business reached into remote regions and appears to have been carried on with success. He traversed the Mississippi from its mouth to its source. His oars skimmed the waters of the Illinois and the Great Lakes, going to Mackinac and Detroit; while the Ohio and Wabash were his domain in reaching the further eastern sections. One can scarcely realize, with our modern modes of travel, how much time and patience were required to accomplish these long distances. It took Thomas Bentley, going from Kaskaskia to Mackinac, at the Straits of Mackinac, from May 24 to July 21, almost two months, it having been, as Bentley himself says, "a tedious and dangerous passage." This is just one of the many tedious and dangerous journeys taken by him.

His cargoes were generally of a bulky kind,—beaver, deer-skins, liquors, tobacco, etc., requiring the use of boats and batteaux of all sizes. These boats or the larger batteaux, it must be remembered, were propelled by the stroke of the oar, and the oar was moved by the strong arm of the oarsman. Compare that with our modern methods of travel and shipping.

Phillip De Rocheblave was at this time Governor of the Illinois country. With his duties as Governor, he seems to have had the desire to unite those of trader or merchant as well. According to some published letters and depositions furnished by Bentley and his friends, he tried to purchase a cargo of merchandise brought up the river from New Orleans by Bentley. Inability to make the purchase seems to have caused ill-feeling on his part towards Bentley. Then, accusing one of Bentley's clerks of having given a bottle of liquor to an Indian, he assessed a fine of fifty dollars against the merchant. Abundant testimony, however, made it appear that Rocheblave himself was furnishing liquor to the Indians at night in exchange for otter and beaver skins. This enraged the Governor and he threatened to make the fine against Bentley double. These and other injustices of larger import were the occasion of charges and counter charges between the two and a settled feeling of bitter enmity came to exist between them.

## AN ILLINOIS MERCHANT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In carrying on his enterprises, Bentley always had boats plying on the Mississippi, and it was on one of these trips, in March, 1777, that an incident occurred which is believed by some to have led to the occupation of the Illinois country by the Americans.

In July, 1776, Captain Gibson of the Virginia forces, with Lieutenant Linn and forty-three men, had been sent from Fort Pitt to New Orleans, to purchase a quantity of gunpowder of which they were badly in need. Having succeeded in securing nine thousand pounds they started on the return trip on September 22. Finding it necessary to winter at Arkansas Point, they again set out early in the Spring on the return.

On March 3, as they were nearing the mouth of the Ohio, they met some boats of Bentley's, in charge of M. Bomer, his agent. These boats were well loaded with one thousand pounds of powder, corn, lead, rum, wine, salt, guns, coffee, and other merchandise, in all said to be worth thirty thousand livres. It is sure that a few sacks of corn and possibly some other merchandise were transferred to Gibson's boats, but what else transpired is not so sure. Indications point very strongly to the fact that Bentley at this time gave information to the Americans of the defenseless conditions at Kaskaskia and the other Illinois posts which, being carried to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who, with his little army, was encamped at the Falls of the Ohio, caused him to decide to cross over and take possession of the Illinois country. These troops had been sent out from Virginia nominally to protect the Kentucky settlements from Indian depredations, but with a tacit understanding that they could be used for larger work in the discretion of Colonel Clark.

Bentley nowhere laid claim to giving this important information to Colonel Clark. In fact, more than once he denied it. From his peculiar situation, as a merchant in Kaskaskia, the seat of the British Government in Illinois, he could not safely do otherwise. But certain it is that Rocheblave believed it and made it the grounds for his subsequent arrest and imprisonment. We find in 1780 he asserted "that one man had been responsible for the fall of the Illinois country and that one was Thomas Bentley." Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton of Canada, by whose orders Bentley was arrested, says that the arrest was on information from Rocheblave that Bentley had sent provisions to the enemy at the mouth of the Ohio, that he was disaffected to the Government, and that he had supported the cause and interests of the rebels in various ways.

This meeting of Bentley and Clark was in March, 1777. In the following May he started to go to Mackinac, an important northern

trading station, carrying along a good cargo of skins and other merchandise. On his arrival he was placed under arrest, as mentioned above, by the orders of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and later was taken to Detroit, where he was held a prisoner for a period of two and one-half years, until his escape, "by the woods," as he calls it, to the Illinois country.

Because of his arrest at Mackinac, Bentley claims he suffered heavy losses on the cargo of merchandise he had taken there for sale, one item alone of beaver skins, being valued at one hundred and fifty pounds, English money, and this was just the beginning of his losses.

Not having had expectation of arrest or detention, he had left no one at home able to take charge of and carry on his affairs. He tried in every possible way to effect his release. He wrote letters and had friends write to those in authority, asserting and offering to prove his innocence. He offered ample indemnity for his good conduct, if released, but to no avail. With no one to carry forward his business at home, nothing but ruin could be expected, and, in fact, on his return, his affairs had been reduced to a low state. In a letter to Governor Haldiman of Canada he says, "My affairs have been totally ruined and all my property gone to rack."

But with will unbroken he set himself to work at once to repair his broken fortunes. In 1779 we find him, in a letter to Colonel Clark, offering to take charge of any large business he might entrust to him. Then, a few days later, he makes a similar offer to Gov. Haldiman of Canada of willingness to handle any large enterprise the Governor might have at his disposal. In 1780 we find him planning to send a cargo of merchandise up the river, and requesting Major De Peyster of the British forces to see that no savages be allowed to molest his boats in the passage. Later, we learn that he took a trip to Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, to press a claim for twenty-one thousand piastres, for which, he held, the State was liable, because of certain financial wrongs he had suffered at the hands of some of its officers. With what success this was attended does not appear.

On this trip he had the pleasure, as he calls it, of seeing Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, who had caused his arrest and imprisonment, himself a prisoner, having been captured by Colonel Clark, at the taking of Post St. Vincent.

Along with other misfortunes, he found, on his return from captivity, that his wife, a girl sixteen years old when he married her, had become estranged from him. Some property entanglements, growing out of this, added to his troubles. There is enough in the

published letters and court records connected with this case to form a basis for many a spicy column for a modern newspaper, if placed in the hands of some fertile-brained pencil-wielder of the present time.

Bentley must have spent some years in these endeavors to repair his fortunes, but with what success does not appear. The exact time of his death is not recorded, but it occurred some time before 1787.

Looking back over his career as a merchant, one would say that he made several serious mistakes. One of them was his apparent double-dealing in trying to appear the friend of both the British and the Americans. He should have chosen his side and been true to that. The policy of deceit and duplicity which he undertook to practice turned out badly for him. Another mistake was to antagonize Governor Rocheblave to the extent he did, going so far as to make complaint to Governor Abbott of Canada, with a view to the displacement of Rocheblave as Governor of the Illinois country. The hostility on the part of Rocheblave was a prominent cause of Bentley's imprisonment and resultant financial distresses.

But, no matter what censure or criticism might be fairly passed upon him, it remains true that Thomas Bentley was a man of extraordinary energy and resource, and that, as a merchant, he ranked as high as any of that period, standing at the front with Cerré, Vigo, and our own Pierre Menard of later period.



**Hammond**



# Stars of the Flag Won by the Battle of New Orleans

BY  
JEAN CABELL O'NEILL



IT HAS been generally believed by the few memories that yet record events of the Battle of New Orleans, that that splendid achievement of General Jackson's was entirely unnecessary, for it is a fact that the Treaty of Ghent, declaring peace with England, antedated by two weeks the date of the Battle. There was then no cable linking up the distant shores of England and America, no ten-minute wireless communication, to say that England was holding out the olive branch; and, before the slow-sailing packet arrived bearing the Treaty, the Battle had been fought and won. But there has come to light an interesting bit of talk with the great Jackson himself along the same line, and he emphatically declared that the whole Louisiana Purchase would have been lost to the United States had not the defense at New Orleans been a success.

David Buell, the historian, when a newspaper man, passed several days as the guest of Governor William Allen of Ohio, who, during Jackson's second term, was Senator from Ohio. In telling of life in the National Capital, during that strenuous administration, Allen, who was an old friend of General Jackson, mentioned calling on the President shortly after the admission of Arkansas to the Union. It was entirely characteristic, if history can be believed, that Jackson's first suggestion was a toast to the new Star in our flag. To quote the Governor's own words:

"The ceremony being duly observed, the General said, 'Allen, if there had been disaster instead of victory at New Orleans, there would never have been a State of Arkansas.'

"This of course interested me, and I asked: 'Why do you say that, General?'

"Then he said that, if Pakenham had taken New Orleans, the British would have claimed and held the whole Louisiana Purchase.

But I said: 'You know, General Jackson, that the Treaty of Ghent, which had been signed fifteen days before the Battle, provided for the restoration of all territory, places, and possessions taken by either nation from the other during the war, with certain unimportant exceptions.'

"'Yes, of course,' he replied. 'But the minutes of the conference at Ghent, as kept by Mr. Gallatin, represent the British Commissioners as declaring, in exact words: "We do not admit Bonaparte's construction of the law of nations. We cannot accept it in relation to any subject matter before us."

"'At that moment,' pursued General Jackson, 'none of our Commissioners knew what the real meaning of these words was. When they were uttered, the British Commissioners did not know it. Now, since I have been Chief Magistrate, I have learned from diplomatic sources of the most unquestionable authority that the British Ministry did not intend the Treaty of Ghent to apply to the Louisiana Purchase at all. The whole corporation of them from 1803 to 1805,—Pitt, the Duke of Portland, Grenville, Lord Liverpool, and Castlereagh,—denied the legal right of Napoleon to sell Louisiana to us, and they held therefore that we had no right to that territory.

"'So, you see, Allen, that the words of Mr. Goulburn on behalf of the British Commissioners, which I have quoted from Albert Gallatin's minutes of the conference, had a far deeper significance than our Commissioners could penetrate. Those words were intended to lay the foundation for a claim on the Louisiana Purchase entirely external to the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. . . .

"'You can see also what an awful mess such a situation would have been if the British programme had been carried out in full. All the tangled web that the cunning of English diplomacy could weave around our unsuspecting Commissioners, by the Will of Providence was torn to pieces and soaked with British blood in half an hour at New Orleans by the never-missing rifles of my Tennessee and Kentucky pioneers. And that ended it. British diplomacy could do wonders, but it couldn't provide for such a contingency as that. The British Commissioners could throw sand in the eyes of ours at Ghent, but they couldn't help the cold lead that my soldiers sprinkled in the faces of their soldiers at New Orleans. Now, Allen, you have the whole story. Now you know why Arkansas was saved at New Orleans.'

This puts history in a new light, and for many of the Stars added to the Union since that day we may give our General Jackson the praise.



INDIA POINT AND SEEKONK RIVER







NAYAT POINT



JOSEPH WILLIAMS PLACE









STODDARD'S BLACKSMITH SHOP

# Jemima Wilkinson, the Universal Friend

BY

THE REVEREND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, D. D.



EMIMA WILKINSON was born in Cumberland, Rhode Island, not far from the middle of the Eighteenth Century, 1758 being the date usually given. Her father, Jeremiah Wilkinson, was a prosperous farmer, of good character and ability, having been a member of the Colony's Council. Her mother, Amy Whipple, belonged to the Society of Friends, and to a distinguished family in the colony. Probably Jemima's father was a Friend also, as there is a record of the expulsion of the family from the Society because they refused to use the "Plain Language."

Jemima was the eighth of twelve children. Very little is known of her early life. Her mother died when she was eight years of age, and it is said that Jemima ruled the household, not being easily controlled by her elder sisters, and that she was taught the usual subjects studied in the common schools of the day. She was beautiful in person, very fond of dress, and, till she was sixteen, her reading was chiefly poetry and light literature.

About this time a new sect appeared in Rhode Island, which rejected all Church organization, and claimed the direct and constant guidance of the Spirit. They named themselves "New Light Baptists," but the people called them "Separates." Jemima attended and was much influenced by their meetings, though she never joined them. The sect soon disappeared. She became more serious and took to reading her Bible. She was moody, averse to society, complained of ill health, and, in the summer of 1776, took to her bed. Her physician pronounced her disease mental and beyond his skill.

In the fall she was much worse, and her friends were greatly troubled and watchers were provided. She described strange experiences and in October fell into a trance for thirty-six hours, when she scarcely breathed and seemed to be almost dead. Colonel Johnson, who visited her in her old age, says that she was pronounced dead,

had been placed in a coffin and carried to the Church, and that the preacher was about to begin the funeral service, when a sound was heard within the coffin. The lid was raised and Jemima sat up and in a faint voice told her story. At any rate, she recovered from this illness somewhat suddenly, dressed herself, and went about as if wholly restored.

She insisted then, and to the end of her life, that she had died and had gone to heaven, and that then her body was reanimated by a spirit whose business it was to make known God's will to men. "It was her prophetic call." Henceforth she was no longer Jemima Wilkinson, but "The Universal Friend," with power to foretell the future, discover the secrets of the heart, and heal disease.

At first her friends were incredulous, but some of them were soon persuaded that she spoke the truth. The Sunday following her restoration, at the close of public worship, she spoke for half an hour under the trees in the Church-yard to those who would listen. Her discourse consisted largely of common moral maxims, interspersed with Scripture quotations, with which then, and throughout her public life, she showed great familiarity.

Her story and fame soon spread, and she visited many places in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, and in New Milford and South Kingston, meeting-houses were erected by her followers. She took special pains at this time to gather in foundlings, the poor, and those who had no home or friends.

But among her early converts were men and women of character and considerable wealth. Among them were two men who for years gave her much help,—James Parker, at whose home she was frequently entertained, and William Potter, whose house was enlarged in order to accommodate the Friend and some of her followers. Here she is said to have made her home for six years. In view of Potter's later actions it is interesting to note that he was twice, 1775 and 1780, elected Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Washington County, Rhode Island.

In the "History of the Narragansett Church" (Volume I, page 576), a quotation is given from the record of the October session of the General Assembly at South Kingstown, Rhode Island, in 1778, which is of interest and is the foundation of some of the scandal retailed by Hudson. Newport was then occupied by the British.

"Whereas, William Aldrich, of Smithfield, in this state, preferred a petition, and represented unto this Assembly that Jemima Wilkinson, of Cumberland, a single woman, who is a preacher and under a strong apprehension in her mind, that she is divinely called

JEMIMA WILKINSON, THE UNIVERSAL FRIEND

to go and preach to the people in England; and has for that purpose, obtained General Sullivan's permission to go upon Rhode Island, to take passage from thence to England; and has also obtained his permission to take with her Marcy Wilkinson (presumably her sister of that name) and Rhoda Scott as companions.

"That they are all unwilling to go, unless some man of their acquaintance can be permitted to go with them. That he is very desirous to accompany them, and has applied to General Sullivan for that purpose, who refuses to permit him without the consent of the Assembly be first obtained. . . . .

"It is voted and resolved that the prayer of the said William Aldrich, in his aforesaid petition contained, be, and the same is hereby granted."

Jemima, however, never went farther than Newport, where she preached to the British officers.

In 1782, she went to Philadelphia, where the Friends at first received her cordially, and provided a meeting house where she preached to large congregations. Here and at Worcester she remained for several months, making many converts. She was in Rhode Island and Worcester during the next two years, but returned to her native State in 1785 to remain till her removal to the Genesee country. Meanwhile the Friends had repudiated her, and "attending Jemima Wilkinson's meeting was a cause of stumbling for which a paper of contrition had to be presented." (Miss Hazard's "Narragansett Friends' Meeting," page 171.)

As early as 1786, one of her disciples, Ezekiel Sherman, had visited the "Lake Country," with a view to selecting a site for a permanent settlement, for Jemima was convinced of the necessity of gathering her followers together into a colony. He reported, however, that the Indians were too hostile to warrant a removal at that time. The same year, however, a committee was appointed to make further explorations, and Thomas Hathaway, Richard Smith, and Abraham Dayton began their long journey. They went to Philadelphia, explored the interior of Pennsylvania, and followed the track of Sullivan's army to Kanadesaga. At Kashong they were entertained by the French traders, De Bartzch and Poudre, who gave them glowing accounts of the country, which were confirmed by their brief visit. Upon their return to Rhode Island, they recommended a settlement in the general region of Seneca Lake.

In June, 1788, twenty-five of Jemima's disciples left Schenectady, where they had gathered, for the new location. In August, they selected land at City Hill, about a mile south of the present village

of Dresden, and, though it was late in the season, they cleared and sowed twelve acres of winter wheat. Some of the party spent the winter here, and early application was made to Governor Clinton for a grant of land. Turner says that they were "the pioneers of the entire Genesee Country, preceding even the Indian treaties for acquiring land titles."

In 1789, large accessions to the Colony came from Connecticut and Rhode Island, among them William Potter already mentioned. Jemima herself remained in the East to secure money and arrange for others to go. This year she sent her friend and counsellor, Sarah Richards, to observe and report as to conditions at City Hill. Sarah was not altogether pleased with what she found, gave the people some pretty plain advice, returned home, and did not join the colony till two years later.

1789 was a trying year also for the settlement. It is the familiar story of pioneers—a poor crop of wheat,—the first wheat harvested in the Genesee Country, the wild animals getting the most of what there was, and the people reduced to sore straits for food. But some corn was raised this year, and though there were many hard experiences in store for them, the worst was over. This same year, Richard Smith, James Parker, and Abraham Dayton erected the first grist mill in the State, west of Seneca Lake. It began operations in January, 1790, and pioneer settlers came even seventy miles with their grist. A saw mill was built shortly after.

In March, 1790, the Friend started for the settlement, and reached it in two weeks. There were now two hundred and sixty persons in it, an orderly, industrious company, held together by common religious beliefs, and their leader was with them. This year they built a log meeting-house, the first in the Genesee country, which was in use for nine years.

The first school in all this region was opened about the same time by Rachel Malin. Elijah Malin also built a house for the Friend with money furnished by Anna Wagener. It was the first frame house in the Genesee country, small and quaint, with nine fireplaces attached to one chimney, but it accommodated a large family who were personal attendants upon Jemima. Here then she was comfortably established in the midst of her supporters, but many difficulties, within and without, confronted the infant colony.

The Indians, fearful of the encroachments of the white men, and stirred up by the traders and others, were growing more hostile. They could easily have destroyed the colony and certainly did hinder its growth.

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In 1791, Colonel Pickering, on behalf of the United States Government, made the famous treaty at Newtown (Elmira), with the Senecas. On their way thither, five hundred Senecas, with Red Jacket, Corn Planter, Good Peter, an Indian Preacher, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, with Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish as interpreters, camped at Norris' Landing on the Lake, and held a conference with the colony. Jemima preached, through an interpreter, to the Indians, claiming that she was a special messenger of Christ.

"The Indians were cordial and friendly, as all their subsequent conduct toward the Friend and her Society most clearly proved." She always treated them kindly and with generous hospitality. They often called at her house and were sure of a welcome. They frequently supplied her with venison, for which she always paid them.

The Indian troubles of Western New York ended with the treaty made at Canandaigua in 1794. Here the Friend preached to a large company of whites and Indians, from the text, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not God created us all?" The Indians were greatly pleased, and named Jemima, "Squaw Shinnewanagis taw ge,"—"A Great Woman Preacher." Henceforth she had their confidence and respect.

Colonel Johnson has a long and highly ornate description of this affair, and we only wish that we knew how much of it is true. Among other things, he describes how she endeavored to convince the Indians that she was a divine messenger, and finally succeeding in doing so by the use of a magnet to which she attached a tomahawk and whirled round her head to the amazement of the warriors. But much of what he tells is exaggerated and lacks confirmation. It reads more like the stories of some of his guides or the gossip of the neighborhood than like the result of an intelligent sifting of the various stories then afloat.

In 1791, Sarah Richards, who was chief manager and counsellor till her death, joined the colony. She did much to promote its best interests. Cleveland gives memoranda left by Sarah of various incidents of her régime, but they do not throw much light upon the history.

Of the complications which arose over the Colony lands I can speak only briefly. Some of the land was purchased from Phelps and Gorham, and other companies, while fourteen thousand nine hundred and forty acres were bought from the State for twenty-five cents per acre, on the condition that within seven years one family should be located on each six hundred and forty acres. Governor Clinton signed this deed October 10, 1792. The members contributed accord-

ing to their means for the purchase of this tract. That from the State was early surveyed and the members took possession of it.

But now legal troubles began, lasting for many years. James Parker, already mentioned, was an active business man and had much to do with the purchase. He had been a magistrate in Rhode Island for many years, and was an enthusiastic follower and trusted counsellor of the Friend. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace about 1800, and did a large business in this office. For some unknown reason he and the Friend separated, and about the same time William Potter, who had contributed more than half of the money needed to purchase the land from the State of New York, also seceded. Their defection was a great loss to the colony and created no end of trouble.

Potter was ejected from the Friend's house in a somewhat summary manner, but before it happened he had secured papers, signed by many of the colonists, releasing their lands to him. He then brought suit against the Friend for blasphemy. The Friend's arrest was accomplished after repeated attempts had been foiled by her quick wit, or that of her followers, and after the officers had been put to much trouble.

The case attracted much attention, and the Court House at Canandaigua was crowded at the trial, presided over by the venerable Judge Ambrose Spencer. The Friend managed her own case, refusing other counsel. The Attorney-General, having presented his statements and evidence, Jemima rose to answer. She was somewhat theatrical in manner and matter, and, among other things asserted that if her doctrines were blasphemous, then the principal witness, Judge Potter, was a blasphemer also, for he had subscribed to all her doctrines, and had not renounced his faith. Of course her speech was regarded by the legal fraternity present as "traveling out of the record," but it had won the jury, for, after the judge's charge to them, the jury did not leave the box, but rendered at once a verdict of acquittal. Then the Friend was invited to speak before the Court and the people present, and she received earnest and respectful attention.

When Judge Spencer was asked what he thought of it he is reported as saying: "We have heard good counsel, and if we live in harmony with what that woman has told us, we shall be sure to be good people here, and reach a final rest in heaven."

Judge Potter next brought a suit of ejectment, in order to secure possession of the land for which he held release papers. This case was tried before Chancellor Kent. Again, the Friend refused counsel



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though the Court urged it. The plaintiff presented the documentary evidence which seemed to confirm his title to the land in question without any doubt. Jemima bided her time and, having delivered a speech of some power, drew from her pocket "a most formidable parchment, having appended to it two hundred seals, with the signatures of all her followers, exemplified by the great seal of the State, certifying that it had been duly recorded in the Secretary of State's office, long previous to Potter's releases. It bore the same date as the deeds which had been given to her people. It constituted the Friend sole trustee for her followers, and referring to the deeds, modified them thus: "That the interest in the lands, granted by said deeds, should be held no longer than the subscribers lease of said lands, by any member, should operate as a forfeiture of his right; that nothing should pass to the purchaser, by any such sale, but the land should revert to the said Jemima." The Chancellor immediately rendered decision in favor of the defendant, and Judge Potter left the Court in disgrace, with a large bill of costs to pay. Her land troubles were not by any means ended but the worst were over.

Naturally, the litigation about the land produced much bitterness, both within and without the settlement, and doubtless this is the chief reason why Jemima's memory has been pursued with so much venom and animosity. While the Chancellor decided in favor of the Friend, and upheld her title to the land, the final decision affirming this opinion was not given until 1828, nine years after her death, and seventeen after the suit was begun. Some of the best lawyers of the State were engaged in the case, and the long and expensive suit brought little good and much evil to all concerned. (It is reported in full in "Wendell's Reports, Volume I, *Malin vs. Malin*.") Through it all we are told that the Friend maintained a patient and firm demeanor, and that, while preached against and denounced she did not retort.

During these troubles Abraham Dayton was sent to Canada to obtain, if possible, from Governor Simcoe land for a new location: A grant was made of land in Beauford Township, Canada West, but this was afterwards revoked on the ground that the Society was a new sect and the Governor did not wish to encourage their immigration to his territory. The grant, however, had been made to Dayton individually, and his family removed thither, where Mr. Dayton soon after died.

In 1790, Thomas Hathaway and Benedict Robinson, two of the leading men in the Society, bought from Phelps and Gorham, for four thousand three hundred dollars, thirty-six square miles in the town

of Jerusalem. They were able and devoted men and had the approval of the Friend in the transaction, and on this tract she was to make her home. Sarah Richards selected the site, in 1791, and in 1793 a few acres were enclosed and a log house erected. But in this year Sarah, who had suffered much from the hardships of pioneer life, died, and her death was a great loss to the Friend. By her will, Richard Malin succeeded her as trustee for Jemima.

In the spring of 1794, after four years in the original settlement, the Friend removed to their new home. It was in the midst of a dense wilderness, ten miles or more from most of the company upon which she depended. One chief reason for the removal was the land troubles. The Friend kept a farm of three hundred acres in the original tract as long as she lived. It was occupied by Anna Wagener, and a room in the house was always ready for the Friend when she visited the place. These visits practically ceased after 1812. Services continued to be held both in the house at Jerusalem and the log meeting-house, till 1799.

Members gradually gathered round their leader in her new home, and many of the poorer ones were settled on her farm. The single log house had two others added to it, and the third one was finally raised to two stories and covered with clapboards. The meetings of the Society were held in the middle room of this house till 1814, when the Friend moved into a new and more commodious house which had been erected for her special use, and which is still standing. It was much superior to any of her previous homes, but by no means the "palace" which her enemies declared it to be. The house and grounds were always neatly kept, there were no drones about, and the Friend personally superintended the work. Here she died and the Society continued to hold services in it to the end.

Notwithstanding secessions from time to time, the Friend's influence continued to be very great. It was determined far more by her zealous interest in her flock than by her religious teachings. She was a mother to her people, helpful to the poor and sick, first to minister to them in sorrow and trouble, and always attending the funeral of the members, as well as of many outsiders.

Until the later years of her life she traveled on horseback, attended by one or more of her disciples. When age and other infirmities called for other means, a coach was built for her, luxurious for those days, which is still to be seen in Penn Yan. Saturday was the Sabbath of the Society, though Sunday was generally observed as a rest day, in deference to other people.

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When the meetings were held in Jerusalem, large numbers would ride over from Milo, many of them remaining for two nights at the Friend's house, and all of them served with dinner on Saturday. Her hospitality was generous to the very last.

The Society would gather at the appointed hour and sit in silence till the Friend appeared. Then she would kneel and pray aloud fervently, and, after a few moments of silence, rise and preach for an hour or more, amid the utmost silence. She had a musical and pleasant voice, black, expressive eyes, and used graceful gestures. No singing was allowed. Afterwards others would sometimes speak, and the meeting was dismissed with the shaking of hands led by the Friend.

The Duke of Liancourt, as he is usually called, in his account of his visit to Jemima, tells the usual story of the origin of the work and Jemima's early experiences, and then gives this account of the meeting he attended:

"Jemima stood at the door of her bed-chamber on a carpet, with an arm-chair behind her. She had on a white morning gown, and waistcoat, such as men wear, and a petticoat of the same colour. Her black hair was cut short, carefully combed and divided behind into three ringlets; she wore a stock and a white silk cravat, which was tied about her neck with affected negligence. In point of delivery, she preached with more ease than any other Quaker I have yet heard; but the subject matter of her discourse was an eternal repetition of the same topics, death, sin, and repentance. She is said to be about forty years of age, but she did not appear more than thirty. She is of middle stature, well made, of a florid countenance, and has fine teeth, and beautiful eyes. Her action is studied; she aims at simplicity; but there is somewhat of pedantic in her manner." ("Travels, Etc., by Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt; Volume I, page 112.)

He also describes her house, which was "built of the trunks of trees and is extremely pretty and commodious. Her room is exquisitely neat, and all resemble more the boudoir of a fine lady than the cell of a nun. It contains a looking-glass, a clock, an arm-chair, a good bed, a warming pan and a silver saucer."

Of her conversation, the Duke says: "She seldom speaks without quoting the Bible. Her hypocrisy may be traced in all her discourses, actions, and conduct, and even in the very manner in which she manages her countenance." Then he gives some of the stories told of her, and even charges her with gross immorality. Of course he presents no evidence of the truth of them, and, so far as actual testimony goes, they are most of them slanderous and untrue.

He describes the meal eaten in Jemima's home, she herself not being present, as it was not her custom to eat with her guests. "Our plates, as well as the table linen were perfectly clean and neat; our repast although frugal, was yet better in quality than any of which we had partaken, since our departure from Philadelphia. It consisted of good fresh meat, with pudding, and excellent salad, and a beverage of a peculiar and yet charming flavor, with which we were plentifully supplied out of Jemima's apartment, where it was prepared."

He then tells of his conversation with Jemima, but she was altogether too pious for the Duke, and he repeats his statements that she is an imposter, immoral, etc. In reading the Duke's story one is impressed with his Eighteenth Century French ways and morals, and is inclined to believe, as many have, that he was unable to make a conquest at Jerusalem of a nature to foster his own pride and self-sufficiency, and that this explains much of the severe criticism he passes upon the Friend. Certainly much of what he writes about her must be taken with more than a grain of salt.

The Friend suffered much during her last illness, but she was often carried into the room where the meetings were held, that she might comfort her flock. It has been commonly said that they believed her immortal, but if so it was contrary to her own repeated statements.

She died, July 1, 1819, aged about sixty-one years. Her friends were informed that certain physicians were determined to get possession of her body, and this they naturally wished to prevent. So the body was carefully walled in, in the cellar of the house. Later, it was buried on a little hillock in an unmarked grave. Her estate was left to Rachel and Margaret Malin, who were to succeed her as guardians of the poor of the Society and continue to keep the Friend's house as its home. They were faithful to their trust till death claimed them.

The Friend had lived an earnest, honest, consistent moral life. In her preaching she condemned the popular sins of the day, and it is generally admitted that those who remained faithful to her teachings led pure and upright lives. She never winked at intemperance nor licentiousness. To one of the early settlers, who was about to open a distillery, she said: "John, it will prove a snare to thee," and so it proved.

One of the members who left the Society and joined another religious body said: "The Friend was all Love. Doubtless she was ambitious, and often her rule was arbitrary, and not always wise, but she was uniformly zealous for the welfare of her people, according to her light. Her kindness and her benevolence were long gratefully

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remembered." Cleveland says that the secret of her power "rested in her sterling humanity."

Possibly she was not cultured by modern standards, but she possessed quite a library for those days and had quite a fund of legal knowledge. Her Bible was at her tongue's end. Turner says that once "Mr. James Wadsworth called to see her. At the close of the interview, she said, 'Thou art a lawyer; thou has plead for others; hast thou ever plead for thyself to the Lord?' Mr. Wadsworth made a courteous reply, when, requesting all present to kneel with her, she prayed fervently, after which she rose, shook hands with Mr. Wadsworth, and retired to her apartment."

Till late in life she was very prepossessing in personal appearance. The only authentic portrait of her, now in Penn Yan, reveals a fine face, with a searching eye. Much has been made by some writers of her peculiarities in dress, but they do not agree in their descriptions. Probably the fashions changed then as now; but Cleveland says that she always dressed in good taste.

Cleveland says positively that she never claimed to be able to walk on the water, to work miracles, to be the Messiah or His substitute,—“but simply minister of truth sent by divine authority to preach a better life to the world.” He states that she never appropriated the property of her disciples by saying, “The Lord hath need of this,” nor exacted anything more than they gave willingly, and that she never punished gossip by compelling the person to wear a bell. All these things have been charged against her.

Cleveland gives the names of seventy-four men who were enrolled as members of the Society, “at their own request, and remained throughout devoted and firm adherents.” Many others were members for a time and left the Society for various reasons. Most of these men were heads of families, and he gives brief biographies of nearly all of them. He represents them as above the average of the early pioneers, men of character, and many of them men of prominence in the communities where they had previously lived. He also gives a list of one hundred and eight women, corresponding to that of the men. Some of these lived a celibate life. Nearly all of them were well educated for that day, and were active in temperance and other good works, as well as devoted in their religious life. They were a noble pioneer sisterhood. Many of the best people of Yates County to-day are descendants of these pioneers. The community was always a quiet and industrious place. Even Colonel Johnson says that these first settlers in this county were “bold, enterprising, persevering men, who think and act for themselves and to the best advantage.”

In the Rochester (New York) *Telegraph* of October 10, 1819, a letter was printed, signed "Neighbor," about Jemima, called forth by another letter, printed in some other paper which I have not been able to find, written after her death regarding her character and doings.

The writer says he had known the colony for eighteen years and says: "It would be gratifying to me, and I presume to very many others, to see a correct history of her life, ministry, and doctrines written with intelligence and candor. But the idle and malicious tales in circulation respecting her, are utterly unworthy of belief. In frequent conversations with her, I have sought to draw out her peculiar tenets, and to form a correct idea of her doctrines. This, however, I have found was not an easy task. To each question, she always replied by multiplied quotations of Scripture texts, and by recounting visions, leaving me to draw inferences to suit myself." "Neighbor" thinks that she began as a Millenarian, and says that it was reported that she claimed to be the Messiah, at His Second Coming, etc. But he admits that he could get from her no "satisfactory evidence on this point." But he says that she had visions and acted from immediate inspirations.

The following statement of the Friend's doctrine is condensed from Cleveland, and was originally given by Henry Barnes, one of the last of her disciples. She believed that there were Three Persons in the Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the Three are eternal. God created man holy and upright and gave him a law which, if he disobeyed, he should die, holding that where there is a law there is liberty to break it. Man did break it and caused death, temporal and spiritual, to enter the world. In consequence of this sin, an infinite sacrifice of atonement for man, so that the favor of God might be regained, was necessary. Christ was the Offering, for the redemption of the human family, and therefore the only Savior. She taught that all souls introduced by God to dwell in human bodies are perfect and pure, and so remain till they reach years of understanding and are old enough to know good from evil. Then, if they do that which is evil, they forfeit their title to heaven and happiness. The only remedy is repentance and the pardon of God through the merits of the Redeemer. It is necessary to persevere in the service of God through life and labor to grow in the grace and knowledge of the Lord and Savior. She held that the resurrection is spiritual, and consists in the separation of the soul from its earthly tenement. She rejected all Church forms and organizations.

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Most of this sounds strangely familiar, and there are some echoes of the controversies of the day which are not wholly silent now.

So far as is known, the only discourse of the Friend in print is given in full by Cleveland but is too long to copy here. It is entitled: "THE UNIVERSAL FRIEND'S ADVICE, TO THOSE OF THE SAME RELIGIOUS SOCIETY, RECOMMENDED TO BE READ IN THEIR PUBLIC MEETINGS FOR DIVINE WORSHIP. Philadelphia:—Printed by Thomas Bailey, at Yorick's Head, Market Street, MDCCLXXXIV." It thus belongs to the early years of the Society. It is a moral homily, full of good practical advice to the various classes represented in the Society, with many Scripture quotations interwoven into the text. With very slight changes it could be read to many congregations to-day, and would give a needed warning against common every-day sins and the importance of pure and upright living.

The Friend's last will and testament is a plain, practical document, dated 7th day of the 7th month, 1818. As already stated, Rachel and Margaret Malin were appointed her heirs and successors. They were to pay her just debts, and to care for the poor and those who were unable to help themselves, who were to receive "such assistance, comfort and support during natural life as they may need."

The subsequent history of the Society need not detain us long. It was not attractive to young people, and its teaching as to the superiority of the celibate state inevitably led to a decline. Designing persons obtained more or less influence over the Malins, who did not prove as wise administrators as the Friend. Divisions arose in the Society. Margaret died in 1844, and Rachel in 1848. Undue influence led both to make wills that did not carry out the evident intentions of the Friend regarding the property. Little by little it was dissipated, or passed into possession of individuals who were not faithful to the Society.

When Cleveland wrote, there were only three aged members living, and one of them, Henry Barnes, was dependent upon the generosity of others. Barnes was a remarkable man. For sixty-eight years he was a faithful and devoted member of the Society, during much of the time its school-teacher, successful even when seventy-five years of age. He also aided Cleveland in preparing his history.

Thus ended an interesting experiment and an important chapter in the religious and pioneer history of Western New York.

*AUTHORITIES CONSULTED*

I

“Memoir of Jemima Wilkinson, A Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century; Containing an Authentic Narrative of Her Life and Character, and of the Rise, Progress and Conclusion of Her Ministry.

‘Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.’ Matt. VII: 20.  
Bath, N. Y.

Published by R. L. Underhill and Co.  
Richardson and Dow, Printers.  
1844.”

This is a reprint of the Life by David Hudson and published at Geneva in 1821, changing the title from “History” to “Memoir.” The Preface affirms the accuracy of the Memoir. The writer, following Buck’s Theological Dictionary, says that there are reliable accounts of twenty-four imposters, who were predicted by our Savior and who have claimed to come in His place. He leaves it with his readers to decide whether Jemima is the twenty-fifth. The book is full of petty gossip, bigotry and unfounded calumnies, and is almost worthless as history. It is the source of most of the stories about Jemima in common circulation.

II

“History of Yates County, Volume I, 1848. By S. C. Cleveland.

The writer of this valuable work gives the fullest and most reliable account of Jemima which has thus far appeared in print. It is fair and accurate and largely written from personal knowledge. The writer of this paper acknowledges his great indebtedness to this volume.

III

“History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham’s Purchase, and Morris’ Reserve. By O. Turner. Rochester, 1852.”

A chapter is given to Jemima, but it adds little to Cleveland’s account.

IV

“Travels through the United States of America. The Country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797—by the Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt. Translated by H. Neuman—London, 1799—Volume I.”



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The Duke visited "Jerusalem," interviewed Jemima, and devotes several pages to his visit. Further reference will be made to this paper.

### V

"History of the Narragansett Church. By William Updike—Edited by Daniel Goodwin—1907—1st edition 1847. Volume I." It contains a single reference to Jemima quoted herein.

### VI

"A Narrative of Thomas Hathaway and His Family, Formerly of New Bedford, Massachusetts, with Incidents in the Life of Jemima Wilkinson, and the Times in Which They Lived. By Mrs. William Hathaway, Jr., New Bedford, Mass., April 23d, 1869. New Bedford. E. Anthony and Sons, Printers, 1869."

This is a rare pamphlet of forty-three pages and commands a fancy price. Valuable as a record of the Hathaway family, its statements about Jemima are not of great value.

### VII

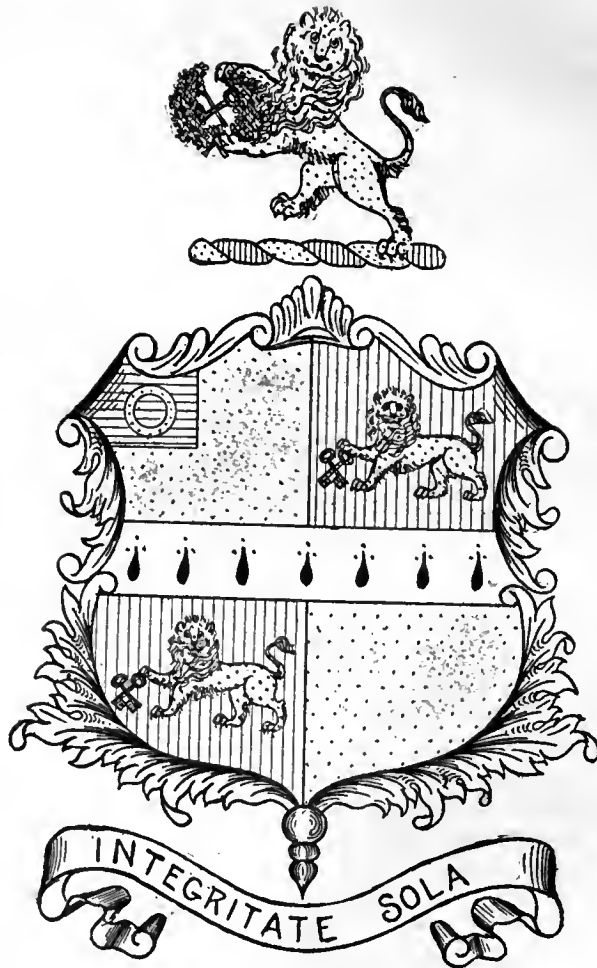
The Eclectic Magazine, Volume V: 546 (August, 1845). An article reprinted from Tait's Magazine by "Colonel Johnson." The writer visited Jemima in her old age, and has preserved some interesting stories about her life and that of the Colony. It deals more or less in gossip, but is in the main reliable.

### VIII

Numerous articles in local newspapers, magazines and other publications too numerous to mention, and considerable correspondence with parties who are descendants of some of Jemima's followers, or otherwise related to the history. Many of them can be divided into two classes; those which depend upon Hudson, and hence are of no value, and those which have used Cleveland, or other reliable authorities.

### IX

There is one important source of information which no one has thus far been able to use. There is in existence "a trunk full" of contemporary letters and documents regarding Jemima and her followers. But thus far the owner in loyalty to Jemima refuses to have them examined. This is greatly to be regretted. Doubtless they would add local color and many interesting incidents, though there is good reason for believing that the main conclusions of this paper would not be altered.



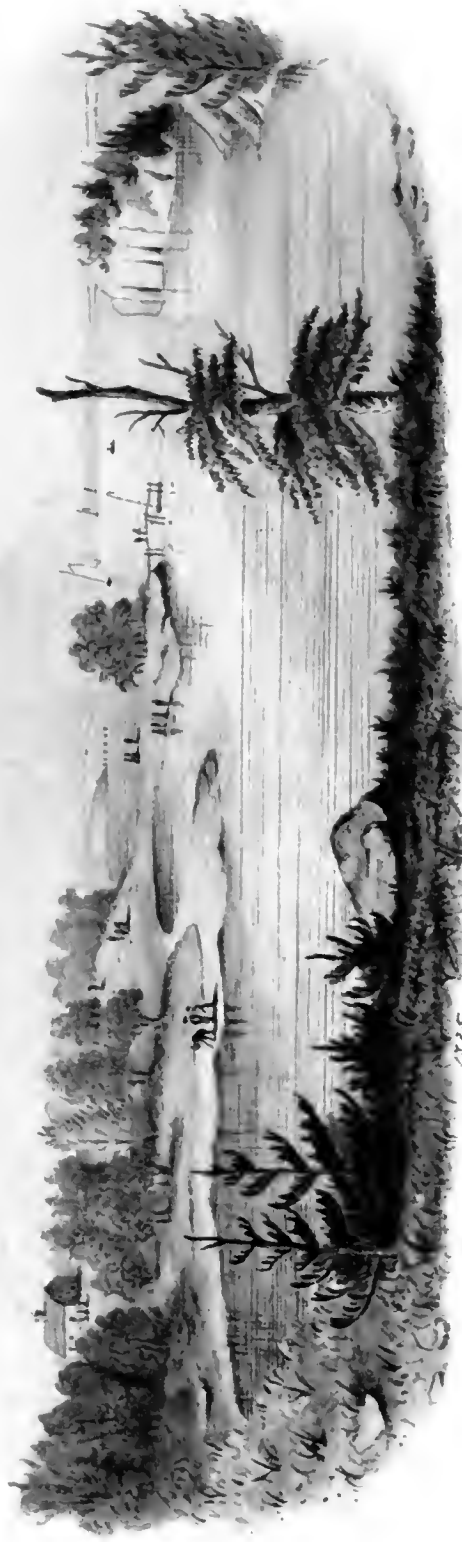
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FOX POINT HILL







WINDSOR PLACE

# What Was the Mission of Nathan Hale?

BY

WILLIAM HENRY SHELTON

Curator of Washington's Headquarters, New York, the Picturesque Old Dwelling on  
Washington Heights, Known Also as The Roger Morris House, and The  
Jumel Mansion



THE history of that portion of the American Revolution, between the Battle of Long Island and the movement to White Plains, became of absorbing interest to me, when, as Curator of the Museum in the "Roger Morris House of the Revolution," I found myself located in the old Headquarters on Washington Heights. Through the kindness of the late Doctor Billings of the New York Public Library, I had put at my disposal, in 1908, the seven volumes of the American Archives, in which all the papers of the Revolution, in the possession of the United States Government, were published in the Eighteen Fifties. The facts contained in these documents were unimpeachable, and frequently revealed the inaccuracy of our Revolutionary history and the absurdity of some of our traditions.

To my surprise, I could find in these official papers but two references to Nathan Hale. One was in "An Extract from a Letter from Harlem," dated September 28, 1776, just a week after the great fire of New York.

"Friday last we discovered a vast cloud of smoke arising from the north part of the city, which continued 'till Saturday evening. The consequence was that the Broadway from the new city hall to white hall is laid in ashes. Our friends were immediately suspected and according to the report of a flag of truce who came to our lines soon after, those that were found on or near the spot were pitched into the conflagration, some hanged by their heels, others by their necks with their throats cut. Inhuman barbarity! One Hale in New York, on suspicion of being a spy, was taken up and dragged without ceremony to the execution post and hung up."

The other reference was in a letter dated October 3, 1776, written by Tench Tilghman, General Washington's favorite *Aide*, to William Duer, Secretary of the New York Convention, at a time when the Convention held prisoners suspected of being spies. The letter suggested retaliation with the following statement:

"General Howe hanged a captain of ours, belonging to Knowlton's Rangers who went into New York to make discoveries."

Besides these two statements there is silence on the subject of Nathan Hale.

From other sources of information as unimpeachable as the Archives, I find that Nathan Hale was captured within the British lines, in or near the City of New York, on Saturday evening, September 21, 1776, and was hanged the next morning at eleven o'clock without any trial, although his rank and position in the Continental Army were known to his executioners. He was executed when the British army was in an angry mood, following the fire, and even the common soldiers were permitted to offer insults to his body on the tree. In support of this surprising statement, I quote from a letter written from New York by a British officer on September 26, just four days after the execution. The letter was published on November 9, 1776, in the *Kentish Gazette*, at Canterbury, England, and the closing paragraph, with its brutal realism, seems to have been appended by the writer as the mention of a very trivial event.

"We hanged up a rebel spy the other day, and some soldiers got, out of a rebel Gentleman's garden, a painted soldier on a board, and hung it along with the Rebel; and wrote upon it, General Washington, and I saw it yesterday beyond headquarters by the roadside."

The great conflagration, which burned a fifth part of New York City on that terrible Saturday, had been brought under control by two o'clock in the afternoon, after a number of young officers of the Continental Army, forgotten heroes, martyrs of the Revolution, had been thrown into the flames by the British soldiers and sailors, who were putting out the fire.

Nathan Hale, in his disguise of a Dutch schoolmaster, and with cool, undaunted courage, had evidently been in the city during the conflagration. Scores of innocent people had been arrested during the day and thrown into prison on suspicion of having a hand in the fire, while he passed unsuspected. The British staff believed that Washington had ordered the city to be set on fire and that Hale was one of his agents, and that belief sufficiently accounts for the brutal haste of his execution and the license permitted to the soldiers.

Between the retreat from Long Island and the evacuation of the



## WHAT WAS THE MISSION OF NATHAN HALE?

city, there was a heated controversy in the army as to whether the city of New York should be abandoned to the British for their winter quarters, or whether it should be destroyed by fire to prevent such occupation. All accounts, before and after the fire, seem to agree that the New England troops were the strongest advocates of burning the city, while the New Yorkers were opposed, naturally, to applying the torch to the principal town in their colony.

As early as September 2, Washington sent a despondent letter to Congress. He wrote in part:

"Till of late I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place, nor should I have yet if the men would do their duty but this I despair of. It is painful and extremely grating to me to give such unfavorable accounts, but it would be criminal to conceal the truth at so critical a juncture. Every power I possess shall be exerted to serve the cause, and my first wish is, that whatever may be the event, the Congress will do me the justice to think so.

"If we should be obliged to abandon the town ought it to stand as winter quarters for the enemy? They would derive great conveniences from it on the one hand, and much property would be destroyed on the other. It is an important question, but will admit of but little time for deliberation. At present, I dare say the enemy mean to preserve it if they can. If Congress, therefore, should resolve upon the destruction of it, the resolution should be a profound secret, as the knowledge of it will make a capital change in their plans.

"I have the honor to be, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient servant.

"G. WASHINGTON."

The post riders who carried that letter from New York to Philadelphia wasted no time on the road, for the reply of Congress, "To his Excellency General Washington," signed by "John Hancock, President," was dated the very next day, September 3d.

"Resolved that General Washington be acquainted that Congress would have special care taken, in case he should find it necessary to quit New York, that no damage be done to the said city by his troops, on their leaving it; the Congress have no doubt of being able to recover the same tho the enemy should for a time obtain possession of it."

Such heroic treatment was not likely to appeal to a deliberative body at a distance from the field of action. It can hardly be doubted that Washington awaited the consent of Congress to apply the torch, but now his hands were tied. At the same time he was relieved of

responsibility, and of outside pressure, which was doubtless, very great.

General Greene was in favor of burning the city, and sent the following letter to General Washington.

"The City and Island of New York are no objects for us; we are not to bring them into competition with the general interests of America. Part of the army already has met with a defeat; the country is struck with a panick; any capital loss at this time may ruin the cause. 'Tis our business to study to avoid any considerable misfortune, and to take post where the enemy will be obliged to fight us, and not we them. The sacrifice of the vast property of New York and the suburbs, I hope has no influence upon your Excellency's measures. Remember the King of France. When Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, invaded his Kingdom, he laid whole Provinces waste; and by that policy he starved and ruined Charles's army, and defeated him without fighting a battle. Two-thirds of the property of the city of New York and the suburbs belongs to the Tories. We have no very great reason to run considerable risk for its defence.

"I would burn the city and suburbs, and that for the following reasons: If the enemy gets possession of the city, we never can recover the possession without a superior naval force to theirs; it will deprive the enemy of an opportunity of barracking their whole army together, which, if they could do, would be a very great security. It would deprive them of a general market; the price of things would prove a temptation to our people to supply them for the sake of gain, in direct violation of the laws of their country.

"All these advantages would result from the destruction of the city, and not one benefit can arise to us from its preservation, that I can conceive of. If the city once gets into the enemy's hands, it will be at their mercy either to save or destroy it, after they have made what use of it they think proper. . . .

"If my zeal has led me to say more than I ought, I hope my good intentions may atone for the offence.

"I shall only add that these sentiments are not dictated from fear, nor from any apprehensions of personal danger; but are the result of a cool and deliberate survey of our situation, and the necessary measures to extricate us from our present difficulties. I have said nothing at all about the temper and disposition of the troops, and their apprehensions about being sold. This is a strong intimation that it will be difficult to get such troops to behave with proper spirit in time of action, if we should be attacked.

"Should your Excellency agree with me with respect to the two

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first points, that is, that a speedy and general retreat is necessary, and also, that the city and suburbs should be burned, I would advise to call a general council upon that question, and take every general officers opinion upon it.

"I am with due respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

N. GREEN.

"To his Excellency Gen. Washington, Kings Bridge."

The agitation for burning the city had begun even before the Battle of Long Island, for the Convention of the State of New York, as early as August 22, on hearing a rumor that the city might be set on fire, interrogated Washington on the subject. General Washington's reply shows that he was giving the matter serious consideration.

"I can assure you, gentlemen," he replied, "that this report is not founded upon the least authority from me; on the other hand I am so sensible of the value of such a city, and the consequences of its destruction to many worthy citizens and their families, that nothing but the last necessity, and such as should justify me to the whole world, would induce me to give orders for that purpose."

News of the plan to burn the city had reached the camps outside. A letter from an officer, "to his friend in Edinbrough," written from Staten Island as early as August 11, and published in the *St. James Chronicle*, concludes with these words: "We have a fine view of New York from this place, which we expect soon to see in flames."

The same paper, on October 22, published a letter from an officer on Long Island, dated September 2, from which the following is an extract: "All accounts agree that they are preparing to evacuate the Town. Whether they will burn it or not is uncertain, as the Provincials from the Jerseys and the neighborhood strenuously oppose that measure."

On September 2, another English officer wrote home from Long Island: "I have just heard that there has been a most dreadful fray in the town of New York. The New Englanders insisted on setting the town on fire and retreating; this was opposed by the New Yorkers, who were joined by the Pennsylvanians, and a battle has been the consequence, in which many lost their lives."

Another letter written on September 4, to "a gentlemen in London," contains the following curious information: "In the night of the second instant three persons escaped from the city in a canoe and informed our general that Mr. Washington had ordered three battalions of New York Provincials to leave New York, and that they should be replaced by an equal number of Connecticut troops: but

the former assured that the Connecticutians would burn and destroy all the houses, peremptorily refused to give up their city."

An officer wrote from camp, near Newtown, Long Island, on September 5:

"Deserters tell us they are in great confusion at New York, one party wanting to burn the town and the other to save it but in compassion for their sick, which it is impossible they can remove, the number being so great, I think they will hardly set fire to the town."

Absurd as many of these letters are, they were written by English officers during the time when the agitation for burning the city was at fever-heat, and they throw a lurid light on a subject which is almost completely ignored by American history. They indicate with precision what they expected and from whom they expected the blow to come. Their information came from Tories in the city who knew the feeling of the troops from the different colonies. They expected the city to be set on fire by New Englanders, and, after the fire occurred, every description of it and every official despatch sent home claimed that the New Englanders had done so.

"New York, Oct. 7th. The savage burning of this city by the New England incendiaries will be a lasting monument of their inveterate malice against the trade and prosperity of this colony, as well as rooted disaffection to British law and government. They had long threatened the performance of this villainous deed: and this is the best return that the people of property in this city, who have espoused their cause, are to expect for their heedless credulity." *Gainé's Mercury*.

I think no military man to-day will question the wisdom of Greene's contention. General Washington had driven the enemy out of Boston by siege; if that success had been followed by scourging him out of New York by fire, at the beginning of winter, it would have been a brilliant piece of military strategy, that would probably have compelled him to seek some other port for his fleet, and would have completely frustrated the plan of campaign prepared over-sea. And such action by Washington would have been "justified to the whole world."

On Sunday, September 15, the last of the Continental troops were withdrawn from the city, leaving it intact for the British officers to winter in, with a host of their Tory friends to entertain them. It was a bitter condition to contemplate for the majority of the army who had favored the burning, with the near prospect of themselves shivering in huts with inadequate clothing. But something was going to happen.

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On the night of Friday, September 20, there was a commotion in this old house,—old now, as I write, but new then. Any officer on the Staff who had gone to bed before midnight,—and General Washington and his young gentlemen had been in the saddle that day, reviewing Heath's Division,—was roused by the guards. I can see them assembling on the little balcony under the front porch, and peering through the windows, for there was a great red light on the horizon to the south, the light of a great conflagration. Every man knew that it was the city of New York burning, the city that had been wrested from them five days before to be the comfortable winter-quarters of the hated enemy. It was a sleepless night at Headquarters. There were eyes watching the fire on through the small hours of the morning, until day broke and revealed a great column of smoke above the city and the spire of Trinity Church still standing against the flames. The fire lighted for the purpose of burning the enemy out of New York City had been a dismal failure. It was subdued on Saturday afternoon and on Monday, September 30, came the following graphic account in Gaine's *Mercury*, which was attributed by the London papers to the pen of "Major Rook, formerly aide-de-camp to General Gage, and a noted paragraph writer in the Massachusetts *Gazette*."

"On Saturday the 21st inst., we had a terrible fire in the City, which consumed about one thousand houses, or nearly a fourth of the whole city.

"The following is the best account we can collect of this melancholy event. The fire broke out first at the most southerly part of the city, near White Hall, and was discovered between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, the wind blowing very fresh from the south, and the weather exceedingly dry. The rebel army having carried off all the bells of the city, the alarm could not be speedily communicated, and very few of the citizens were in town, most of them being driven out by the calamities of war, and several of the first rank, sent prisoners to New England and other distant parts. A few minutes after the fire was discovered at White Hall, it was observed to break out in five or six other places, at a considerable distance.

"In this dreadful situation, when the whole city was threatened with destruction, Major-General Robertson, who had the chief command, sent immediately for two regiments that were encamped near the city, placed guards in several streets, and took every other precaution that was practicable to ward off the impending ruin. Lord Howe ordered the boats of the fleet to be manned, and after landing

a large number of officers and seamen to assist us, the boats were stationed on each side of the city in the North and East Rivers, and the lines near the royal army were extended across the island, as it manifestly appeared the city was designedly set on fire.

"The fire raged with inconceivable violence, and in its destructive progress swept away all the buildings between Broad Street and the North River, almost as high up as the City Hall; and from thence, all the houses between Broadway and the North River, as far as King's College, a few only excepted. Long before the main fire reached Trinity church, that large, ancient and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was one hundred and forty feet high, the upper part wood, and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a most grand and awful spectacle. Several women and children perished in the fire. Their shrieks, joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling houses and the wide spread ruin which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description, which was still heightened by the darkness of the night. Besides Trinity church, the rector's house, the charity school, the old Lutheran church, and many other fine buildings were consumed. St. Paul's church and King's College were directly in the line of fire, but saved with very great difficulty. After raging about ten hours the fire was extinguished between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M.

"During this complicated scene of devastation and distress, at which the most savage heart might relent, several persons were discovered with large bundles of matches, dipped in melted rosin and brimstone, attempting to set fire to the houses. A New England man, who had a captain's commission under the Continental Congress, and in their service, was seized, having these dreadful implements of ruin. On being searched, the sum of five hundred pounds was found upon him. General Robertson rescued two of these incendiaries from the enraged populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the flames, and reserved them for the hand of deliberate justice. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed water; he also wounded with a cutlass, a woman who was very active in handling water. This provoked the spectators to such a degree, that they instantly hung him up. One of those villains set fire to the college and was seized; many others were detected in the like crimes and secured.

"The officers of the army and navy, the seamen and soldiers, greatly exerted themselves, often with the utmost hazard to themselves, and showed all that alertness and activity for which they are

justly celebrated on such occasions. To their vigorous efforts in pulling down such wooden buildings as would conduct the fire, it is owing, under Providence, that the whole city was not consumed; for the number of inhabitants was small, and the pumps and fire engines were very much out of order. This last circumstance, together with the removal of our bells, the time and place of the fire's breaking out, when the wind was south, the city being set on fire in so many different places nearly at the same time, so many incendiaries being caught in the very fact of setting fire to houses; these, to mention no other particulars, clearly evince, beyond the possibility of doubt, that this diabolical affair was the result of a preconcerted, deliberate scheme. Thus the persons who called themselves our friends and protectors, were the perpetrators of this atrocious deed, which in guilt and villany, is not inferior to the Gun-powder Plot; whilst those who were held up as our enemies were the people who gallantly stepped forth, at the risk of their lives, to snatch us from destruction. Our distress was very great before but this disaster has increased them ten fold. Many hundreds of families have lost their all, and are reduced from a state of affluence to the lowest ebb of want and wretchedness—destitute of shelter, food or clothing.

“Surely (there must be some chosen curse—some secret thunder in the stores of heaven, red with uncommon wrath to blast) the miscreants who thus wantonly sport with the lives, property and happiness of their fellow creatures, and unfeelingly doom them to inevitable ruin.”

Another brief account of the fire is contained in the following extract from a letter from New York, dated September 23, and published in the *St. James Chronicle* on November 8.

“The fire spread and raged with inconceivable violence. There were few citizens in town; the fire engines and pumps were out of order. Two regiments of soldiers were ordered into town, and many boats full of men were sent from the fleet; to these under Providence, it is owing that the whole city was not reduced to ashes. The destruction was very great; between a third and fourth of the city is burnt. All that is west of the New Exchange along Broed Street to the North River as high as the City Hall and from thence along the Broadway and North River to King's College is in ruins. St. Pauls Church and the College were saved with the utmost difficulty. Trinity Church, the Lutheran Church, the Parsonage and Charity School are destroyed. Many of the villains were apprehended, with matches in their hands to set fire to the houses. A fellow was seized just about to set fire to the College, who acknowledged he was employed

for the purpose. A New England captain was seized with matches in his pocket, acknowledged the same. Between 1,000 and 1,500 houses are burnt; and we are under the most dismal apprehensions that there are some more of those villains concealed in the town to burn what is yet left. Our distresses were great before, but this calamity has increased them ten fold. Thousands are hereby reduced to beggary. This infernal scheme was confessedly executed to prevent the King's Troops from having any benefit from the city and to distress the friends of Government."

Besides the New England Captain, mentioned in each of the foregoing accounts of the fire, two other Continental officers, who perished in the burning city, are named in letters to the London papers of that day. The *St. James Chronicle*, Friday, November 8, 1776, mentions the fire as an "atrocious act, which was conducted by one, William Smith, an officer in a New England Regiment, who was taken with a match in his hand and sacrificed on the spot to the fury of the soldiers."

The *London Packet* of December 4, published the text of a commission found in the pocket of a provincial officer, who was detected in setting fire to some of the houses in New York, and put to death by the soldiers. It reads in part,

"In Congress: The Delegates of the United Colonies to Richard Brown, Esq.

"We reposing especial confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct, and fidelity, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be First Lieutenant of the second company of riflemen, whereof Robert Cluggage is Captain in the Second regiment of foot commanded by Col. William Thompson."

The commission is signed by John Hancock. This unfortunate young officer was a Pennsylvanian, and according to Heitman's "Historical Register of the Continental Army," he was accounted for by his regiment as "taken prisoner at Long Island, 27 Aug. 1776."

On the afternoon of Sunday, September 22, 1776, a few hours after the execution of Nathan Hale, and the day after the fire Captain John Montessor, an *Aide* on General Howe's Staff, came to the American lines, under a flag of truce, the bearer of a letter from General Howe to General Washington. The letter was written the day before, in reply to two letters from General Washington, "of the 6th and 19th current," and concerned the exchange of Major-General Sullivan for Major-General Prescott, and Brigadier-General Lord Stirling for Governor Montfort Brown. At the end of the letter, General Howe complained of bullets "cut and fixed to the ends



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of a nail," which had been found in "encampments quitted by your troops on the 15th instant." Captain Montessor brought one of these bullets with him and forwarded it to General Washington. The letter made no mention of the fire, that had laid a fifth part of the city in ashes, and which was burning as General Howe wrote.

Colonel Reed, the Adjutant-General, rode down from Headquarters to meet Captain Montessor's flag. If he was accompanied by others officers of the Staff, their names have not been revealed. It was a very busy afternoon at Headquarters, completing arrangements for the attack on Montessor's Island, now Randal's, which was named for the father of Captain Montessor.

It was through the gossip of this meeting that the first information of the execution of Nathan Hale reached the American lines.

Besides the very brief entry in the British Order-Book, it was, practically, the only information of that tragic event that ever came to the American lines. Whatever that unofficial information, brought by Captain Montessor, may have been, it was never revealed by General Washington or by Adjutant-General Reed. Neither the execution of Hale nor the great fire was ever referred to in any communication between General Washington and General Howe. A life of Captain Hale, published by the United States Military Library Association for the instruction of the cadets at West Point, says: "The capture and execution of Hale was considered of sufficient importance to be communicated formally by the British to the American General." This statement is not true. The attempt to burn the city of New York and the execution of Nathan Hale were two subjects of which the dignity of General Washington and the dignity of General Howe forbade all mention.

On the day following the arrival of the "flag," General Washington wrote a letter to Jonathan Trumbull, the Governor of Nathan Hale's State. After giving some account of the fire, he closed the letter with the following words:

"By what means it happened we do not know; but the gentleman who brought the letter from Gen. Howe, last night, and who was one of his aides-de-camp, informed Col. Reed that several of our countrymen had been punished with various deaths on account of it, some by hanging others by burning; alleging that they were apprehended when committing the fact."

On Wednesday, Lieutenant Tilghman carried Washington's reply to Howe's letter to the lines, and on Thursday wrote to his father:

"Reports concerning the setting fire to New York, if it was done designedly it was without the knowledge or Approbation of any

commanding officer in this army, and indeed so much time had elapsed between our quitting the city and the fire, that it can never be fairly attributed to the army. Indeed every man belonging to the army who remained in or were found near the city were made prisoners. Many acts of barbarous cruelty were committed upon poor creatures who were perhaps flying from the flames. The soldiers and sailors looked upon all who were not in the military line as guilty, and burnt and cut to pieces many. But this I am sure was not by Order. Some were executed next day upon good grounds."

The story of Nathan Hale was first given to the public in 1799, twenty-three years after his execution. It was told in a work entitled "A Summary History of New England and General Sketch of the American War," written by Hannah Adams, and published at Dedham, Massachusetts. The story was enclosed within quotation marks and a footnote informed the reader that "The compiler of this History of New England is indebted to Gen. Hull of Newton for this interesting account of Capt. Hale."

Abridgements of this work, for the use of the Boston schools, were published in 1806 (London), and in 1807 (Dedham), in which the story, somewhat abbreviated, was repeated with the same caution of quotation-mark and foot-note.

The name of Nathan Hale was a new name to the public in 1799. As General Hull says, "It is scarcely known that such a character ever existed." The peculiar way in which the story was first published, and the fact that for twenty-five years after Hannah Adams's History no historian of the Revolution ever repeated it or even noticed it, makes it interesting to try to trace its growth and development, and to discover, if possible, the reason for this prolonged silence, and some explanation of the strange uncertainty about the place of his capture.

Here follows the story as told in Hannah Adams's History:

"This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations, remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose General Washington applied to Col. Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Col. Knowlton communicated his request to Capt. Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who belonged to his regiment.

"This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous

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service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained every possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

"In his attempt to return he was apprehended, and carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was and what were his views.

"Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost marshal to execute him the next morning. This order was accordingly executed, in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him. A Bible for a few moments' devotion was not procured although he requested it. Letters which on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends were destroyed, and this very extraordinary reason given 'That the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness.'

"Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, there fell as amiable, and as worthy a young man, as America could boast, with this dying observation 'that he only lamented that he had but one life to lose for his country.'

"Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war and the practice of nations in similar cases.

"It is however a justice due to the character of Captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances.

"Neither the expectation of promotion nor of pecuniary reward, induced him to the attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that, in this way he might be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good became honorable by being necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprise by which his connections lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

"The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections. To see such a character in the flower of youth cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country without the implication of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings of his enemies.

"Should comparison be drawn between Major André and Captain Hale, injustice would be done the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. Whilst almost every historian of the American Revolution has celebrated the virtues and lamented the fate of André, Hale has remained unnoticed and it is scarcely known such a character ever existed.

"To the memory of André, his countrymen have erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honors and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale not a stone has been erected nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult."

The first paragraphs of this belated statement of General Hull are cunningly worded to mislead the student of history. General Hull aims to establish: (1) that Nathan Hale was sent by Washington; (2) that he found the British army on Long Island; (3) that he was captured on Long Island and carried into New York. Of the first claim there is no evidence, and it should be remembered that the frankness and honesty of Nathan Hale's character made him about the most unfit officer in the Continental army to undertake the devious role of a spy, and the others are known to be untrue.

It is well known that many fables have been added to the original story, which have been accepted by certain authors and have passed into history. This sort of invention culminated in 1856 in the popular life of Nathan Hale by Isaac W. Stewart, of which the American Library Association's Historical Guide says: "A wholly uncritical treatment of the many tales that have gathered about the name of Nathan Hale. It has been entirely superseded."

In 1805, following Hannah Adams, Mrs. Mercy Warren published at Boston "Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution." In 1820, a translation of Charles Botta's "American Revolution" (Italian), was published in Philadelphia. In 1822, Paul Allen's "History of the Revolution" was published in Baltimore, and in 1823, a history of the Revolution by James Thatcher. None of these historians mentions Nathan Hale.

In the following year, however, after a lapse of another quarter of a century of silence, following General Hull's story in Hannah Adams's history, the story made its second appearance in "Annals of the American Revolution," by Jedediah Morse, Hartford, 1824. The author credits the story to Hannah Adams, and, like that conscientious lady, he washes his hands of any responsibility for it. "The particulars," he says, "of this tragical event, sanctioned by General Hull, who was knowing to them at the time, are related by Miss Adams in her history of New England."

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Two years later, Stephen Hempstead, then an old man, who had been the camp servant of Hale and his companion on his ill-fated mission as far as Norwalk, published a letter, or statement, in the *St. Louis Republican*, issue of January 27, 1827. All that is of interest in this letter follows:

“Capt. Hale was one of the most accomplished officers, of his grade and age, in the army. He was a native of the town of Coventry, state of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College—young, brave, honorable—and at the time of his death a Captain in Col. Webb’s Regiment of Continental Troops. Having never seen a circumstantial account of his untimely and melancholy end, I will give it. I was attached to his company, and in his confidence. After the retreat of our army from Long Island, he informed me, he was sent for to Head Quarters, and was solicited to go over to Long Island to discover the disposition of the enemy’s camp, &c, expecting them to attack New York, but, that he was too unwell to go, not having recovered from a recent illness; that upon a second application, he had consented to go, and I must go as far with him as I could, with safety, and wait for his return. Accordingly, we left our camp on Harlem Heights, with the intention of crossing over the first opportunity; but none offered until we arrived at Norwalk, fifty miles from New York. In harbor, there was an armed sloop, and one or two row galleys. Capt. Hale had a general order, to all armed vessels, to take him to any place he should designate: he was set across the Sound, in the sloop, at Huntington (Long Island) by Capt. Pond, who commanded the vessel. Capt. Hale had changed his uniform for a plain suit of citizen’s brown clothes, with a round broad brimmed hat; assuming the character of a Dutch school-master, leaving all his other clothes, commission, public and private papers, with me, and also his silver shoe-buckles, saying they would not comport with his character of schoolmaster, and retaining nothing but his college diploma, as an introduction to his assumed calling. Thus equipped, we parted for the last time in life. He went on his mission, and I returned back again to Norwalk, with orders to stop there until he should return, or hear from him, as he expected to return back again to cross the sound, if he succeeded in his object. The British army had, in the mean time, got possession of New York, whither he also passed, and had nearly executed his mission, and was passing the British picquet guard between the two armies, within a mile and a half of his own quarters, when he was stopped at a tavern, at a place called the “Cedars.” Here there was no suspicion of his character being other than what he pretended, until, most unfortunately, he was

met in the crowd by a fellow countryman, and an own relation, (but a tory and renegado,) who had received the hospitality of his board from Capt. Hale, at his quarters at Winter Hill, in Cambridge, the winter before. He recognized him, and most inhumanely and infamously betrayed him, divulging his true character, situation in the army, &c.: and having him searched, his diploma corroborated his relative's when, without any formality of trial, or delay, they hung him instantaneously, and sent a flag over to our army, stating "that they had caught such a man within their lines, that morning, and had hung him as a spy." Thus suddenly and unfeelingly did they rush this young and worthy man into Eternity, not allowing him an hour's preparation, nor the privilege of writing to his friends, nor even to receive the last consolations of his religion, refusing to let the chaplain pray with him, as was his request. After parting with Capt. Hale, of all these circumstances I was authentically informed at the time. \* \* \*

"Such was the melancholy fate of Capt. Hale. While the stern rigor of military law justified his execution, (betrayed as he was, most foully, by his ungrateful relation and a villainous Tory,) yet, who that knew him as I did, embarked in the same hazardous enterprise, and had been together in the perilous services of the field, but would drop the tear of pity for his worth. It is true he died on the "inglorious tree," not the death of the soldier; but it is likewise true, he suffered for his country's sake. And André died also the "death of a spy," but did he fill an inglorious grave? I do not mourn at the sympathy for the man, which was felt for Major André—in Europe and America—by the fair, and the brave—the friend and the foe—by American and by Briton. No. God forbid. But I do think it hard, that Hale—who was equally brave, learned, young, accomplished, and honorable—should be forgotten on the very threshold of his fame, even by his countrymen; that while our own historians have done honor to the memory of André, Hale should be unknown; that, while the remains of the former have been honored, even by our own countrymen, those of the latter should rest among the clods of the valley, undistinguished, unsought, and unhonored.

"STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD, SR."

In 1836, Judge Andrew T. Judson delivered an address before the Hale Monument Association of Coventry, Connecticut, which seems to be out of print. Reference is made to it in Thompson's History of Long Island," which was published in 1843. In the appendix to this work is a brief story of Hale's capture, and here I find

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for the first time two stories that have become current history. One is the story of the drawings found between the soles of Hale's shoes with the description written in Latin, and the story of the capture of the sloop. Thompson's account is taken from Hull's story in Hannah Adams's History, and from Judson's address, and, as Hull makes no mention of either of the above incidents, they probably originated in the Coventry address. The capture of the sloop, for which no date or authority has been given, is claimed to have taken place in the East River, under the guns of the *Asia*, British man-of-war. It is said that Hale and his friends boarded the sloop in the night, and brought it to shore with the British crew in the hold as prisoners, and that the vessel was loaded with clothing, which Hale gave to the destitute and half-clad soldiers. These stories have no official authority.

It is evident that the subject of Nathan Hale was introduced in the appendix to Thompson's "History of Long Island" solely because of the claim, probably made by Judson, that the scene of the capture was at Huntington, Long Island. Thompson states that the arrest was at a place called "The Cedars," near Huntington, Long Island, and by a boat's crew from the British ship *Cerberus*, at about daylight, shortly after Hale had left the tavern of one Mother Chichester.

In 1844, the following year, "A Memoir of Captain Nathan Hale," by S. Babcock, was published by the Hale Monument Association of New Haven. Babcock says Hale was captured at a tavern called "The Cedars," which, he states, was not more than two or three miles from his own quarters.

In 1848 a life of General Hull was published by his daughter, Mrs. Mariah Campbell. In the chapter devoted to Nathan Hale she makes quotations from a manuscript left by her father. After mentioning Hale's disappearance from camp, he continues:

"In a few days an officer came to our camp, under a flag of truce, and informed Hamilton, then a captain of Artillery, but afterwards an aide of General Washington, that Captain Hale had been arrested within the British lines, condemned as a spy and executed that morning.

"I learned the melancholy particulars from this officer who was present at his execution, and seemed touched by the circumstances attending it.

"On the morning of his execution," continued the officer, "my station was near the fatal spot, and I requested the Provost Marshal to permit the prisoner to sit in my marquee while he was making the necessary preparations. Captain Hale entered, He was calm and

bore himself with gentle dignity, in the consciousness of rectitude and high intentions. He asked for writing materials, which I furnished him. He wrote two letters, one to his mother and one to a brother officer."

In the statements of General Hull and Stephen Hempstead, who were the intimates and confidants of Nathan Hale, we have the only information of value on the movements of Hale.

Stephen Hempstead's story is frank and convincing as far as it goes. He tells us for the first time where Hale was captured, but not a word about what his object was in going into the City of New York, nor does he offer any explanation of, or knowledge, that he had left New York City during the great conflagration and made his way to the place where he was captured.

The account of the fire in Gaine's *Mercury* tells us that "the lines near the royal army were extended across the island, as it manifestly appeared that the city was designedly set on fire." This extra guard line, "near the royal Army," was to keep out of the city such troops as were not needed to put out the fire and to prevent the escape of incendiaries. If Hale, therefore, was captured at the picket line, it was probably at this inner line and very near the city, and not at the regular outpost as Hempstead thought.

General Hull says: "He was apprehended and carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear that he frankly acknowledged who he was and what were his views." His views on what? On the conduct of the war? As he had just left the burning city his views on the fire would be the only views of any interest to his captors.

When the first edition of Hannah Adams's abridgement of her history for the Boston schools was published in London, in 1806, some one saw the inconsistency, as it related to Hale's departure, of the first sentence in Hull's story,—“This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long Island,”—and changed the statement so as to read: “As this retreat left the British in complete possession of New York.” This departure from the original wording was repudiated in the edition published the next year at Dedham.

General Hull's story dealt too much in generalities, and leaves one with the feeling that important facts were omitted. In his notes, published by his daughter, we find interesting details that show the sweetness of Nathan Hale's character, and the dignity with which he met his fate, but still we do not hear enough.

Hannah Adams was a devout woman of the old New England school, and a peculiarly conscientious writer, who had devoted most



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of her literary life to religious subjects. She had written with her own hand, all her history of New England, except this story of Captain Hale, for which she referred her readers, for its authenticity or its incorrectness, to General Hull.

There has long been omission by the writers on Nathan Hale, of any documents that might in any way connect him with the great fire. Only one account of the fire appears in the American Archives. It is taken from the New York letter in the *St. James Chronicle*, which is given in full in this article, but the following clause is omitted:

“Many of the villains were apprehended with matches in their hands to set fire to the houses. A fellow was seized just about to set fire to the college, who acknowledged he was employed for the purpose. A New England captain was seized with matches in his pocket, who acknowledged the same.”

The longer account of the fire, from Gaine's *Mercury*, also given in this article, containing the following passage, was also omitted from the American Archives:

“A New England man, who had a captain's commission under the Continental Congress, and in their service was seized, having these dreadful implements of ruin,” &c.

The other Continental officers mentioned in the description of the fire were executed on the spot. There is no such statement concerning this “New England man, who had a captain's commission under the Continental Congress, and in their service,” etc. But the very next paragraph in the description of the fire reads, “General Robertson rescued two of these incendiaries from the enraged populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the flames, and reserved them for the hand of deliberative justice.

Why have we not heard more of this hero? If he was not Nathan Hale, he was engaged in a more heroic work than Nathan Hale's biographers have assigned to him. But I prefer to believe that this was Nathan Hale, for it does away with the silly claims of a perfectly useless mission into the enemy's lines.

Nathan Hale went into New York for a definite purpose, and that purpose was not to make drawings of forts that Washington had built, and in which he had no further interest, nor for any other trivial reason assigned by his biographers. He was a daring enthusiast, to whom devotion to his country's cause was his religion! The idea of sacrificing the city of New York for the good of the cause, which had the approval of many in the New England troops would appeal strongly to a nature like Nathan Hale's. Had he succeeded, he would have been the heroic figure of the War; and if his death

had been the price of his success, his name would have been on every tongue. To succeed only in part, however, was to fail utterly. It was a waste of life and property to no purpose.

It is not strange that he has been designated as a "spy," ever since his execution, and that he was so named in all letters to the British papers of the time. For the officer or soldier, captured in disguise within the enemy's lines, there is no other designation. The British Order Book uses this military term, and the order itself was read on that Sunday evening, at dress parade, to every British regiment in General Howe's command. "A spy from the enemy by his own confession, apprehended last night, was this day executed at eleven o'clock, behind the Artillery barracks."

Stephen Hempstead says, he "had nearly executed his mission and was passing the British picquet guard, &c."

The Boston *Independent Chronicle* of May 17, 1781, published the following: "About four years ago Capt. Hale, an American officer, of a liberal education, younger than André, and equal to him in sense, fortitude, and every manly accomplishment, though without opportunities of being so highly polished, went voluntarily into the City of New York, with a view to serve his invaded country. He had performed his part there with great capacity and address but was accidentally discovered."

Since writing the above I have found a remarkable confirmation of the statement made by Lieutenant Tilghman, in his letter to his father, that "Some were executed next day upon good grounds."

All the letters written by Colonel Gold S. Silliman to his wife during the War of the Revolution are in the possession of Miss Henrietta Hubbard, of New York City, who is a descendant of Colonel Silliman and of Governor Trumbull. These letters have never been published.

It appears that Colonel Silliman was on picket with his regiment when the first light of the fire began to redden the sky above New York, and in a letter to his wife, written September 22, 1776, he charges the burning to the "regulars," meaning the British, as follows:

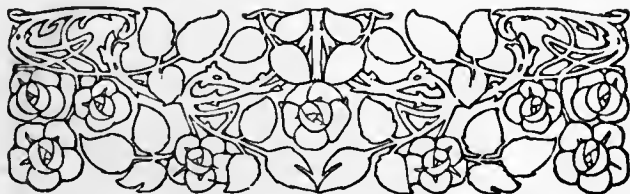
"A most extraordinary manoeuvre of the enemy has taken place. The night before last about midnight a tremendous fire was seen from our lines, to the southward, which continued the whole night, and it is said was burning all day yesterday. We are about ten miles from New York, and we thought it must be the city, and yesterday I am informed, an officer came over from the Jersey shore opposite to New York, and said that the city was almost all in ashes,

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and the rest of it was burning as fast as it could, and that the fire was seen first about midnight on the east side of the town, near where I used to live, and that very quick the fire appeared in ten or twelve places in different parts of the town. 'Tis supposed it must be the regulars who fired it, and why they should do it I cant conceive, unless they are going to some other place, which I see no signs of."

On September 25, he wrote again:

"I find now that all the city was not burnt, but only that part that lay next to the Grand Battery and so up the Broadway, and I believe it was not the regulars, but some of our own people in the city that set it on fire, for they executed several of our friends there for it the next day."



# The Black Horse Tavern

A Bit of History Viewed from a New Angle

BY

W. HARRISON BAYLES



BETWEEN the year 1715 and the year 1740, there was in New York City a little tavern, known as the Black Horse, within whose walls transpired scenes and incidents of great importance to the people of New York, and in which meetings were held which had far reaching influence on the future of the city and of the country.

On the opening of the eighteenth century the tavern in New York City, as in other places in the English colonies, occupied a place in social life quite different from anything of the present day. The tavern next to the church was the most important institution in the community, for it was the medium of all the gossip and political news of the day and the place where it was all freely discussed.

At this time there were no clubs such as exist to-day, no theaters, no newspapers. There was hardly a man in the community who did not habitually visit some tavern where he met his friends and neighbors to talk over the news of the town. It was the place where he obtained all the knowledge he possessed of what was taking place in the world around him; and the political unrest of this period made the taverns more particularly places of life and excitement.

Taverns were used by the Common Council of the City as places for the transaction of public business such as auditing accounts, leasing docks and ferries, etc., and by members of the Governor's Council and of the Assembly for conferences. During Lord Cornbury's administration a favorite place for these conference meetings was the Coffee House or King's Arms, kept by John Hutchins, which then stood on Broadway next to Trinity Church Yard, where the Trinity Building now stands. It was the most fashionable public house in the city and was patronized by the wealthier class of citizens and by those in official life as well as by the military officers.

There were other taverns where the political atmosphere was quite different and where what was considered the arbitrary and fool-

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ish acts of the Governor and his party were freely discussed and mercilessly criticised.

From the administration of Cornbury to the death of Governor Montgomerie the governors had made constant and continuous efforts at arbitrary rule, which were as constantly and carefully resisted by the Assembly, the elective branch of the Government. The administrations of Hunter and Burnet were mild and tactful and no important issue was made. The short rule of Montgomerie was mild and devoid of important incident.



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Records of the Province and of the City show that John De Honeur was the landlord of a tavern that was on many occasions used by members of the Governor's Council and of the Assembly for conferences and by the Common Council of the City for the transaction of public business. This was the Black Horse Tavern which was for more than twenty years at the southwest corner of what are now William Street and Exchange Place. During this period there was [291]

more or less excitement over political matters in the Province which culminated in the administration of Governor Cosby in 1732, when it became acute.

On January 15, 1714-5, the Common Council of the City ordered a warrant to be issued to the Treasurer to pay John De Honeur or order the sum of five pounds, two shillings, current money of New York, for expenses at several times at his house of the committee for auditing the public accounts of the Corporation as appears by his account which was audited by the committee and allowed. In 1726 he was paid four pounds, seven shillings, for the expenses of several committees at his house.

On October 18, 1727, according to the Journal of the Assembly, it was ordered that the Committee of Grievances meet every Tuesday and Friday during the session at five o'clock in the afternoon at the house of John De Honeur. In August, 1728, Colonel Willet, Chairman of the Committee of Grievances, asked that they might have permission to meet at other place or time than that appointed, and it was ordered that said committee have power to adjourn to and meet at such other times and places as they shall judge necessary, but that they, nevertheless, must meet every Thursday evening at the house of John De Honeur, the Black Horse Tavern. At seven o'clock in the evening of June 19, 1729, a committee of the Council met in conference a committee of the Assembly at this place.

In June, 1737, it was ordered that the Committee of Privileges and Elections meet at the house of John De Honeur and that they have power to adjourn from time to time during the session. The Journal of the Assembly states that this Committee met on the evening of September 16, 1737, at the Black Horse Tavern and it was ordered that in the contested election, Captain Cornelius Van Horne and Adolph Philipse should exchange lists; the record showing very clearly that the house of John De Honeur and the Black Horse Tavern were the same.

The conferences of the committees of the Council and of the Assembly were, no doubt, held at the best taverns in the city, and at those frequented by the members, where at other times they talked of the affairs of state over their wine, and spent a pleasant evening in social converse; changes being made as the quality of the taverns changed.

The tavern of the Widow Post appears to have been a favorite place for members of Assembly where committees met on business of various kinds and the popularity of her house continued for several years. In November, 1726, the Assembly taking in consideration the

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"conviency and accommodation" which the members had received every session, as well at the meetings of committees as otherwise, at the house of the Widow Post, and that the trouble and expense occasioned to her on such occasions far exceeded her gains, resolved that in the opinion of the House she ought to be exempted from paying any excise from this time until the first day of November next; and it was ordered that the Commissioners for letting to farm the excise take notice thereof accordingly.

Obadiah Hunt was a tavern-keeper whose house seems to have been used both by the provincial and municipal officials as a place for conference and consultation. He was a member of the Common Council for several years, which may have been one cause of his



"THEY HAD DISCOVERED THE TOOTHsome TERRAPIN"

house being used by that body. It was situated in Dock Street next door to the Custom House. He owned the house and seems to have been a man of some property but of little education: nevertheless, he appears to have been a popular landlord. In January, 1718, the Corporation paid Obadiah Hunt £4.6: 9 for their expenses at his

house on the anniversary of the Coronation on October 26, last, and on the anniversary of Gunpowder Treason Day November 5.

The Common Council of the City seem to have been always ready to celebrate anniversaries or other festal days by eating a good dinner at some popular tavern at the City's expense. They performed this arduous duty with cheerfulness and alacrity. The Dutch had discovered the toothsome terrapin and it had become an aldermanic luxury, often served on these occasions. Many tavern-keepers prided themselves on the skill with which they could prepare this delicious viand.

The Assembly, like the Common Council, were inclined to meet at taverns for the transaction of public business, where they were evidently surrounded by a more cheerful atmosphere than in the cold halls of legislation and justice. When the room was warmed by a large and lively fire in the spacious fireplace and when the inner man was cheered and warmed by good old wine business was



*Rip van Dam*

transacted with less friction and greater satisfaction. The Black Horse Tavern was the scene of many such meetings and of some no doubt very exciting ones. In the contest over the votes for Van Horne and Philipse there were no doubt some lively discussions.

At the death of Governor Montgomerie on July 1, 1731, the Government of New York devolved on Rip Van Dam as President of



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the Council, being senior member of that body. Colonel William Cosby, previously Governor of Minorca, was appointed to succeed Montgomerie but did not arrive until the 1st of August, 1732, so that Van Dam was acting Governor for a period of thirteen months, and had been invested with all the powers, duties and rights of the office, and had been allowed to draw the full amount of the salary from the public funds.

No Governor seemed more acceptable to the people of New York than Colonel William Cosby. He had shown his care for their inter-



*W Cosby*

ests by remaining in London for more than six months after his appointment in order to oppose the sugar bill, a measure that would have injuriously affected the colonial trade, and had succeeded in defeating it in the House of Lords.

Governor Cosby, however, like almost all the governors sent out to the provinces had a sharp eye to his own profit and had obtained before he left England an order on Van Dam for one-half of the salary, perquisites and emoluments received by the latter during the time that he exercised the chief authority, and accordingly shortly after his arrival made demand on Van Dam for payment.

Van Dam refused the Governor's demand, but offered as a compromise to pay one-half of the salary to Cosby, if he would divide with him his official receipts during a like period, much in excess of

those received by Van Dam. This, of course, Cosby refused to do, and instituted suit in the equity side of the Court of Exchequer, set up by himself, where he was confident of a decision in his favor. Great excitement ensued in consequence of the conflict of authority in the Court itself. The counsel for Van Dam, James Alexander, and William Smith, excepted to the jurisdiction of the Court, denying that any Court of Equity could be introduced in New York except by an act of its own Legislature. Chief Justice Lewis Morris supported the exception, the two associate Justices, De Lancey and Philipse, voting against the plea.

The opinion of Chief Justice Morris annoyed the Governor, who demanded a copy of his decision. This Morris sent to him with a letter both of which he caused to be printed in the Gazette, the only newspaper then printed in New York. All this exasperated the Governor beyond all bounds. Morris was removed from the bench and James De Lancey, who afterwards became prominent, was appointed Chief Justice in his place. No final decision was reached in the suit against Van Dam. The Court of Exchequer, as constituted by Cosby, never met again.

The contest between Cosby and Van Dam, at first personal, soon involved the people, and divided them into two parties. Those in office with their following supported the Governor, while the party of the people, especially after the removal of the Chief Justice, were violently opposed to the arbitrary act of the Governor, in removing a judge because his decision was not as he wished, and to the favoritism which could by an *ex post facto* order divest any of the colonial officers of salary earned and appropriated to individual use, and direct the amount to be paid to a stranger who had performed no service for it. If this were conceded there would be little stability in the rights of British subjects.

From what is known of the Black Horse Tavern about this time and for some years following there is hardly a doubt that it was the center of much of the political excitement of the day and the headquarters of the party opposed to what were considered the Governor's arbitrary acts and extraordinary demands on the people, and from its future history it seems quite evident that here were planned the ways and means of active opposition.

Lewis Morris, in spite of his peculiarities, was a popular man, and now more than ever became an object of regard by the class of people who esteemed themselves oppressed. Being removed from the office of Chief Justice, he retired to his country seat, Morrisania, and in the fall of 1733 offered himself as a candidate for Representative

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of the County of Westchester. A remarkable election ensued—one of the most picturesque episodes of colonial history. Opposed to Morris was William Forster, supported by the Chief Justice, James De Lancey, and the second Judge, Frederick Philipse, who appeared in person on the ground and exerted their influence to the utmost to defeat the election of Lewis Morris. The account of this election as told in the first number of the New York Weekly Journal reads like a page from the history of feudal times, when the lords appeared upon the field followed by their retainers ready for contests in the lists or on the field of battle.

The high sheriff of the County having, by papers affixed to the Church of East Chester and other public places, given notice of



*Lewis Morris*

the day and place without stating any time of day when the election was to take place, the electors for Morris were very suspicious of some intended fraud. To prevent this, about fifty of them kept watch upon and about the Green at East Chester, the place of election, from twelve o'clock the night before until the morning of the appointed day.

The electors of the eastern part of the County began to move on Sunday afternoon and evening so as to be at New Rochelle by midnight. On their way through Harrison's Purchase the inhabitants provided for their entertainment, there being a table at each house

plentifully provided for that purpose. About midnight they all met at the house of William Lecount, at New Rochelle, whose house not being large enough to entertain so many, a large fire was made in the street at which they sat till daylight, when they again began to move. On the hill at the east end of town they were joined by about seventy horsemen, electors of the lower part of the County and then proceeded to the place of election in the following order: First rode two trumpeters and three violinists, next four of the principal freeholders, one of whom carried a banner, on one side of which was affixed in golden capitals *KING GEORGE*, and on the other side in like golden capitals *LIBERTY & LAW*, next followed the candidate, Lewis Morris, Esq., formerly chief justice of the province, then two colors, and at sunrise they entered the Green of East Chester, the place of election, followed by about three hundred horsemen, the principal freeholders of the county, a greater number than had appeared for one man since the settlement of the County. After riding three times around the Green, they went to the houses of Joseph Fowler and Mr. Child, who were well prepared for their reception.

About eleven o'clock appeared William Forster, the candidate of the other side; next him came two ensigns borne by two of the freeholders; then came the Honorable James De Lancey, Chief Justice of the Province of New York, and the Honorable Frederick Philipse, second Judge of the Province and Baron of the Exchequer, attended by about one hundred and seventy horsemen, freeholders and friends of Forster. They entered the Green on the east side and rode round it twice. As they passed, the second Judge very civilly saluted the former Chief Justice by taking off his hat, which the former Judge returned in the same manner. After this they retired to the house of Mr. Baker, who was prepared to receive and entertain them.

About an hour after this the high sheriff came to town, finely mounted, with housings and holster caps of scarlet richly laced with silver. Upon his appearance the electors on both sides went into the Green. After reading his Majesty's writ, the sheriff directed the electors to proceed to their choice, which they then did, a great majority appearing for Morris. A poll was demanded and the sheriff insisted that a poll must be taken. A poll was taken, and did not close until about eleven o'clock at night. Morris, although votes for him of thirty-eight Quakers were rejected, because they would not take the oath, was elected by a large majority. "The indentures being sealed the whole body of electors waited on the new Representative at his lodgings with trumpets sounding and violins playing and then took leave of him."

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The foregoing account follows that which appeared in the *New York Weekly Journal*, which was friendly to Morris. In the same number of this paper appeared the following item of local news:

*NEW-YORK, Nov. 5. On Wednesday the 31st. of October, the late Chief Justice, but new Representative for the County of Westchester, landed in this City, about 5 o'Clock in the Evening, at the Ferry-stairs: On His landing He was saluted by a general Fire of the Guns from the Merchants Vessels lying in the Road; and was receiv'd by great Numbers of the most considerable Merchants and Inhabitants of this City, and by them with loud Acclamations of the People as he walk'd the Streets, conducted to the *Black Horse Tavern*, where a handsome Entertainment was prepar'd for Him, at the Charge of the Gentlemen who received Him; and in the Middle of one Side of the Room, was fix'd a Tabulet with golden Capitals, KING GEORGE, LIBERTY and LAW.*

*On Thursday last the House of Representatives were adjourned to the third Teuffday in April next.*

Thus we see that the Black Horse Tavern became the rallying place and rendezvous for the party of the people, and there is every reason to believe from this time it was the place where they continued to meet to concert on measures against prerogative and favoritism and against the arrogance and arbitrary acts of the Governor and his supporters. These sentiments were not new to the people but they had been lying dormant like smoldering embers which need only a slight agitation to fan into a flame. Not since the time of Bellomont was there so much bitterness displayed in party strife.

Since 1725 there had been a newspaper printed in New York, but William Bradford, its printer, was in the pay of the Government, and no item in opposition to the Governor and his friends was to be found in its pages. In November, 1733, appeared the first number of the *New York Weekly Journal*, printed by John Peter Zenger, and devoted to the support of the party of the people; at the head of which was Lewis Morris and Rip Van Dam. Zenger's paper was entirely alive and the lampoons on the Government and the criticisms of the Governor which appeared in its columns were novel in their audacity and startling in their strength.

Lewis Morris, Lewis Morris, Jr., James Alexander, William Smith, and Cadwallader Colden were the principal contributors to the

columns of this newspaper. To arrange for the appearance of their contributions they formed a sort of club that met weekly, where, no doubt, were suggested and arranged the essays, squibs, verses, parodies, etc., for the paper. What more likely place for the meetings of this club than the *Black Horse Tavern*?

Whether the landlord of the Black Horse was more in sympathy than other tavern-keepers with those who were active in opposition to the administration of Governor Corby or whether the accommodations of his house were such as to attract them is not known, but the fact seems to be that the Black Horse was their favorite and was used almost exclusively by them in their meetings and on festal occasions.

*The Journal* soon began to make itself felt. It was eagerly read and its sarcastic reflections on the Government and its biting criticisms furnished a weekly entertainment to the public and drove the Governor and his friends almost to madness. Its effect was so keenly felt that it was resolved in Council that Zenger's papers, Numbers 7, 47, 48, and 49, and also two certain printed ballads were derogatory to the dignity of His Majesty's Government, and that they should be burned by the common hangman. The mayor and aldermen were directed to attend the ceremony. This they positively refused to do. Attempts were made to have Zenger indicted, but the Grand Jury refused to bring in a bill.

In November, 1734, Zenger was arrested and imprisoned by order of the Council for printing and publishing seditious libels. In January, 1735, the Grand Jury not having indicted him, the Attorney General filed an information against him. In the meantime he was editing his paper through a hole in the door of his cell. At the April term of Court his counsel, James Alexander and William Smith, the two ablest lawyers of New York, filed exceptions to the legality of the commissions of the two Judges; for this they were silenced, and John Chambers was appointed by the Court counsel for Zenger.

When the trial came on in August, 1735, Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, a lawyer of great reputation, had been secretly engaged, and on the day of the trial he unexpectedly appeared by the side of the prisoner. He was capable, eloquent and fearless, and in conjunction with Mr. Chambers managed the case with so much ability and skill that the jury after being out only ten minutes returned with a verdict of *not guilty* which was received with shouts and cheers. The judges threatened the leaders of the tumult with imprisonment, when a son of Admiral Norris, who was a son-in-law of Lewis Morris, declared that applause was common in Westminster Hall and was loudest

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on the acquittal of the seven bishops, and invited a repetition of the cheers, which were instantly repeated. There was great excitement that day in the City of New York which had then a population of not more than eight thousand.

After the trial was concluded the enthusiasm and demonstrations of satisfaction centered at the Black Horse Tavern where Andrew Hamilton, hailed as the champion of liberty, was carried almost on the shoulders of the people, and where in the evening a grand dinner was given in his honor by about forty of the principal citizens to celebrate his great victory. At his departure next day the whole city came down to the waterside to do him honor and "he was saluted with the great Guns of several Ships in the Harbour as a public Testi-



*A. Hamilton*

mony of the glorious Defence he made in the Cause of Liberty in this Province."

The Corporation of New York presented Andrew Hamilton with the freedom of the City in a gold box, "for his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press." Zenger was released from prison after having been confined for more than eight months.

Dr. John W. Francis says in his description of New York that

Gouverneur Morris told him that the trial of Zenger in 1735 was the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America. The Black Horse Tavern, if it was not the cradle of liberty, was certainly the nursery of those sentiments which ripened into the Declaration of Independence. Here was the first organized meeting that stood for rights of the people. Here was made the first determined stand against prerogative and usurpation—the extravagant prerogatives of the Crown and the usurpations of power by the colonial governors. No spot in New York City is so closely identified with the victory for the rights of free speech, and for the liberty of the press as that on which stood the old Black Horse.

Near the corner of Dock Street, now Pearl Street, Robert Todd, vintner, kept a house which seems to have been a favorite place for the balls and entertainments of the Governor's party, as the Black Horse Tavern was for the party of the people. On October 9, 1735, the Governor was invited "to a very splendid entertainment provided for him at Mr. Todd's in order to congratulate his Excellency upon his safe Return from Albany, where he had been to renew the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Six Nations of Indians." After dinner they drank the health of different members of the royal family, and the health of his Excellency, and prosperity to his administration, "the music playing all the time." "His Excellency was also pleased to Drink Prosperity to Trade and at the same time, in a very obliging manner, assured the Gentlemen there, That if they could think of any Methods to Promote and Encourage the Trade and Welfare of the Province, he would heartily contribute every Thing in his Power thereto." In the evening the house was illuminated.

Two days after this, on the 11th of October, the anniversary of the Coronation was celebrated at the Fort, when was drank the health of the King and Queen and the other members of the royal family under the discharge of cannon, "the two Independent Companies posted there being under Arms all the time." In the evening the Governor and his friends were entertained at the house of Mr. Freeman which was handsomely illuminated. "The whole was concluded with dancing and all the Demonstrations of Joy suitable to the Day." Thomas Freeman, at whose house this entertainment was given, was the son-in-law of Governor Cosby.

At the same time, at the Black Horse Tavern, the house of John De Honeur, "the elected Magistrates with a considerable number of Merchants and the Gentlemen not Dependents on..... made a very handsome Entertainment in Honor of the Day for Rip



## THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN

Van Dam, Esq., President of His Majesty's Council, Matthew Norris, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's Ship Tarter, and Capt. Compton, Commander of His Majesty's Ship Seaforth." Thus we see that the Commanders of the two men-of-war lying in the harbor honored with their presence and were honored by the party of the people at the Black Horse: and this accounts for the salutes given by the guns of the ships in the harbor to honor Andrew Hamilton on his departure from the city after his great forensic victory.

"At Noon the Company met and while the Great Guns of his Majesty's Ship Tarter were Firing they Drank the following Healths: the King, the Queen, the Prince, Duke and Royal Family, the Prince



THE BALL AT THE BLACK HORSE

and Princess of Orange, the Glorious and immortal Memory of King William the third; Success to Coll. Morris in his Undertaking, to the speedy Election of a new Assembly, Prosperity to the Corporation, my Lord Wiloughton Duke of Dorset, Sir John Norris and General Compton, and then the Company Din'd, in the Evening the City was Illuminated, the Afternoon and Evening were spent with all the Joy and Dancing suitable to the Occasion."

The account of the celebration of the anniversary of the Coronation at the Fort was printed in the *New York Gazette*, which makes no mention of the celebration at the Black Horse. The *New York Weekly Journal* gives an account of the celebration at the Black Horse Tavern but makes no mention of any celebration at the Fort.

In the same way the account of the celebration of the birthday of the Prince of Wales by the party of the people is given by the *New York Weekly Journal* of January 26, 1736, as follows:



"WHICH WERE ALL DRANK IN BUMPERS"

"The 19th instant being His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' Birth Day. It was celebrated at the Black Horse in a most elegant and genteel manner. There was a most magnificent Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies. The Ball began with *French Dances*. And then the Company proceeded to *Country Dances*, upon which Mrs. Norris led up two new *Country Dances*, upon the Occasion; the first

## THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN

of which was called *The Prince of Wales* and the second, *The Prince of Saxe-Gotha*, in Honour of the Day. There was a most sumptuous Entertainment afterward at the Conclusion of which the Honorable *Rip Van Dam* Esq., President of His Majesty's Council, began the Royal Healths which were all drank in Bumpers. The whole was conducted with the utmost Decency, Mirth and Cheerfulness." No mention is made by the Journal of any celebration at the Fort, and the New York Gazette, without mentioning any celebration at the Black Horse, has the following account of the celebration by the Governor's party: "The Royal Healths were drank at the Fort, by the Gentlemen of the Council, and the Principal Merchants and Gentlemen of the Place. The Continuance of the Governour's Indisposition hinder'd the Celebration of the day with the usual solemnity at the Fort; However there was a Ball in the Evening at Mr. Todd's, at which there was a very great appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies, and an Elegant Entertainment made by the Gentlemen, in honour of the Day."

Lewis Morris at this time was in London where he had gone to lay his grievances before the home Government. His case came before the Committee of the Council in November, 1735, "when the Lords gave it as their opinion that the Governor's Reasons for Removing him were not sufficient." He was not, however, restored to the office of Chief Justice, but was appointed Governor of New Jersey, where he had large interests and where the people had long desired to have a government separate and distinct from New York.

A conference of committees from the Council and the Assembly was held at the Black Horse on November 4, 1736, to prepare an address to the king on the nuptials of the Prince of Wales. It seems also to have been a place for public entertainments. On January 21, 1736, a concert of vocal and instrumental music was given here, for the benefit of Mr. Pachelbell, the harpsichord part performed by the gentleman himself, the songs, violin and German flutes by "private hands." On March 9, this concert was repeated at Mr. Todd's. Mr. Pachelbell was probably the music teacher, and was assisted in the concert by his pupils or friends.

More than one well known writer on the subject of the old taverns of New York has declared that Robert Todd was the landlord of the Black Horse Tavern. The origin of this mistake in all probability arose from accepting the accounts given by the Gazette of celebrations at Todd's and those given by the Journal of celebrations at the Black Horse as applying to the same affairs, which they mani-

festly did not. When Samuel Bayard died in 1745 he left the house in Broad Street, next adjoining the DeLancey house which afterwards became the noted Fraunces' Tavern, to his son Nicholas Bayard, which he states in his will was in the tenure of Robert Todd.



"THE VIOLIN AND GERMAN FLUTE BY 'PRIVATE HANDS'"

It had been occupied by him for at least eight years. Earlier his house is described as next door to the Exchange Coffee House.

The Coffee House as well as Todd's was the resort of the "courtiers," as the Governor's adherents were called, while none of these were ever to be seen in the Black Horse. A concert of music was announced to take place on March 9, 1736, at six o'clock, at the house of Robert Todd for the benefit of Mr. Pachelbel, "the harpsi-

## THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN

chord performed by himself, the songs, violins and German flute by private hands" \* \* \* "Tickets to be had at the Coffee House, at the Black Horse and at Mr. Todd's at 4 shillings." It will be noticed that this interesting function was announced in terms almost identical with those used in the announcement of a like entertainment at the Black Horse Tavern on January 21, 1736, mentioned above. A concert of music was given at the house of Robert Todd on the evening of January 6, 1745, for the benefit of Mr. Rice which the newspapers affirm was "thought by all competent judges to exceed anything of the kind ever done here before."

Rip Van Dam continued to be a member of the Governor's Council although he did not attend the meetings in the Fort. He was extremely obnoxious to Cosby and in case of the Governor's death, being senior Councilor, would again succeed to the government of the colony. Cosby had asked permission to remove him, but the request had not been granted. Impatient at delay, in December, 1735, he summoned the Council for the purpose of removing Van Dam from his place as Councilor and ordered his name to be stricken from the list, so that George Clarke, his friend, the next Councilor, should succeed him in case of death. The Governor died at the Fort on March 7, 1735.6, when the fact of the suspension of Van Dam first became known to the public, and George Clarke assumed the duties of Governor.

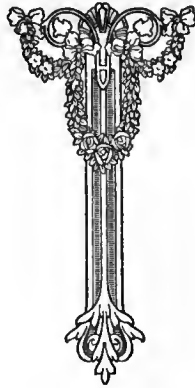
Van Dam and his friends declared the suspension illegal and Van Dam made an effort to obtain control, but Clarke was supported by the Council, and in the course of a few months received his commission from England as Lieutenant-Governor, which put an end to the claims of Van Dam.

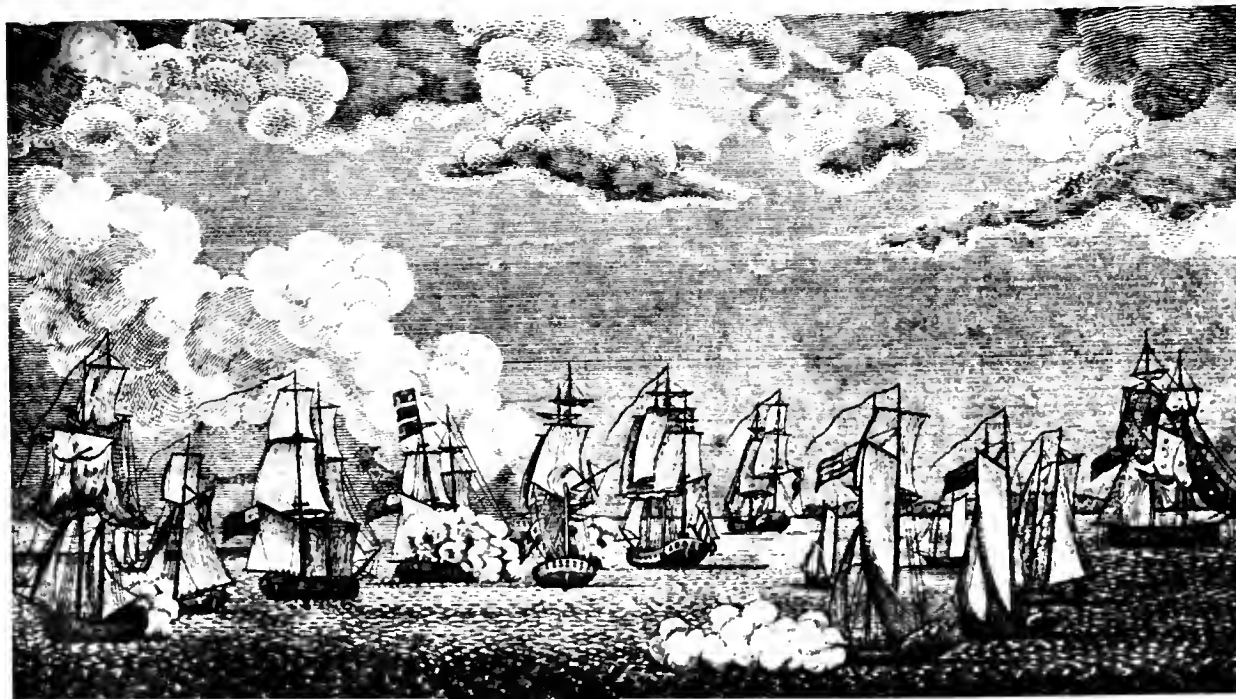
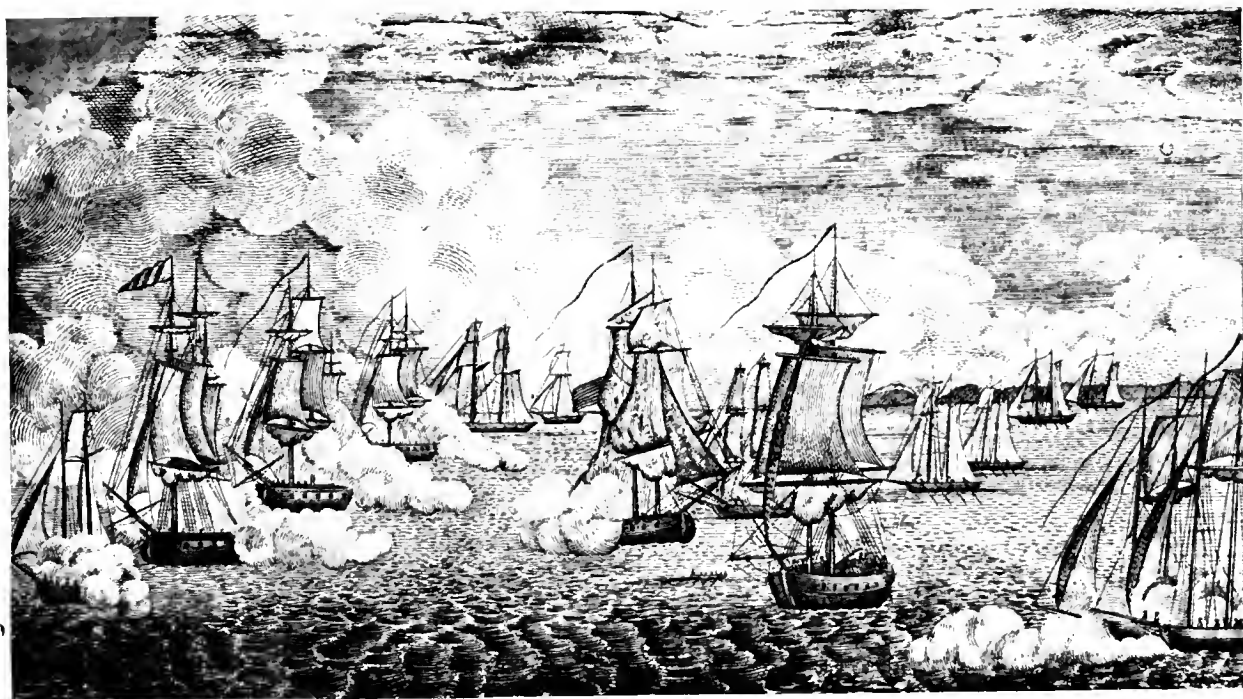
The political bitterness of the parties which had been formed during the administration of Governor Cosby did not end at his death. Clarke received a legacy of trouble, but he was an astute politician and a much more prudent man than Cosby. He is credited with a policy of making it appear that the governorship of New York was not a desirable post, and by this means held his office of Lieutenant-Governor for years, and then retired to England with a competency.

The community continued to be divided by party strife. The government party were in derision called "courtiers," and they characterized the opposition as a "Dutch mob." A visitor to New York in 1739 describes the different parties as "Courtiers," "Zengerites," "Prudents," and "No-party-men," and declares that the women were more zealous politicians than the men; as he expressed it, "as warm

as scalloped oysters in their discussions, although exceptionally good-natured.”

The Black Horse, so conspicuous in the time of Governor Cosby, was still a prominent tavern in 1738. Before the year 1740, however, it had passed out of existence, but the name was afterwards revived in other places.



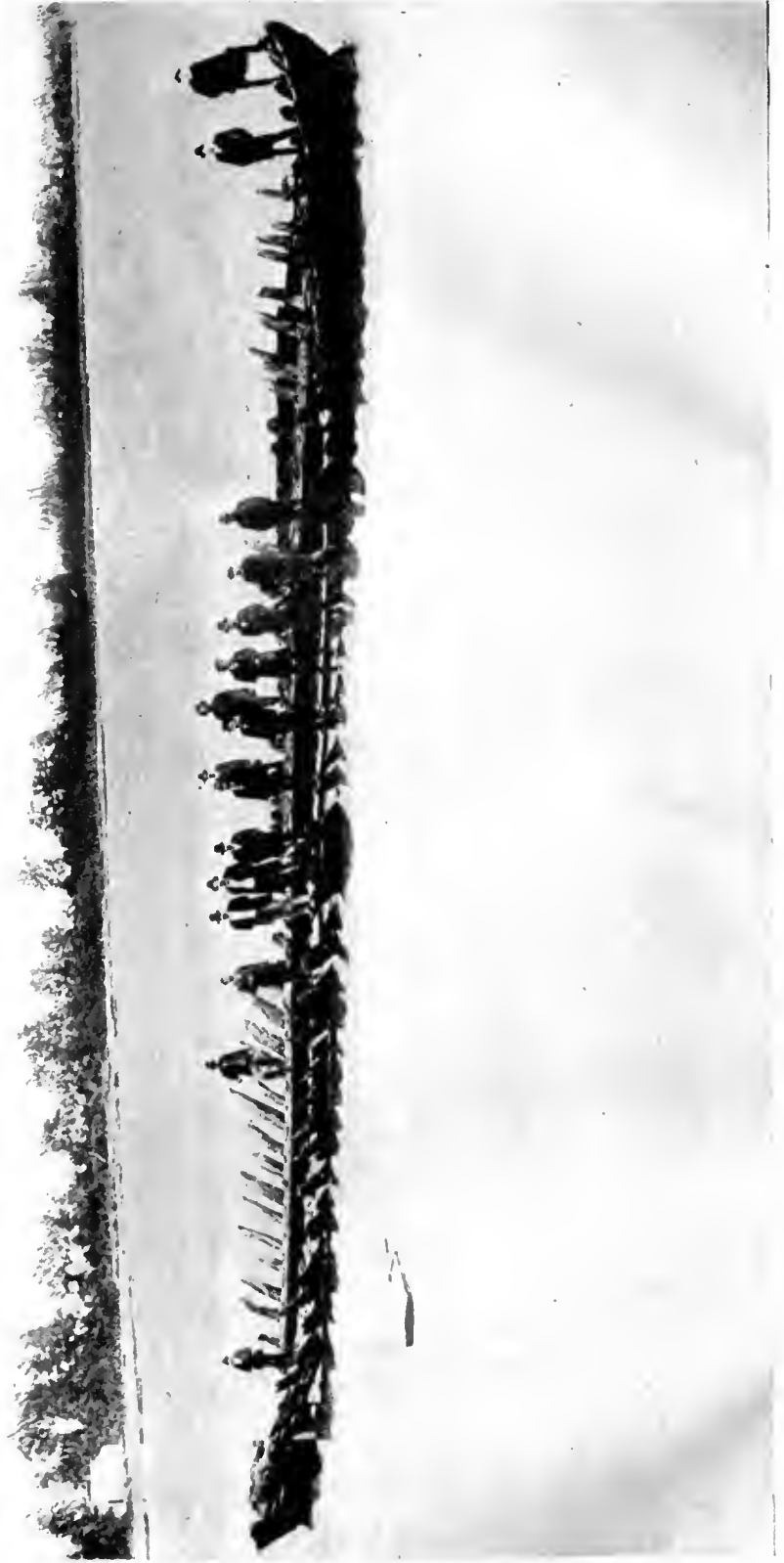


THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE IN THE WAR OF 1812  
From an old engraving









"THE LAWRENCE"—FIRST FLAG-SHIP OF COMMODORE PERRY IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE  
As she appeared when raised from the waters of the Lake to be taken to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876

# The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations

From an Address Delivered Before the American Peace Society,  
at Boston, 1849

BY

CHARLES SUMNER

[Continued from *The Journal of American History*, Number 1, Volume IX]



THE true character of the War System must be exposed. Above all, men must no longer deceive themselves by the shallow thought that this System is the necessary incident of imperfect human nature, and thus cast upon God the responsibility for their crimes. They must see clearly that it is a monster of their own creation, born with their consent, whose vital spark is fed by their breath, and without their breath must necessarily die.

But, criminal and irrational as is War, unhappily, in the present state of human error, we cannot expect large numbers to appreciate its true character, and to hate it with that perfect hatred making them renounce its agency, unless we offer an approved and practical mode of determining international controversies, as a *substitute* for the imagined necessity of the barbarous ordeal. This we are able to do; and so doing, we reflect new light upon the atrocity of a system which not only tramples upon all the precepts of the Christian faith, but defies justice and discards reason.

1. The most complete and permanent substitute would be a Congress of Nations, with a High Court of Judicature. Such a system, while admitted on all sides to promise exalted results, is opposed on two grounds. *First*, because, as regards the smaller states, it would be a tremendous engine of oppression, subversive of their political independence. Surely, it could not be so oppressive as the War System. But the experience of the smaller States in the German Confederation and in the American Union, nay, the experience of Belgium and Holland by the side of the overtopping power of France, and the experience of Denmark and Sweden in the very night-shade of Russia, all show the futility of this objection. Secondly, because the decrees of such

a court could not be carried into effect. Even if they were enforced by the combined power of the associate nations, the sword, as the executive arm of the high tribunal, would be only the melancholy instrument of Justice, not the Arbiter of Justice, and therefore not condemned by the conclusive reasons against international appeals to the sword. From the experience of history, and particularly from the experience of the thirty States of our Union, we learn that the occasion for any executive arm will be rare. The State of Rhode Island, in its recent controversy with Massachusetts, submitted with much indifference to the adverse decree of the Supreme Court; and I doubt not that Missouri and Iowa will submit with equal contentment to any determination of their present controversy by the same tribunal. The same submission would attend the decrees of any Court of Judicature established by the Commonwealth of Nations. There is a growing sense of justice, combined with a growing might of public opinion, too little known to the soldier, that would maintain the judgments of the august tribunal assembled in the face of the Nations, better than the swords of all the marshals of France, better than the bloody terrors of Austerlitz or Waterloo.

The idea of a Congress of Nations with a High Court of Judicature is as practical as its consummation is confessedly dear to the friends of Universal Peace. Whenever this Congress is convened, as surely it will be, I know not all the names that will deserve commemoration in its earliest proceedings; but there are two, whose particular and long-continued advocacy of this Institution will connect them indissolubly with its fame,—the Abbé Saint-Pierre, of France, and William Ladd, of the United States.

2. There is still another substitute for War, which is not exposed even to the shallow objections launched against a Congress of Nations. By formal treaties between two or more nations, Arbitration may be established as the mode of determining controversies between them. In every respect this is a contrast to War. It is rational, humane, and cheap. Above all, it is consistent with the teachings of Christianity. As I mention this substitute, I should do injustice to the cause and to my own feelings, if I did not express our obligations to its efficient proposer and advocate, our fellow-citizen, and the President of this Society, the honored son of an illustrious father, whose absence to-night enables me, without offending his known modesty, to introduce this tribute: I mean William Jay.

The complete overthrow of the War System, involving the disarming of the Nations, would follow the establishment of a Congress of Nations, or any general system of Arbitration. Then at last our aims

## THE WAR SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

would be accomplished; then at last Peace would be organized among the Nations. Then might Christians repeat the fitful boast of the generous Mohawk: "We have thrown the hatchet so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down." Incalculable sums, now devoted to armaments and the destructive industry of War, would be turned to the productive industry of Art and to offices of Beneficence. As in the dead and rotten carcass of the lion which roared against the strong man of Israel, after a time, were a swarm of bees and honey, so would the enormous carcass of War, dead and rotten, be filled with crowds of useful laborers and all good works, and the riddle of Samson be once more interpreted: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness."

Put together the products of all the mines in the world,—the glistening ore of California, the accumulated treasures of Mexico and Peru, with the diamonds of Golconda,—and the whole shining heap will be less than the means thus diverted from War to Peace. Under the influence of such a change, civilization will be quickened anew. Then will happy Labor find its reward, and the whole land be filled with its increase. There is no aspiration of Knowledge, no vision of Charity, no venture of Enterprise, no fancy of Art, which may not then be fulfilled. The great unsolved problem of Pauperism will be solved at last. There will be no paupers, when there are no soldiers. The social struggles, so fearfully disturbing European nations, will die away in the happiness of unarmed Peace, no longer incumbered by the oppressive system of War; nor can there be well-founded hope that these struggles will permanently cease, so long as this system endures. The people ought not to rest, they cannot rest, while this system endures. As King Arthur, prostrate on the earth, with bloody streams pouring from his veins, could not be at ease, until his sword, the terrific Excalibar, was thrown into the flood, so the Nations, now prostrate on the earth, with bloody streams pouring from their veins, cannot be at ease, until they fling far away the wicked sword of War. King Arthur said to his attending knight, "As thou love me, spare not to throw it in;" and this is the voice of the Nations also.

Imagination toils to picture the boundless good that will be achieved. As War with its deeds is infinitely evil and accursed, so will this triumph of Permanent Peace be infinitely beneficent and blessed. Something of its consequences was seen, in prophetic vision, even by that incarnate Spirit of War, Napoleon Bonaparte, when, from his island-prison of St. Helena, looking back upon his mistaken career, he was led to confess the True Grandeur of Peace. Out of his mouth

let its praise be spoken. "I had the project," he said, mournfully regretting the opportunity he had lost, "at the general peace of Amiens, of bringing each Power to an immense reduction of its standing armies. I wished a European Institute, with European prizes, to direct, associate, and bring together all the learned societies of Europe. Then, perhaps, through the universal spread of light, it might be permitted to anticipate for the great European Family the establishment of an American Congress, or an Amphictyonic Council; and what a perspective then of strength, of greatness, of happiness, of prosperity! What a sublime and magnificent spectacle!"

Such is our cause. In transcendent influence, it embraces human beneficence in all its forms. It is the comprehensive charity, enfolding all the charities of all. None so vast as to be above its protection, none so lowly as not to feel its care. Religion, Knowledge, Freedom, Virtue, Happiness, in all their manifold forms, depend upon Peace. Sustained by Peace, they lean upon the Everlasting Arm. And this is not all. Law, Order, Government, derive from Peace new sanctions. Nor can they attain to that complete dominion which is our truest safeguard, until, by the overthrow of the War System, they comprehend this Commonwealth of Nations,

"And Sovereign LAW, the world's *collected will*,  
O'er thrones and globes elate,  
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."<sup>1</sup>

As a measure simple and practical, obnoxious to no objection, promising incalculable good, and presenting an immediate opportunity for labor, I would invite your coöperation in the effort now making at home and abroad to establish Arbitration Treaties. If in this scheme there is a tendency to avert War,—if, through its agency, we may hope to prevent a single War,—and who can doubt that such may be its result?—we ought to adopt it. Take the initiative. Try it, and nations will never return to the barbarous system. They will begin to learn War no more. Let it be our privilege to volunteer the proposal. Thus shall we inaugurate Permanent Peace in the diplomacy of the world. Nor should we wait for other governments. In a cause so holy, one government should wait for another. Let us take the lead. Let our republic, powerful child of Freedom, go forth, the Evangelist of Peace. Let her offer to the world a Magna Charta of International Law, by which the crime of War shall be forever abolished.

1. Sir William Jones, Ode in Imitation of Alcaeus.

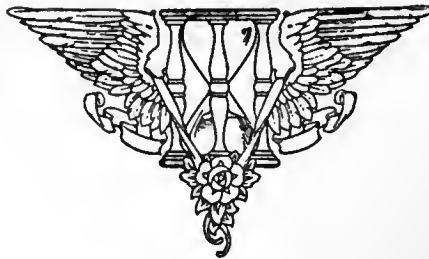
## THE WAR SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

While thus encouraging you in behalf of Universal Peace, the odious din of War, mingled with pathetic appeals for Freedom, reaches us. A portentous cloud, charged with "red lightning and impetuous rage," hangs over the whole continent of Europe, which echoes again to the trend of mustering squadrons. Alas! must this dismal work be renewed? Can Freedom be born, can nations be regenerated, only through baptism of blood? In our aspirations, I would not be blind to the teachings of History, or to the actual condition of men, so long accustomed to brute force, that, to their imperfect natures, it seems the only means by which injustice can be crushed. With sadness I confess that we cannot expect the *domestic* repose of nations, until tyranny is overthrown, and the principles of *self-government* are established. But whatever may be the fate of the present crisis, whether it be doomed to the horrors of prolonged strife, or shall soon brighten into the radiance of enduring concord, I cannot doubt that the Nations are gravitating, with resistless might even through fire and blood, into peaceful forms of social order, where the War System will cease to be known.

Nay, from the experience of this hour I draw the auguries of Permanent Peace. Not in any international strife, not in duel between nation and nation, not in selfish conflict of ruler with ruler, not in the unwise "game" of War, as played by king with king, do we find the origin of present commotions, "with fear of change perplexing monarchs." It is to overturn the enforced rule of military power, to crush the tyranny of armies, and to supplant unjust government,—whose only stay is physical force, and not the consent of the governed,—that the people have risen in mighty madness. So doing, they wage a battle where all our sympathies must be with Freedom, while, in sorrow at the unwelcome combat, we confess that victory is only less mournful than defeat. Through all these bloody mists the eye of Faith discerns the ascending sun, struggling to shoot its life-giving beams upon the outspread earth, teeming with the grander products of a new civilization. Everywhere salute us the signs of Progress; and the Promised Land smiles at the new epoch. His heart is cold, his eye is dull, who does not perceive the change. Vainly has he read the history of the Past, vainly does he feel the irrepressible movement of the Present. Man has waded through a Red Sea of blood, and for forty centuries wandered through a wilderness of wretchedness and error, but he stands at last on Pisgah; like the adventurous Spaniard, he has wearily climbed the mountain heights, whence he may descry the vast, unbroken Pacific Sea; like the hardy Portuguese, he is sure to

double this fearful Cape of Storms, destined ever afterwards to be the Cape of Good Hope.

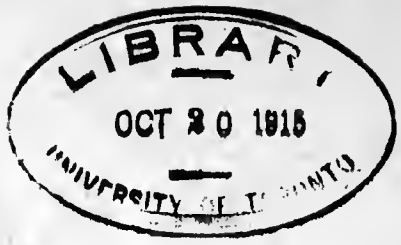
From the birth of this new order will spring not only international repose, but domestic quiet also; and Peace will become the permanent rule of civilization. The stone will be rolled away from the sepulchre in which men have laid their Lord, and we shall hear the new-risen Voice, saying, in words of blessed truth, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."







*180 m. m. faced in*



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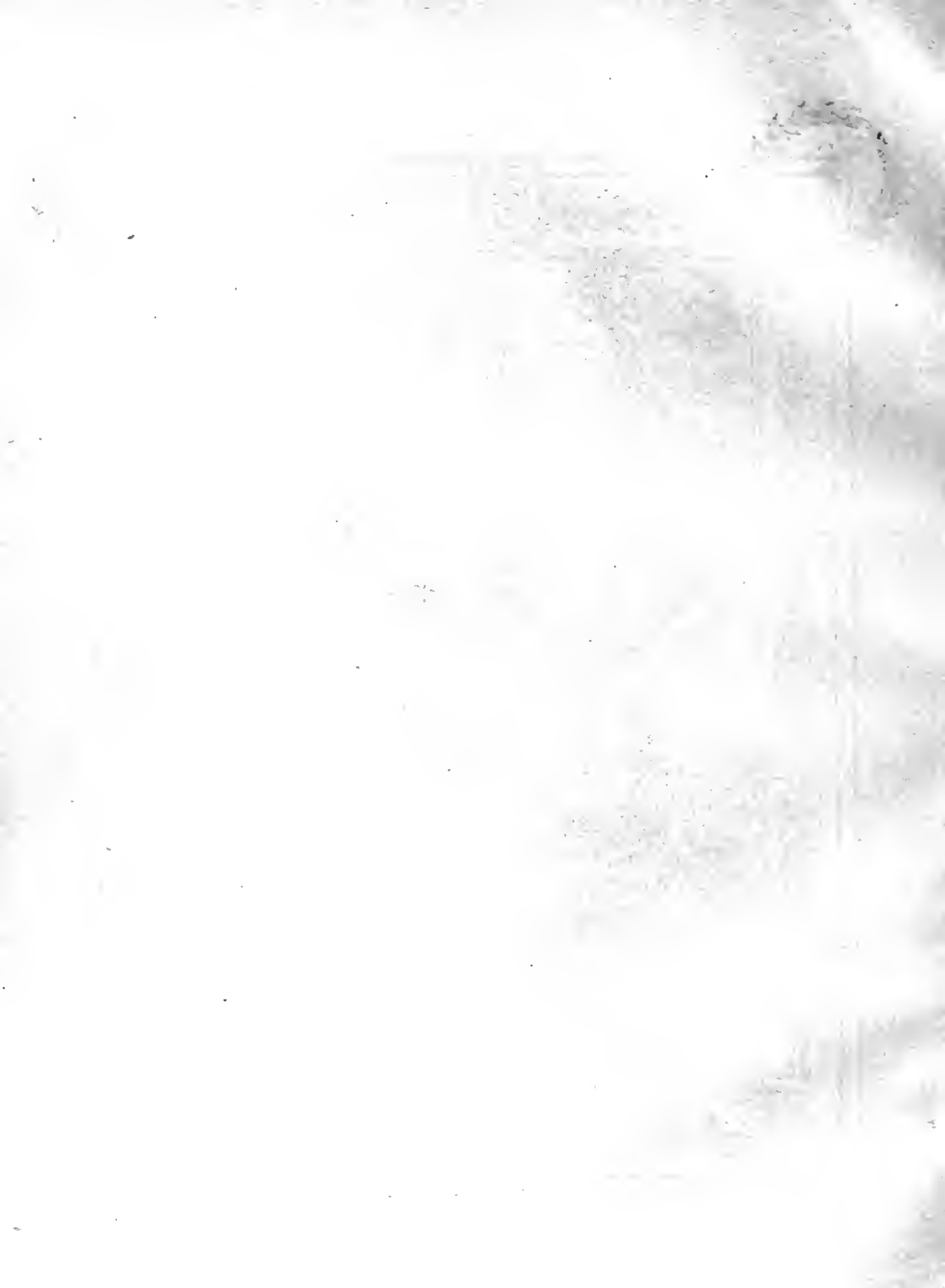
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## Magna Charta Number

Commemorating the Seven Hundredth Anniversary  
of the Signing of the Great Charter of  
Anglo-Saxon Freedom







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Nineteen Fifteen

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Let Every Man Remember that To Violate  
the Law Is To Tear the Charter of  
His Own and His Children's  
Liberty



LET EVERY AMERICAN, EVERY LOVER OF LIBERTY, EVERY WELL-WISHER TO HIS POSTERITY, SWEAR BY THE BLOOD OF THE REVOLUTION NEVER TO VIOLATE IN THE LEAST PARTICULAR THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY, AND NEVER TO TOLERATE THEIR VIOLATION BY OTHERS. AS THE PATRIOTS OF '76 DID TO THE SUPPORT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, SO TO THE SUPPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS LET EVERY AMERICAN PLEDGE HIS LIFE, HIS PROPERTY, AND HIS SACRED HONOR—LET EVERY MAN REMEMBER THAT TO VIOLATE THE LAW IS TO TRAMPLE ON THE BLOOD OF HIS FATHER, AND TO TEAR THE CHARTER OF HIS OWN AND HIS CHILDREN'S LIBERTY. LET REVERENCE FOR THE LAWS BE BREATHED BY EVERY AMERICAN MOTHER TO THE LISping BABE THAT PRATTLES ON HER LAP; LET IT BE WRITTEN IN PRIMERS, SPELLING BOOKS, AND IN ALMANACS; LET IT BE PREACHED FROM PULPIT, PROCLAIMED IN LEGISLATIVE HALLS, AND ENFORCED IN COURTS OF JUSTICE AND, IN SHORT, LET IT BECOME THE POLITICAL RELIGION OF THE NATION; AND LET THE OLD AND THE YOUNG, THE RICH AND THE POOR, THE GRAVE AND THE GAY OF ALL SEXES AND TONGUES AND COLORS AND CONDITIONS, SACRIFICE UNCEASINGLY UPON ITS ALTARS.—*Abraham Lincoln, in a Speech Delivered before the Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Illinois, in 1837.*

## The American Flag

WHEN FREEDOM FROM HER MOUNTAIN HEIGHT  
UNFURLED HER STANDARD TO THE AIR,  
SHE TORE THE AZURE ROBE OF NIGHT,  
AND SET THE STARS OF GLORY THERE;  
SHE MINGLED WITH ITS GORGEOUS DYES  
THE MILKY BALDRIC OF THE SKIES,  
AND STRIPPED ITS PURE, CELESTIAL WHITE  
WITH STREAKINGS OF THE MORNING LIGHT;  
THEN FROM HIS MANSION IN THE SUN  
SHE CALLED HER EAGLE BEARER DOWN,  
AND GAVE INTO HIS MIGHTY HAND  
THE SYMBOL OF HER CHOSEN LAND.

. . . . .

FLAG OF THE FREE HEART'S HOPE AND HOME,  
BY ANGEL HANDS TO VALOR GIVEN;  
THY STARS HAVE LIT THE WELKIN DOME,  
AND ALL THY HUES WERE BORN IN HEAVEN.  
FOR EVER FLOAT THAT STANDARD SHEET!  
WHERE BREATHES THE FOE BUT FALLS BEFORE US,  
WITH FREEDOM'S SOIL BENEATH OUR FEET,  
AND FREEDOM'S BANNER STREAMING O'ER US?  
*From the Poem by Joseph Rodman Drake.*

## Is Democracy the Remedy?

GOD SAID, I AM TIRED OF KINGS,  
I SUFFER THEM NO MORE;  
UP TO MY EAR THE MORNING BRINGS  
THE OUTRAGE OF THE POOR.

THINK YE I MADE THIS BALL  
A FIELD OF HAVOC AND WAR  
WHERE TYRANTS GREAT AND TYRANTS SMALL  
MIGHT HARRY THE WEAK AND POOR?

MY ANGEL—HIS NAME IS FREEDOM—  
TAKE HIM TO BE YOUR KING;  
HE SHALL CUT PATHWAYS EAST AND WEST,  
AND FEND YOU WITH HIS WING.

*From "The Boston Hymn" by Ralph  
Waldo Emerson.*

## Under the Flag of Love

IN CALM, IN WAR, AMERICA, THOU ART FAR MORE THAN  
FREE:

A HERITAGE OF LIGHT, A HELP, A HOPE GOD WROUGHT IN  
THEE.

THY SOUL AND SINEW; COURAGE, ZEAL, HE SIFTED FROM  
THE WORLD,

AND O'ER THEE FLUNG HIS BEAUTEOUS STARS, THE FLAG  
OF LOVE UNFURLED.

### REFRAIN

THY HEART, THY HAND, AMERICA, GOD FEND IN SER-  
VICE FREE,

AND PURGE OUR FAITH UNSTAINED TO HOLD THE TRUST  
HE GAVE IN THEE!

GOD BUILD THY BULWARKS SHIELDS TO SUCCOUR SORROW  
THROUGH THE WORLD,

BENEATH THE BEAUTY OF THE STARS, THE FLAG OF  
LOVE UNFURLED!

THY CHILDREN THOU WILT GUARD FROM BEASTS, FROM  
SLANDER, LUST, AND LIE

THAT RAIL AT HOME, AT MOTHERHOOD, AT EVERY HOLY TIE.  
THOU'LT TEACH THE STRENGTH OF SACRIFICE,—O'ER  
HEARTH AND SCHOOL-HOUSE CURLED,

THE BEAUTY OF THY CLINGING STARS, THE FLAG OF LOVE  
UNFURLED!

THY GOLDEN BLADE OF CHIVALRY SHALL SPURN THE WRONG  
OF MIGHT;

THOU WILT NOT TREAD DOWN WITH THE PROUD, NOR WITH  
THE RABBLE FIGHT;

THE VIOLENCE OF HIGH AND LOW SHALL FROM THY BOSS  
BE HURLED

BENEATH THE JUSTICE OF THY STARS, THE FLAG OF LOVE  
UNFURLED!

NO RAG OF CLASS, NO FLAUNT OF HATE, THY DAUNTLESS  
SOUL SHALL DREAD;

THOU WILT NOT BROOK THE PIRATE BLACK, NOR CRINGE BE-  
FORE THE RED;

BUT LIFT OLD GLORY TO THE SKY, BY EVERY STATE EM-  
PEARLED,

AND WAVE THE BEAUTY OF THE STARS, THE FLAG OF LOVE  
UNFURLED!

*Frank Allaben.*



GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS  
CLARK

From the portrait by Otto  
Stark, painted for the Indi-  
ana Society of Sons  
of the Revolution

See article, "The Winning of  
the Illinois Country"





Siles. & Borussia



Gen. & Forebia



Franck & Hantz



Polon. & Cracov.



Bohem. & Hantz



Silesia & Polonia



ANNO 1215

**QABNA CAPTA**

Regis Johannis.



Stephan Cragston. R. C.



Joan. & Hantz



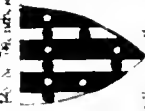
Henr. Petrus Pandolph.



Henricus 3. M. J.



R. H. 11. 11. 11.



Henr. & Hantz



Henr. & Hantz



Henr. & Hantz



Henr. & Hantz



In nomine domini Amen. Nos Johannes rex Anglorum etc. et Stephanus filius noster etc. etc. etc. etc.











GARGOYLE ON THE TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON

In this old Church of the Knights Templars, built in 1185, was buried William Marshall, the great Earl of Pembroke, a chief leader in the patriotic movement which won the Great Charter of England — free America's heritage.

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## Magna Charta



JOHN, BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF ENGLAND, LORD OF IRELAND, DUKE OF NORMANDY AND AQUITAINE, AND EARL OF ANJOU, TO HIS ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, ABBOTS, EARLS, BARONS, JUSTICIARIES, FORESTERS, SHERIFFS, GOVERNORS, OFFICERS, AND TO ALL BAILIFFS, AND HIS FAITHFUL SUBJECTS,—GREETING.

KNOW YE, that We, in the presence of God, and for the salvation of our own soul, and of the souls of all our ancestors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and amendment of our Kingdom, by the counsel of our venerable fathers, Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Henry Archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Joceline of Bath and Glasgow, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester, Bishops; Master Pandulph our Lord the Pope's Subdeacon and familiar, Brother Almeric, Master of the Knight-Templars in England, and of these noble persons, William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, William Earl of Salisbury, William Earl of Warren, William Earl of Arundel, Alan de Galloway Constable of

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Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerald, Hubert de Burgh Seneschal of Poictou, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip de Albiniac, Robert de Roppel, John Mareschal, John Fitz-Hugh, and others our liegemen; have in the first place granted to God, and by this our present Charter have confirmed, for us and our heirs forever :

[I.] That the English Church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties inviolable; and we will this to be observed in such manner, that it may appear from thence, that the freedom of elections, which was reputed most requisite to the English Church, which we granted, and by our Charter confirmed, and obtained the Confirmation of the same, from our Lord Pope Innocent the Third, before the rupture between us and our Barons, was of our own free will; which Charter we shall observe, and we will it to be observed with good faith, by our heirs forever. We have also granted to all the Freemen of our Kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the under-written Liberties, to be enjoyed and held by them and by their heirs, from us and from our heirs.

[II.] If any of our Earls or Barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at his death his heir shall be of full age, and shall owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an Earl, a whole Earl's Barony for one hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a Baron for a whole Barony, by one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's Fee, by one hundred shillings at most: and he who owes less, shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

[III.] But if the heir of any such be under age, and in wardship, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.

[IV.] The warden of the land of such heir who shall be under age, shall not take from the lands of the heir any but reasonable issues, and reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of the men or goods, and if we commit the custody of any such lands to a Sheriff, or any other person who is bound to us for the issues of them, and he shall make destruction or waste upon the ward-lands we will recover damages from him, and the lands shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we have assigned them.

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And if we shall give or sell to any one the custody of any such lands, and he shall make destruction or waste upon them, he shall lose the custody; and it shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer to us in like manner as it is said before.

[V.] But the warden, as long as he hath the custody of the lands, shall keep up and maintain the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to them, out of their issues; and shall restore to the heir when he comes of full age, his whole estate, provided with ploughs and other implements of husbandry, according as the time of Wainage shall require, and the issues of the lands can reasonably afford.

[VI.] Heirs shall be married without disparagement, so that before the marriage be contracted, it shall be notified to the relations of the heir by consanguinity.

[VII.] A widow, after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage and her inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower; or for her marriage, or for her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death: and she may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned.

[VIII.] No widow shall be distrained to marry herself, while she is willing to live without a husband; but yet she shall give security that she will not marry herself without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she does hold, if she hold of another.

[IX.] Neither we nor our Bailiffs will seize any land or rent for any debt, while the chattels of the debtor are sufficient for the payment of the debt, nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, while the principal debtor is able to pay the debt; and if the principal debtor fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewith to discharge it, the sureties shall not answer for the debt; and if they be willing, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until satisfaction be made to them for the debt, which they had before paid for him, unless the principal debtor can shew himself acquitted thereof against the said sureties.

[X.] If any one hath borrowed anything from the Jews, more or less,  
[347]

and die before that debt be paid, the debt shall pay no interest so long as the heir shall be under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if that debt shall fall into our hands, we will not take anything except the chattel contained in the bond.

[XI.] And if any one shall die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and shall pay nothing of that debt; and if children of the deceased shall remain who are under age, necessaries shall be provided for them, according to the tenement which belonged to the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, saving the rights of the lords (of whom the lands are held). In like manner let it be with debts owing to others than Jews.

[XII.] No scutage nor aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the common council of our kingdom; excepting to redeem our person, to make our eldest son a knight, and once to marry our eldest daughter, and not for these, unless a reasonable aid shall be demanded.

[XIII.] In like manner let it be concerning the aids of the City of London. And the City of London shall have all its ancient liberties, and its free customs, as well by land as by water. Furthermore, we will and grant that all other Cities, and Burghs, and Towns, and Ports, should have all their liberties and free customs.

[XIV.] And also to have the common council of the kingdom, to assess and aid, otherwise than in the three cases aforesaid: and for the assessing of scutages, we will cause to be summoned the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons, individually, by our letters. And besides, we will cause to be summoned in general by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, all those who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, that is to say at the distance of forty days, (before their meeting,) at the least and to a certain place; and in all the letters of summons, we will express the cause of the summons: and the summons being thus made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of those who shall be present, although all who had been summoned have not come.

[XV.] We will not give leave to any one, for the future, to take an aid of his own free-men, except for redeeming his own body, and for making his eldest son a knight, and for marrying once his eldest daughter; and not that unless it be a reasonable aid.

[XVI.] None shall be distrained to do more service for a Knight's-



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Fee, nor for any other free tenement, than what is due from thence.

[XVII.] Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in any certain place.

[XVIII.] Trials upon the Writs of Novel Disseisin, of Mort d'Ancestre (death of the ancestor), and Darrien Presentment (last presentation), shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in this manner: We, or our Chief Justiciary, if we are out of the kingdom, will send two Justiciaries into each county, four times in the year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall hold the aforesaid assizes, within the county on the day, and at the place appointed.

[XIX.] And if the aforesaid assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county-court, let as many knights and free-holders, of those who were present at the county-court remain behind, as shall be sufficient to do justice, according to the greater or less importance of the business.

[XX.] A free-man shall not be amerced for a small offence, but only according to the degree of the offence; and for a great delinquency, according to the magnitude of the delinquency, saving his contenment: a Merchant shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his merchandise, and a villain shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his Wainage, if he shall fall into our mercy; and none of the aforesaid amerciaments shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest men of the vicinage.

[XXI.] Earls and Barons shall not be amerced but by their Peers, and that only according to the degree of their delinquency.

[XXII.] No Clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the manner of the others as aforesaid, and not according to the quantity of his ecclesiastical benefice.

[XXIII.] Neither a town nor any person shall be distrained to building bridges or embankments, excepting those which anciently, and of right, are bound to do it.

[XXIV.] No Sheriff, Constable, Coroners, nor other to our Bailiffs, shall hold pleas of our crown.

[XXV.] All Counties and Hundreds, Trethings, and Wapontakes,

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shall be at the ancient rent, without any increase, excepting in our Demesne-manors.

[XXVI.] If any one holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the Sheriff or our Bailiff shall shew our letters-patent of summons concerning the debt which the defunct owed to us, it shall be lawful for the Sheriff or our Bailiff to attach and register the chattels of the defunct found on that lay-fee, to the amount of that debt by the view of lawful men, so that nothing shall be removed from thence until our debt be paid to us; and the rest shall be left to the executors to fulfil the will of the defunct; and if nothing be owing to us by him, all the chattels shall fall to the defunct, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

[XXVII.] If any free-man shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by the view of the Church, saving to everyone the debts which the defunct owed.

[XXVIII.] No Constable nor other Bailiff of ours shall take the corn or other goods of any one, without instantly paying money for them, unless he can obtain respite from the free will of the seller.

[XXIX.] No Constable (Governor of a Castle) shall distrain any Knight to give money for castle-guard, if he be willing to perform it in his own person, or by another able man, if he cannot perform it himself, for a reasonable cause: and if we have carried or sent him into the army, he shall be excused from castle-guard, according to the time that he shall be in the army of our command.

[XXX.] No Sheriff nor Bailiff of ours, nor any other person shall take the horses or carts of any free-man, for the purpose of carriage, without the consent of the said free-man.

[XXXI.] Neither we, nor our Bailiffs, will take another man's wood, for our castles or other uses, unless by the consent of him to whom the wood belongs.

[XXXII.] We will not retain the lands of those who have been convicted of felony, excepting for one year and one day, and then they shall be given up to the lord of the fee.

[XXXIII.] All kydells (weirs) for the future shall be quite removed out of the Thames, and the Medway, and through all England, excepting upon the sea-coast.

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[XXXIV.] The writ which is called Praeceptum, for the future shall not be granted to any one of any tenement, by which a free-man may lose his court.

[XXXV.] There shall be one measure of wine throughout all our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, namely the quarter of London; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and of russets, and of halberjects; namely, two ells within the lists. Also it shall be the same with weights as with measures.

[XXXVI.] Nothing shall be given or taken for the future for the Writ of Inquisition of life or limb; but it shall be given without charge, and not denied.

[XXXVII.] If any hold of us by Fee-Farm, or Socage, or Burgage, and hold land of another by Military Service, we will not have the custody of the heir, nor of his lands, which are of the fee of another, on account of that Fee-Farm, or Socage, or Burgage; nor will we have the custody of the Fee-Farm, Socage, or Burgage, unless the Fee-Farm owe Military Service. We will not have the custody of the heir, nor of the lands of any one, which he holds of another by Military Service, on account of any Petty-Sergeantry which he holds of us by the service of giving us daggers, or arrows, or the like.

[XXXVIII.] No Bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to his law, upon his own simple affirmation, without credible witnesses produced for that purpose.

[XXXIX.] No free-man shall be seized, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or in any way destroyed; nor will we condemn him, nor will we commit him to prison, excepting by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the laws of his land.

[XL.] To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay, right or justice.

[XLI.] All Merchants shall have safety and security in coming into England, and going out of England, and in staying and travelling through England, as well by land as by water, to buy and sell, without any unjust exactions, according to ancient and right customs, excepting in time of war, and if they be of a country at war against us; and if

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such are found in our land at the beginning of a war, they shall be apprehended without injury of their bodies and goods, until it be known to us, or to our Chief Justiciary, how the Merchants of our country are treated who are found in the country at war against us; and if ours be in safety there, the others shall be in safety in our land.

[XLII.] It shall be lawful to any person, for the future, to go out of our kingdom, and to return, safely and securely, by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us, unless it be in time of war, for some short space, for the common good of the kingdom; excepting prisoners and outlaws, according to the laws of the land, and of the people of the nation at war against us, and Merchants who shall be treated as it is said above.

[XLIII.] If any hold of any escheat, as of the Honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hand, and are Baronies, and shall die, his heir shall not give any other relief, nor do any other service to us, than he should have done to the Baron, if that Barony had been in the hands of the Baron; and we will hold it in the same manner that the Baron held it.

[XLIV.] Men who dwell without the Forest, shall not come, for the future, before our Justiciaries of the Forest on a common summons; unless they be parties in a plea, or sureties for some person or persons who are attached for the Forest.

[XLV.] We will not make Justiciaries, Constables, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, excepting of such as know the laws of the land, and are well disposed to observe them.

[XLVI.] All Barons who have founded Abbeys, which they hold by charters from the Kings of England, or by ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have.

[XLVII.] All Forests which have been made in our time shall be immediately disforested; and it shall be so done with Water-banks, which have been taken or fenced in by us during our reign.

[XLVIII.] All evil customs of Forests and Warrens, and of Foresters and Warreners, Sheriffs and their officers, Water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by twelve Knights of the

## MAGNA CHARTA

same county, upon oath, who shall be elected by good men of the same county; and within forty days after the inquisition is made, they shall be altogether destroyed by them never to be restored; provided that this be notified to us before it be done, or to our Justiciary, if we be not in England.

[XLIX.] We will immediately restore all hostages and charters, which have been delivered to us by the English, in security of the peace and of their faithful service.

[L.] We will remove from their Bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so that, for the future, they shall have no bailiwick in England; Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyonne de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his brothers, Philip Mark, and his brothers, and Geoffrey his nephew, and all their followers.

[LI.] And immediately after the conclusion of the peace, we will remove out of the kingdom all foreign knights, crossbow-men, and stipendiary soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the molestation of the kingdom.

[LII.] If any have been disseised or dispossessed by us, without a legal verdict of their peers, of their lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will immediately restore these things to them; and if any dispute shall arise on this head, then it shall be determined by the verdict of the twenty-five Barons, of whom mention is made below, for the security of the peace. Concerning all those things of which any one hath been disseised or dispossessed, without the legal verdict of his peers, by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrants, we shall have respite, until the common term of the Croisaders, excepting those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken, by our precept, before taking the Cross; but as soon as we shall return from our expedition, or if, by chance, we shall not go upon our expedition, we will immediately do complete justice therein.

[LIII.] The same respite will we have, and the same justice shall be done, concerning the disforestation of the forests, or the forests which remain to be disforested, which Henry our father, or Richard our brother, have afforested; and the same concerning the wardship of lands which are in another's fee, but the wardship of which we have hitherto had, occasioned by any of our fees held by Military Service;

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and for Abbeyes founded in any other fee than our own, in which the Lord of the fee hath claimed a right; and when we shall have returned, or if we shall stay from our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice in all of these pleas.

[LIV.] No man shall be apprehended or imprisoned on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her husband.

[LV.] All fines that have been made by us unjustly, or contrary to the laws of the land; and all americiaments that have been imposed unjustly, or contrary to the laws of the land, shall be wholly remitted, or ordered by the verdict of the twenty-five Barons, of whom mention is made below, for the security of the peace, or by the verdict of the greater part of them, together with the aforesaid Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he may think fit to bring with him; and if he cannot be present, the business shall proceed, notwithstanding, without him; but so, that if any one or more of the aforesaid twenty-five Barons have a similar plea, let them be removed from that particular trial and others elected and sworn by the residue of the same twenty-five, be substituted in their room, only for that trial.

[LVI.] If we have disseised or dispossessed any Welshmen of their lands, or liberties, or other things, without a legal verdict of their peers, in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if any dispute shall arise upon this head, then let it be determined in the Marches by the verdict of their peers: for a tenement of England, according to the law of England; for a tenement of Wales, according to the law of Wales; for a tenement of the Marches, according to the law of the Marches. The Welsh shall do the same to us and to our subjects.

[LVII.] Also concerning those things of which any Welshman hath been disseised or dispossessed without the legal verdict of his peers by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, which we have in our hands, or others hold without warrants, we shall have respite, until the common term of the Croisaders, excepting for those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition made, by our precept, before our taking the Cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition, or if, by chance, we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice therein, according to the laws of Wales, and the parts aforesaid.

## MAGNA CHARTA

[LVIII.] We will immediately deliver up the son of Llewelin, and all the hostages of Wales, and release them from their engagements which were made with us, for the security of the peace.

[LIX.] We shall do to Alexander King of Scotland, concerning the restoration of his sisters and hostages, and his liberties and rights, according to the form in which we act to our other Barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise by the charters which we have from his father William, the late King of Scotland; and this shall be by the verdict of his peers in our court.

[LX.] Also all these customs and liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be held in our kingdom, for so much of it as belongs to us, all our subjects, as well clergy as laity, shall observe towards their tenants as far as concerns them.

[LXI.] But since we have granted all these things aforesaid, for GOD, and for the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better extinguishing the discord which has arisen between us and our Barons, we being desirous that these things should possess entire and unshaken stability forever, give and grant to them the security underwritten; namely that the Barons may elect twenty-five Barons of the kingdom, whom they please, who shall with their whole power, observe, keep, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have granted to them, and have confirmed by this our present charter, in this manner: that is to say, if we, or our Justiciary, or our Bailiffs, or any one of our officers, shall have injured any one in any thing, or shall have violated any article of the peace or security, and the injury shall have been shown to four of the aforesaid twenty-five Barons, the said four Barons shall come to us, or to our Justiciary if we be out of the kingdom, and making known to us the excess committed, petition that we cause that excess to be redressed without delay. And if we shall not have redressed the excess, or, if we have been out of the kingdom, our Justiciary shall not have redressed it within the term of forty days, computing from the time when it shall have been made known to us, or to our Justiciary if we have been out of the kingdom, the aforesaid four Barons, shall lay the cause before the residue of the twenty-five Barons; and they, the twenty-five Barons, with the community of the whole land, shall distress and harass us by all the ways in which they are able; that is to say, by the taking of our castles, lands, and possessions, and by any other means in their power, until the excess shall have been redressed, according to their verdict; saving harmless our person, and the persons

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of our Queen and children; and when it hath been redressed, they shall behave to us as they have done before. And whoever of our land pleaseth, may swear, that he will obey the commands of the aforesaid twenty-five Barons, in accomplishing all the things aforesaid, and that with them he will harass us to the utmost of his power: and we publicly and freely give leave to every one to swear who is willing to swear; and we will never forbid any to swear. But all those of our land, who, of themselves, and of their own accord, are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five Barons, to distress and harass us together with them, we will compel them by our command, to swear as aforesaid. And if any one of the twenty-five Barons shall die, or remove out of the land, or in any other way shall be prevented from executing the things above said, they who remain of the twenty-five Barons shall elect another in his place, according to their own pleasure, who shall be sworn in the same manner as the rest. In all those things which are appointed to be done by these twenty-five Barons, if it happen that all the twenty-five have been present and have differed in their opinions about any thing, or if some of them who had been summoned, would not, or could not be present, that which the greater part of those who were present shall have provided and decreed, shall be held as firm and as valid, as if all the twenty-five had agreed in it: and the aforesaid twenty-five shall swear, that they will faithfully observe and, with all their power, cause to be observed, all the things mentioned above. And we will obtain nothing from one, by ourselves, nor by another, by which any of these concessions and liberties may be revoked or diminished. And if any such thing shall have been obtained, let it be void and null; and we will never use it, neither by ourselves nor by another.

[LXII.] And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, rancour, and resentments, which have arisen between us and our subjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement of the discord. Moreover, we have fully remitted to all the clergy and laity, and as far as belongs to us, have fully pardoned all transgressions committed by occasion of the said discord, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, until the conclusion of the peace. And, moreover, we have caused to be made to them testimonial letters-patent of the Lord Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, and of the aforesaid Bishops, and of Master Pandulph concerning this security, and the aforesaid concessions.

[LXIII.] Wherefore, our will is, and we firmly command that the Church of England be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and



## MAGNA CHARTA

hold the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, for ever as is aforesaid. It is also sworn, both on our part, and on that of the Barons, that all of the aforesaid shall be observed in good faith, and without any evil intention. Witnessed by the above, and many others. Given by our hand in the Meadow which is called Runningmead, between Windsor and Staines, this fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.





THE WHITE TOWER, THE TOWER OF LONDON

Erected by William the Conqueror, partly on the bastions of the City Wall built by the Romans and re-built by Alfred the Great in 885, this was used as a royal residence by the Normans and early Plantagenet kings of England, including John, Henry III, and Edward I, from whom Magna Charta was wrested

# The Guardians of England's Liberty

List of the Twenty-Fine Barons Chosen as Sureties for the  
Observance of Magna Charta



WILLIAM D'ALBINI, Lord of Belvoir Castle  
HUGH BIGOD, Earl of Norfolk  
ROGER BIGOD, Earl of Norfolk  
HENRY DE BOHUN, Earl of Hereford  
GILBERT DE CLARE, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester  
RICHARD DE CLARE, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester  
JOHN FITZ-ROBERT, Lord of Warkworth and Clavering  
ROBERT FITZ-WALTER, Lord of Dunmow Castle  
WILLIAM DE FORTIBUS, Earl of Albemarle  
WILLIAM DE HARDELL, Mayor of London  
WILLIAM DE HUNTINGFIELD, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk  
JOHN DE LACIE, Earl of Lincoln  
WILLIAM DE LANVALLEI, Governor of Colchester Castle  
WILLIAM MALET, Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset  
GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE, Earl of Essex  
WILLIAM MARSHALL, the younger, Earl of Pembroke  
RICHARD DE MONTFICHET, Justice of the King's Forests  
ROGER DE MOWBRAY  
WILLIAM DE MOWBRAY, Governor of York Castle  
RICHARD DE PERCY

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SAHER DE QUINCEY, Earl of Winchester

ROBERT DE ROS, Lord of Hamelake Castle

GEOFFREY DE SAY

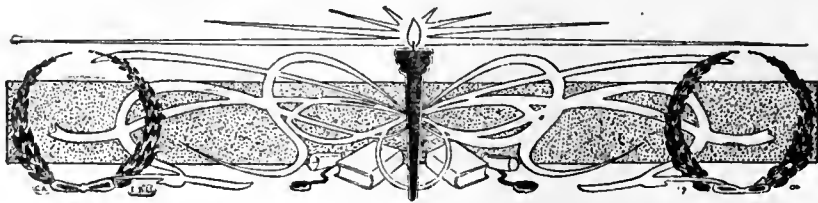
ROBERT DE VERE, Earl of Oxford

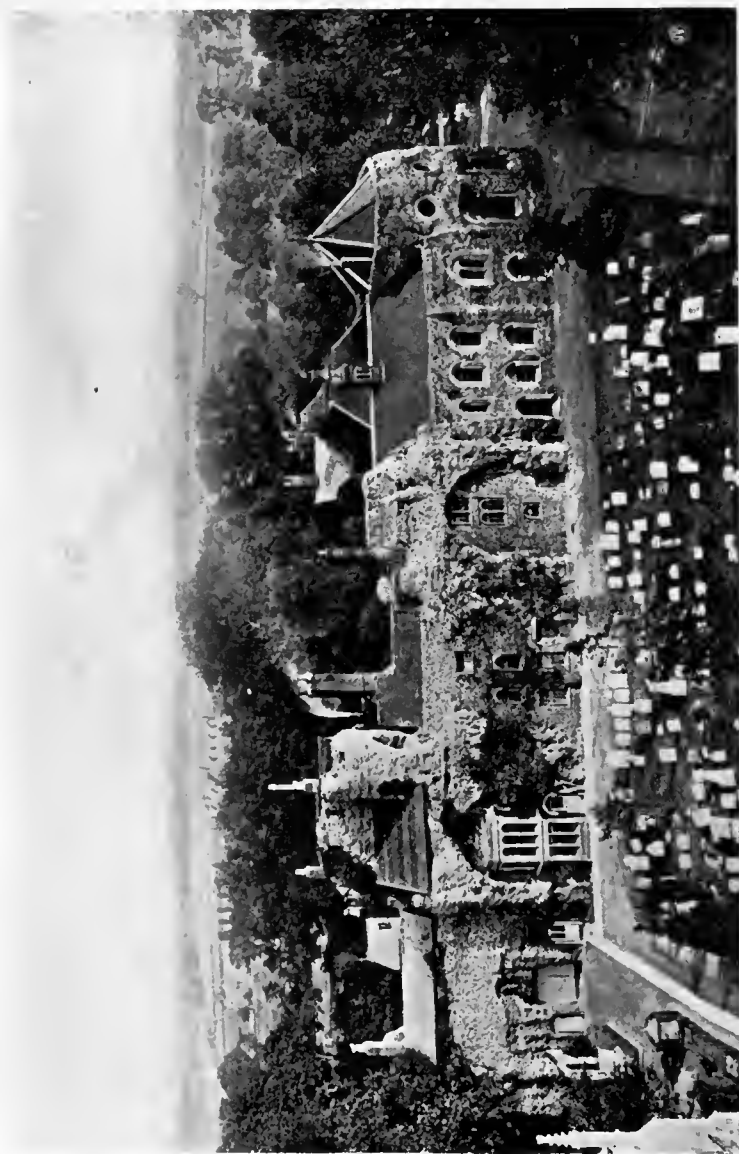
EUSTACE DE VESCI

Roger de Mowbray was substituted among the Sureties, in place of Roger de Montbegon, who forsook the Barons' party.

Of the foregoing, Geoffrey de Mandeville, William Marshall, Richard de Montfichet, Roger de Mowbray, Richard de Percy, died without leaving issue. The Earl of Albemarle, William de Fortibus, had one child, who died without issue. No descendants are known to have been left by William de Hardell, Mayor of London.

Many Americans have authentically traced their ancestry back to one or more of the other Barons, and it seems fitting that the blood of these mediæval champions of the cause of freedom should flow in the veins of men and women whose Nation, more perfectly than any other, has made come true the vision of civic liberty dreamed of by the race since human governments began.





RUINS OF THE ABBEY, ST. EDMUND'S BURY, SUFFOLK, ENGLAND

The covenant-place of Magna Charta, where the Barons took solemn oath to win the liberty of England

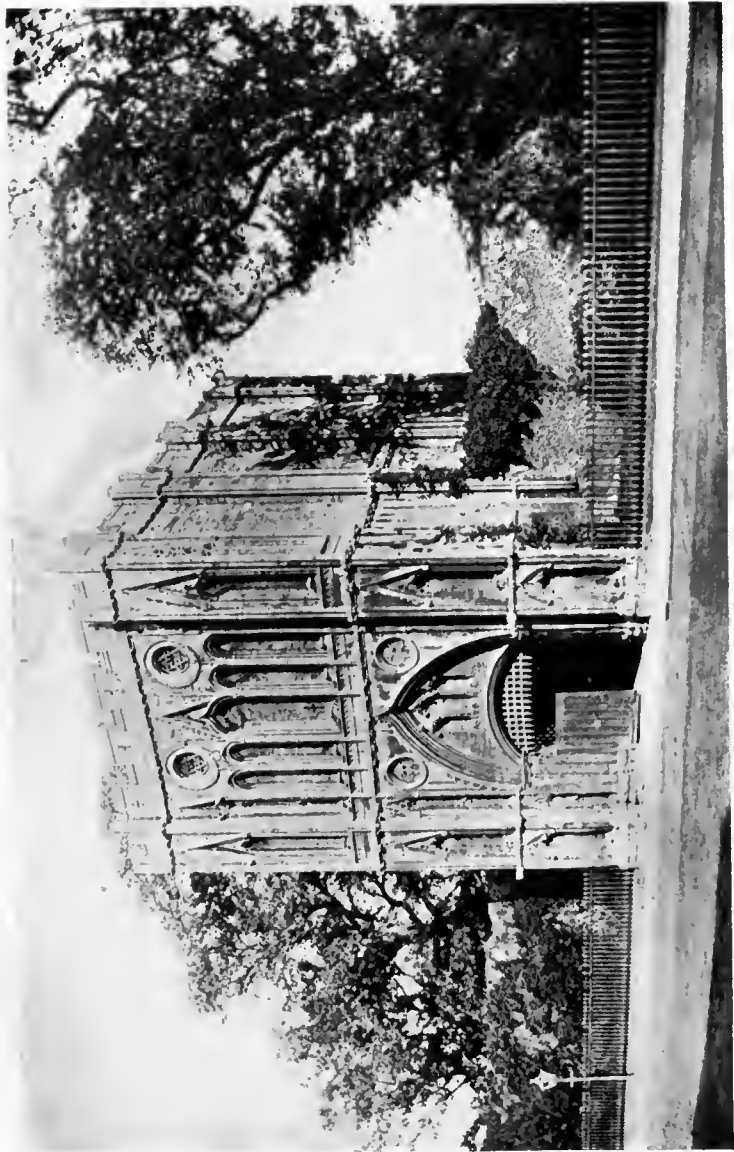




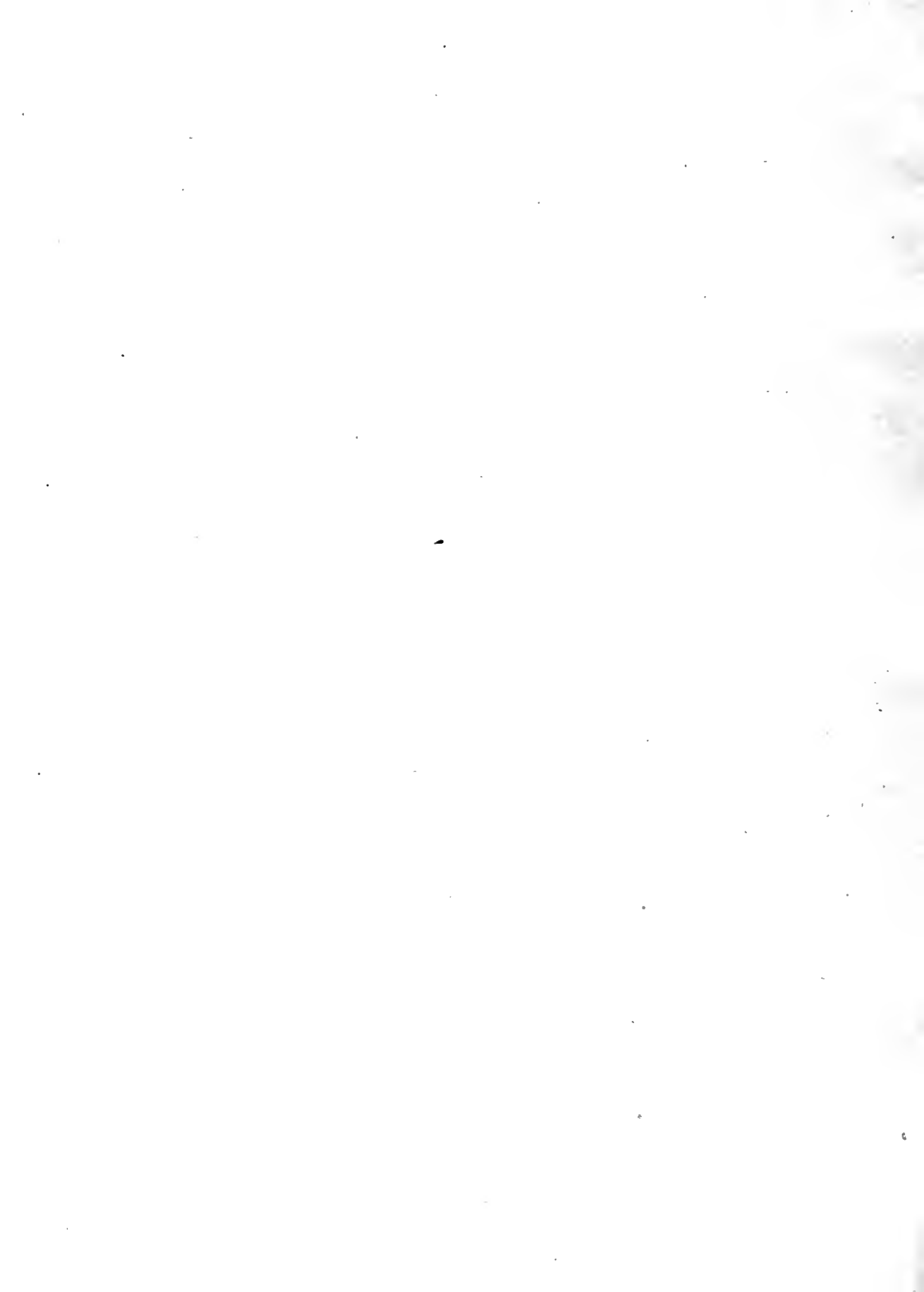


THE ABBOT'S BRIDGE, BURY ST. EDMUNDS





The ABBEY GATE, BURY ST. EDMUND'S







AVENUE IN THE CHURCHYARD, BURY ST. EDMUND'S

## “The Shrine of the King, the Cradle of the Law”

Motto of Bury St. Edmund's, Where Archbishop Langton  
Read to the Barons and Earls of England the Charter of  
Henry I, and Where They Took Oath of War against the  
King if He Would Not Grant Them the Liberties Therein  
Guaranteed



EW English towns have a more picturesque chronicle than Bury Saint Edmund's, and few have been more closely linked with the great chain of English history. Relics have been there unearthed showing its existence as a human abiding-place even in that ancient past when the mammoth and other pre-historic animals roamed through Suffolk woods. Some antiquarians believe that it may be identified with the Villa Faustini of Roman-British times.

The Saxon story of the town begins with the tradition that the owner of the land was one Beodric; and certain it is that its name was Beodricsworth when, about the year 631, Sigebert, King of the East Angles, who, during exile in France at the hands of his predecessor, Erpenwald, had become converted to the Christian faith, here founded a church and monastery in honor of the Blessed Virgin. It was to this monastery that Sigebert himself came, to pass his latter days in the service of God; but he was obliged to forsake its peace for the defence of his people when they were attacked by the heathen Penda, King of Mercia.

Beyond all these early associations of the place, however, its connection with Saint Edmund, Martyr-King of the East Angles, has surpassing interest.

Little is known of his antecedents, but the fragmentary record comes down very directly. A very old man, who had been in the service of Saint Edmund, told what he knew of the history to King Athelstan. This narration was heard by Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of

Canterbury, who re-told it about 985 to Abbo Floriacensis, a monk of Fleury in France, who had come to England to visit Saint Dunstan; and Abbo preserved the tale in a little book, which is said to be still in existence in the Cotton Library in the British Museum.

Edmund was the nephew of Offa, King of the East Anglia, whom he succeeded on that throne in 855. His father was Alkmund, a Saxon Prince, renowned for virtue, courage, and learning. It is said that Alkmund went on pilgrimage to Rome, and that one day while he was at prayer a prophetess observed the sunshine fall upon his breast with peculiar brightness, and she told him it was a sign that he should have a son whose glory would shine over the whole world. In the year of this prophecy, 841, Edmund was born, so that he was only in his fifteenth year when he became King of the East Angles.

King Offa had no children, and was on his way to the Holy Sepulchre there to beg for an heir, when, stopping to visit his relatives in Saxony, he was so impressed with his young nephew's virtues and abilities that he decided to make him his successor. Leaving with the boy a ring for token, King Offa completed his pilgrimage. On his return, he was taken seriously ill, and called together a council of the chief men of his realm to urge their choice of Edmund to succeed to the throne. This was done, and after Offa's death a delegation of nobles set out for Saxony to bring back the young King. It is said that when he first set foot on English soil he fell on his knees in prayer, and that fresh springs burst through the dry soil as a mark of Divine favor. In commemoration of this event, he later built here the town of Hunstanton. A year was spent in study at Attleborough, and on Christmas Day, 855, he was crowned at Bury.

The heathen Danes were harassing the coasts of England and ravaging far into the interior. John Capgrave, the chronicler, "of Northfolk of the town of Lynne," wrote of this period: "In thys tyme the Danes aryved into Yngland with too cussed captaynes, Hingwar and Hubba. Thei distroyed the cuntre and kylled the gloryous Kyng Edmund first wyth shot of arrowis and then smet of his heed." The story of King Edmund's death is as follows.

He had reigned wisely and well for about fourteen years, when in 870 the Danes, who had conquered York and spent the winter there, marched through Mercia to Thetford, then the capital of East Anglia. Here a great battle was fought, lasting the whole of one day; but the issue was undecided at its close. The Danes withdrew, however, for a time, and the King retired to Eglesdene. The invaders followed him, and demanded that he renounce the Christian faith and consent to hold his kingdom as a vassal of the pagan chieftains. Edmund refused,

“THE SHRINE OF THE KING, THE CRADLE OF THE LAW ”

but, from compassion on his subjects, resolved to make no further resistance to a foe so savage, in order that they might spare his people, whom they had treated with a pitiless fury—slaying the defenceless, burning towns, holding hostages, showing no mercy on women, children, or religious. So the young King was bound to a tree, pierced with many arrows, and at last his head cut off and his body thrown into a wood nearby. He died in martyrdom for his constancy as a Christian and in sacrifice for the good of his people—“Every inch a King!”

John Lydgate, the poet, wrote five centuries afterwards “The noble story to putte in remembrance off Seynt Edmond, Mayd, Martre, and King,” “Uhiche for our feithe suffrede passioun.”

There is a story to account for this special attack of the Danes. Lodbrog, King of Denmark, was passionately fond of hawking. One day, his favorite hawk fell into the sea, and the King, leaping into a boat, sought to recover it. But a storm carried the little craft away and brought him to England, where he landed at Needham, in Norfolk. Thence he went to Caistor, where King Edmund held court.

The two monarchs passed the days together in friendly companionship, the English King greatly admiring his guest's skill in falconry. In fact, he lent him his own falconer, Bern, but the latter became violently jealous of the favor shown the stranger by Edmund, and at last his anger overcame him and he murdered Lodbrog in the woods, concealing the body. Four days afterward, some of the nobles followed Lodbrog's favorite greyhound into the forest and so found his grave, and a part of the evidence against Bern was the antipathy shown him by the victim's faithful dog. Bern was placed in the same boat as that in which King Lodbrog had come to England, and cast adrift. It floated to the shores of Denmark, where Bern sought the sons of the man he had murdered and told them falsely that he had been killed by King Edmund's command. It was the force raised by the Danish Princes to avenge Lodbrog's death that fought against Edmund and made him a martyr.

There is a curious story told that when the English found the arrow-pierced body of their King, they sought in vain for the head, which had been cut off, but at last they heard a voice crying, “Here! Here!” Lydgate says they

“Never ceased of al that longe daye

So for to cry tyl they kam where he laye”

They found the King's head guarded between the paws of a great wolf, which offered them no harm, but remained quietly nearby until after the funeral, when he disappeared into the forest. The Arms of Bury show the wolf of the story.

Saint Edmund was buried at Hoxne, near the scene of his martyrdom, where was built over his tomb a little chapel of wood and mortar with thatched roof. In 903 his remains were taken to Beodricsworth, "and history tells us that the body was found perfect and uncorrupted, and the head re-united."<sup>1</sup>

By 925 so deeply had the influence of Edmund's life and death impressed itself on English minds that a college of priests who desired to live under monastic rule was founded at Beodricsworth and Edmund was chosen as the patron saint. Henceforth the old Saxon name was lost in the newer title, Saint Edmund's Bury. The monastic college was founded in the year that King Athelstan came to the throne, and he bestowed upon Saint Edmund's Church a copy of the Gospels, offering it upon the altar "*pro remedia animae suae.*"

When Edmund, Athelstan's brother, became King, he gave the monks of Saint Edmund's Bury jurisdiction of their town, confirming the grant by charter in 945.

From thence, till the seizure of the monasteries' property by Henry VIII, Saint Edmund's Bury was one of the great religious centres of England, bearing high part also in the historic events connected with England's Magna Charta.

Canute was a benefactor and protector to the Monastery at Bury, and it was during his reign that Bishop Ailwin laid the foundations of a splendid Abbey Church, which was completed in 1032, when the body of the Saint was laid in a jeweled shrine.

Saint Edward the Confessor, last of the Saxon kings of England, made rich gifts to the Abbey, which enabled the monks to begin the building of a new Church of stone, Ailwin's earlier edifice being of wood. The new Church was finished in 1095. It was five hundred and five feet long, two hundred and forty feet wide at the front, and contained many chapels, in one of which was the Saint's shrine. Besides the Abbey Church there were three other Churches, and other buildings, within the Abbey walls. Thirty-three Abbots governed here, during its more than half a thousand years of Benedictine rule. John Leland, the Sixteenth Century antiquarian, described it as follows:

"A city more neatly seated the sun never saw, so curiously doth it hang upon a gentle descent, with a little river on the east side; nor a monastery more noble, whether one considers its endowments, largeness, or unparalleled magnificence: one may even think the Monastery alone a city; so many gates it has, some whereof are of brass, so many towers, and a Church, than which nothing can be more

1. Stories Concerning Saint Edmund's Bury, Page 11.



“THE SHRINE OF THE KING, THE CRADLE OF THE LAW ”

magnificent; as appendages to which there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanship in the same Churchyard.”

On November 4, 1539, the last Abbot of Saint Edmund's Bury, with the last Monks, were driven from the home that had been devoted to the service of God five centuries before, glorified by so many of England's Kings, venerated and visited by England's greatest men, chosen as a council-place by England's greatest patriots, and held holy by all the English people.

John Reeve, or Noell, of Melford, was the last Abbot. He died in 1540, and was buried in St. Mary's Church at Bury.

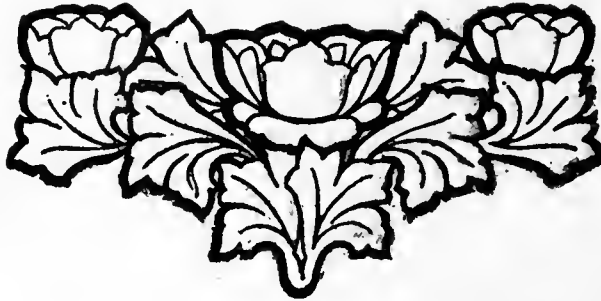
The connection of Saint Edmund's Bury with Magna Charta begins in the year 1132, when Henry I came to the Saint's shrine to vow there amendment of life, as a result of his conscience awakened by a violent storm during his return to England from Rome, whither he had gone to visit Pope Innocent III. For it was Henry who issued the “Charter of Liberty,” the grant of English rights on which the Great Charter was based. It should be remembered, however, that Magna Charta was claimed as no new code, but as a restoration of the laws of “Good King Edward,”—Saint Edward the Confessor, whose reign of justice and mercy was remembered with longing through the tyrannous centuries of Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor monarchs. So it is the last of the Saxon Kings and a great Saint who was the Father of English Liberty. Of Henry I, however, it is fair to say that history records him as more favorably regarded by the people than by the nobles, and this may indicate at least a tendency toward liberty on the part of the King.

Stephen Langton, the great Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, called together a council of the nobles at Saint Edmund's Bury on November 20, 1214. There had been other such meetings: at St. Alban's, August 4, 1213; at St. Paul's, August 25 of that year. But Bury was the solemn covenant-place, where the Primate of England, “Cardinal Langton, standing at the High Altar, read out the proposed Charter of Liberties, which in the form of Magna Charta was signed by King John in 1215,”<sup>1</sup> and where each man present went up in stern solemnity to the Altar and took oath to war against King John for the abolition of the unjust laws and the restoration of the “good laws” of Edward the Confessor. Their pledge was not alone for England, but was a forerunner of our own Magna Charta, when the great men of this land pledged “their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor” to defeat a later English tyranny and to win independence for the heirs of Magna Charta's rights.

1. Francis Fortescue Urquhart, Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford University.

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The oath of England's Barons was made good at Runnymede, and thus did Saint Edmund's Bury, "The Shrine of the King," become truly "The Cradle of the Law." "*Sacrarium regis cunabala legis*" became the town's motto, still blazoned for remembrance of the great days and the great deeds of centuries gone by.



# The Winning and Keeping of England's Great Charter

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN



EVEN hundred years ago, in June, 1215, the nobles of England, led by the chief prelates of the realm, won one of the greatest victories in the history of the human race. It was a victory of justice over injustice, of liberty over tyranny, of right over might. Europe in 1915 cannot well celebrate this centenary—her sons are locked in a life-and-death struggle, in which some of the combatants claim to be fighting for the principles of Magna Charta, while others hold an opposite theory as the right basis of government. But America—America of Free Republics—was built on the foundation of Magna Charta, America has always, unchangingly, unceasingly, upheld the principles of Magna Charta. America in 1915 stands before the nations of Europe, blood-soaked with the victims of government by monarchy and oligarchy, as the proof of Magna Charta's wisdom and righteousness.

True, the Great Charter went only part of the way toward the goal—the American ideal of “government of the people, by the people, and for the people,”—but the seed of the principle was there, and we are the only great people that have carried the seed to fruition.

Still do monarchs claim divine authority to rule supreme, but since Magna Charta England, at least, and other civilized nations in more or less degree have been governed in accordance with law and not as voiceless victims of kings' whims.

Magna Charta was framed to meet the needs of the Thirteenth Century, and not the Twentieth, nor even the intervening periods, and many of our dearest rights were not therein specified. But their germ is to be found. For example, the Charter provided that “no freeman shall be seized, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin; we will not go against any man, nor send against him, save by the legal judgment of his peers or by the laws of the land.” In this lies the principle of trial by jury as we have it today. To-day everyone is admittedly entitled to a fair trial, and the Charter says: “To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right

or justice." Again, it is to the legal tribunals of justice that we go for trials, and not to individual rulers or even to individual executives, and the King in Magna Charta declared that "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in any certain place."

So with our system of Congresses or Parliaments: the Charter said "no scutage nor aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the Common Council of our kingdom." This is the principle of "No taxation without representation."

Of course, it is true that forms of jury-trial, and law-making by councils had been known in ancient times, but in practice they had ceased in Europe when Magna Charta was wrested by the strong men of England from their strong and wily, but conquered King.

Hallam called the Charter "the keystone of English liberty," and said: "All that has since been obtained is little more than as confirmation or commentary; and, if every subsequent law were to be swept away, there would still remain the bold features that distinguish a free from a despotic monarchy."

Again, he says: "An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the Charter. In this just solicitude for the people, and in the moderation which infringed upon no essential prerogative of the monarchy, we may perceive a liberality and patriotism very unlike the selfishness which is sometimes rashly imputed to those ancient Barons."

Green also declares that "The rights which the Barons claimed for themselves, they claimed for the nation at large. The boon of free and unbought justice was a boon for all, but a special provision protected the right of the poor."

Cardinal Langton's statesman-mind is shown in the wise conservatism of the demands, as well as in the completeness of its provisions. Bisset, in "The Pictorial History of England," says that Magna Charta "was evidently drawn up by men with intellects as sharp as the swords of the iron Barons who wrested it from the reluctant King."

The fight for Magna Charta was a long and a fierce one. The Anglo-Saxons, originally a savage, untamed people, had been Christianized for about four centuries before the coming of the Normans. Religion has taught them restraint, but they were in the Eleventh Century still lacking in civilization to a great extent. Despite the fact that Saxon England had produced great Saints, great Kings, great scholars, the mass of the people were unlettered, uncouth, and the Norman Conquest was a victory for civilization.

The wild Northmen had acquired in the preceding century in France knowledge of and zeal for the Christian religion, they had

grasped the essential spirit of the Roman ideals of orderly government, and they had not lost their strength of soul and a sort of hardness of mind, akin to the spirit in the men of primitive Rome. They built on the foundations of the Saxons in England, so that in a few centuries Norman and Saxon no longer dwelt there as separate, antagonistic races, conquerors and conquered, but as one, English people.

But the Norman Kings, for their very strength, found their intensest struggle in dominion over themselves. They were men of wild wills, fiery passions, powerful intellects. Where they did right, they often did right magnificently. Where they did evil, they sinned terribly.

John was not, as some think, a weak character. On the contrary, he had the strong qualities of his race. But he seems to have been utterly selfish, utterly irreligious, utterly bad, without a redeeming feature. He was astute, crafty, a politician for his own ends solely. So far as can be judged from the distance of seven centuries, he was a man without any faith in God, any fear of God. He sought to gain the protection of the Church by disclaiming the responsibility to govern which his birth laid upon him, yet he fought throughout his reign against the Church. He was unsuccessful in the wars in France and his own nobles forced him to their will. But, albeit vanquished, he never submitted in spirit. Contrasted with his strength in wrong-doing and wrong-thinking is the higher strength of Edward I, who, after long struggles against keeping the Charter, stood proudly up in the great Hall of Westminster, burst into unashamed, kingly tears before his people, and owned himself in the wrong.

Magna Charta was hard-won and hard-kept. John himself sought to evade its laws and succeeded in doing so to a great extent. For months England lay wasted by its King and the nobles were powerless. In desperation, the help of France was invited, and the nation faced two dreadful issues—continuation of John's ruthless tyranny, or the rule of a foreign monarch. But John went before the Judge of all on October 18, 1216, and Henry III, a boy of nine, became King.

The Regent of England was William Marshal, the Earl of Pembroke, who at once called together a council, re-affirmed the Great Charter, and so brought to the new King's standard most of the Barons who had summoned the aid of France against John. Louis, son of the French King, had claimed England on the death of John, by right of the Barons' invitation while John was still alive. A few nobles held to Louis, and there was civil war in England, in which Langton and Pembroke led the King's forces. Louis was permanently de-

feated on August 24, 1217, in a great naval battle off Dover, and the land was well governed for the years of Henry's minority.

The Earl of Pembroke died in 1219, and Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar of England, became Regent. He is supposed to have been the castellan of Falaise when Prince Arthur (son of Geoffrey, Count of Brittany, who was the fourth son of Henry II of England and who married Constance of Brittany), was imprisoned there in 1202. He was appointed guardian of the Prince's person, but refused to obey John's savage order to put out the Prince's eyes. Shakespeare, in his "King John," followed this tradition.

The nobles realized the capacity for tyranny in Henry's character, and in 1224 Langton demanded of the young King that he again re-issue the Charter, as his own act, the earlier re-issue having been made when he was only a child. He was but seventeen years old now, and some of his courtiers urged him to refuse Langton's demand. The Cardinal-Archbishop prevailed, however, and in 1225 Magna Charta was again re-issued.

In 1232, Henry assumed the government in person, and it was the government of a tyrant. His obligations to his people, as set forth in the Charter, were to him "trifles light as air." In 1236 his desire for money led him to accede to the Barons' condition for granting the funds he then needed, which was confirmation of the Charter. Again, in 1244, to his demand for more money, the Barons made reply with a list of his violations of Magna Charta. The King refused to adopt their plans for the safe-guarding of their rights, and, having no faith in his cynical offer to renew the Charter, they refused to give him the money he wished.

In 1253 Henry sought to obtain money from the Barons on the pretext that it was needed to finance a Crusade. They believed that this might be only a ruse, but finally consented, making their condition a new confirmation of Magna Charta, this to be made with all the safeguards that religion could summon to hold the King to his oft-broken faith.

Stephen Langton had died in 1228, and Boniface of Savoy was now Archbishop of Canterbury. When King Henry entered Westminster Hall on May 3, 1253, he found assembled in solemn state the Bishops, Abbots, and great nobles of the realm. The ecclesiastics were vested in their canonical robes, and each held a burning taper. The Archbishop offered a taper to the King, but his guilty conscience, dreading the sacred oath which he was unwilling to take with his heart as well as his lips, made him fear to join the witness of the flame—symbol of Divine Light and truth's brightness—to the human wit-

## THE WINNING AND KEEPING OF ENGLAND'S GREAT CHARTER

nesses of his perjury. "I am no priest," he said, thrusting the taper aside.

Quietly, solemnly, the Primate of All England pronounced Divine condemnation upon whomsoever should break Magna Charta, be it subject or be it King, invoking "the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; of the Glorious Mother of God, Mary, Ever-Virgin; of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and all the Apostles; of the Blessed Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr,<sup>1</sup> and of all the Blessed Martyrs of God; of the Blessed Edward, King of England,<sup>2</sup> and of all Confessors and Virgins; and of all the Saints of God," against "the breakers of the liberties of the Church, and of the liberties or free customs of the realm of England."

At the close of the curse, the tapers were thrown down and went out in smoke, and those who had held them said together: "As these tapers, so may the soul of every one who incurs this sentence go out and stink in hell!" The King spoke in a low voice: "So help me, God! I will keep these Charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King, crowned and anointed!"

It was not long before Henry broke his vow, and in 1258 the Barons forced his acceptance of the Provisions of Oxford, a charter of reforms to be carried out by a commission of twenty-four Barons. Again the King broke faith with his nobles, and in 1264 they rose in might against him, under Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.<sup>3</sup>

On May 14 of that year the King was defeated at Lewes, in Sussex, and, with his son, Prince Edward, surrendered to de Montfort. Thereupon the Mise<sup>4</sup> of Lewes was drawn up by the Barons and agreed to by Henry. It provided for reform measures in the government.

But in 1265, on August 4, Prince Edward won the Battle of Evesham, de Montfort and his son, Henry, were killed, and the war between King and Barons had, for the time, been ended by royal victory.

Henry III died at Westminster on November 16, 1272, and Edward learned of his succession to the throne while on his way home from the Holy Land where he had gone on Crusade in 1270.

Edward I was one of the greatest of the Plantagenets and one of the greatest monarchs of England. He was born at Westminster

1. Saint Thomas à Becket, murdered in the reign of Henry II, supposedly by the King's orders, certainly by the influence of his enmity to the Archbishop.

2. Saint Edward the Confessor, predecessor of William the Conqueror, on the English throne.

3. He married Eleanor, the sister of Henry III, and the widow of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. His father was the Simon de Montfort, who commanded in the Crusade against the Albigenses in 1208. The Earl of Leicester came to his title through his grandmother, Amicia, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, third Earl of Leicester.

4. The word came from Old French, and signified a settling, or putting in order.

in 1239, and was christened by Otho, the Cardinal-Legate, receiving the name of Edward in memory of Saint Edward the Confessor. The chronicler, Florence of Worcester, has recorded the people's pleasure at his being given the name of the beloved Saxon King, and that they delighted in tracing his succession from Alfred the Great.

In 1254, at Burgos, Spain, in the Monastery of Las Huelgas, a boy of fifteen, he married Eleanor, sister of Alfonso X of Castile, and at this time he was knighted by the Spanish King.

A strong affection existed between Henry III and his son, and a story is told of the fourteen-year-old Prince standing on the shore weeping bitterly when his father sailed for France. Henry had already given him Gascony, and after Edward's marriage he received from the King Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stamford, and Grantham.

With a dominant spirit, which too often made him a tyrant, Edward nevertheless was kingly enough in soul to understand the love of freemen for liberty. The two impulses fought within him for the mastery. About 1255 the Gascon wine-merchants appealed to him for redress against the King's extortions, and he took their part against his father, who was much displeased, but who, though saying that the times of Henry II had come back, since his son had turned against him, as did the sons of that monarch, nevertheless yielded to the Prince's demands for his Gascon subjects.

The Prince was devoted to the pleasures and pursuits of chivalry, to the neglect of his administrative duties, which he left too much in the hands of officials. But, writes Bishop Stubbs,<sup>1</sup> "If ever king came to his throne with a distinct understanding of the work that lay before him, that king must have been Edward I . . . . . He had been trained for the task of reigning, as well by his father's mistakes and misgovernment as by the means which the nation, under Earl Simon and the barons, had taken to remedy the evils which those mistakes and misgovernment had produced. . . . . Earl Simon and his companions had perished, but the great end of their work had been achieved; they had made it impossible for a king again to rule as John had ruled, and as Henry had tried to rule."

Edward was crowned on August 19, 1274, and, despite his popularity and his nobility of character in many respects, it was not long before the Barons asked for re-issue of Magna Charta. Stubbs remarks that the King "regarded the demands which were made for the re-issue of the Great Charter as a slur upon his good faith," but the English nobles had learned to distrust the Plantagenets. The very

1. "The Early Plantagenets." Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D. D., Late Bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of History, of Oxford University.



greatness of Edward's abilities made acquiescence in his exercise of power a peril to England.

It should be considered, however, that during the war of Barons and King, "the party opposed to the King was divided between those who really desired the freedom of the people, and those who wished to restrict the King's power in order to increase their own. In some important matters of judicial proceeding the interests of the Crown and the people at large were still united in opposition to the claims of the great landowners."<sup>1</sup>

But Edward from the outset of his reign was heavily cumbered with debt,—his own and those inherited from his father,—to which were added the huge expenses of his wars with the Welsh, with Scotland, and with France, and taxation, both of clergy and lay-people, was a continuous burden during his reign. "The clergy. . . . had throughout the struggles of the century ranged themselves on the side of liberty. The inferior clergy had always had much in common with the people, and John's conduct during the Interdict<sup>2</sup> had broken the alliance which ever since the Norman Conquest had subsisted between the great prelates and the court. Stephen Langton had set an example which was bravely followed. Henry III. . . . alienated the. . . . Church almost as widely as John had done; while Simon de Montfort had conciliated all that was good and holy."<sup>3</sup>

In 1294 the King seems to have decided to assume all the rights permitted him under the law for the raising of money, and to take advantage of all ways, without respect to their legality, for this purpose. He not only called together the clergy, the nobles, and the commonalty, practically forcing them to vote him funds; but he also made practically a confiscation of the merchants' wool, by obliging them to consent to pay large increases in custom fees on their exports, and he had inventories made of the treasures of the churches. While he did not actually seize the latter, the alarm caused by his unlawful course grew serious; and this was deepened by his demand in the autumn of 1294 for one-half the revenues of the Church in England. The clergy yielded, and the following year another oppressive demand was made on them by the King. The result was a Bull issued by Pope Boniface VIII in 1296, forbidding the King to tax the purely ecclesiastical revenues of the Church and forbidding the clergy to pay such taxes.

In obedience to this, Robert Winchelsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, refused, in 1297, such a payment, and the King in revenge

1. Stubbs.

2. England lay under Interdict from 1208 to 1213.

3. Stubbs.

announced his intent to hold the clergy of the realm as outlaws. His Chief-Justice at Westminster gave voice to Edward's fury: "You that appear for the clergy, take notice that in future no justice is to be done them in the King's Court in any matter of which they may complain; but nevertheless justice shall still be done to all persons who have any complaint against them."

At this period all England felt outraged at the King's despotism. W. H. Hutton, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, says, in his "King and Baronage:" "The Barons were chafing under his inquiry into their privileges, and his restrictions of their rights. The merchants were protesting against the increase of the customs. . . . . It was not hard to organize a determined opposition.

"In 1297 the king summoned the barons.<sup>1</sup> It seemed that his model parliament had soon broken down,<sup>2</sup> for the clergy were outlawed and he did not summon the Commons."

The King demanded that the Barons undertake in person war for the recovery of Gascony, which the French King had seized, while he himself should attack France from Flanders. "I do not know," writes Hallam, "that England has ever produced any patriots to whose memory she owes more gratitude than Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. In the Great Charter the base spirit and deserted condition of John take off something from the glory of the triumph, though they enhance the moderation of those who pressed no further upon an abject tyrant. But to withstand the measures of Edward, a Prince unequaled by any who had reigned in England since the Conqueror for prudence, valor, and success, required a far more intrepid patriotism."

These two Earls, as voicing the determination of England's great nobles, refused to obey the King unless he would restore the rights of the people by confirmation of Magna Charta. Edward cried out in anger at the Earl of Norfolk, who was the Marshal of England, with a wild oath of allusion to his fearless subject's name: "By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang!" And the Earl's answer came as fiercely: "By God, Sir King, I shall neither go nor hang!" With this, both he and Bohun, with their followers, left the King's presence.

"The assembly broke up in wrath," says Stubbs. "Edward again laid hands on the wool, summoned the armed force, and put in execution the sentence against the clergy; the barons assembled in arms, the bishops threatened excommunication. In spite of this, the king, in

1. To Salisbury.

2. Stubbs, in his "The Early Plantagenets," says: "The task was left for Edward I, . . . . as a part of a definite and orderly arrangement, according to which the English Parliament was to be the perfect representation of the Three Estates of the Realm, assembled for purposes of taxation, legislation, and united political action." Edward's first Parliament was in 1275.

## THE WINNING AND KEEPING OF ENGLAND'S GREAT CHARTER

July, collected the military strength of the nation at London and tried to bring matters to a decision. As the earls would not yield he determined to submit to the demands of the clergy, and to use his influence with the commons so as to get, even informally, a vote of more money. Winchelsey saw his opportunity. If the king would confirm the charters, the Great Charter and the charter of the forests, he would do his best to obtain money from the clergy; the Pope had already declared that his prohibition did not affect voluntary grants for national defence. The chief men of the commons, who, although not summoned as to parliament, were present in arms, agreed to vote a tax of a fifth; and the people were moved to tears by seeing the public reconciliation of the archbishop with the king, who commended his son Edward to his care whilst he himself went to war.

“But the end was not come even now. The archbishop and the earls knew how often the charters had been confirmed in vain in King Henry's days; and it was an evil omen that the king, whilst offering to confirm them, was attempting to exact money without vote of Parliament. They drew up a series of new articles to be added to the Great Charter, and, after some difficulty, forced them upon the king just as he was preparing to embark. Edward saw that he must yield, but he left his son and his ministers to finish the negotiation. As soon as he had sailed the earls went to the Exchequer and forbade the officers of that court to collect the newly imposed tax; the young Prince Edward was urged to summon the knights of the shire to receive the copies of the charter which his father had promised, and on October 10 the charters were re-issued, with an addition of seven articles, by which the king renounced the right of taxing the nation without national consent. . . . .the confirmation of the charters. . . . .was the completion of the work begun by Stephen Langton and the barons at Runnymede. It established finally the principle that for all taxation, direct and indirect, the consent of the nation must be asked, and made it clear that all transgressions of that principle, whether within the letter of the law or beyond it, were evasions of the spirit of the constitution.”

On November 5, 1297, King Edward, then at Ghent, put his seal to the confirmation of the Charters. When he returned from Flanders the Barons insisted that he again renew his promises, making this the condition of their aiding him in the war in Scotland. This he did in March, 1299. Again, in Parliament in London, March, 1300, a re-confirmation took place, and in 1301, in January, at Lincoln, the King agreed to certain new provisions, regarding the conditions on which money was to be granted to the Crown. That Edward yielded

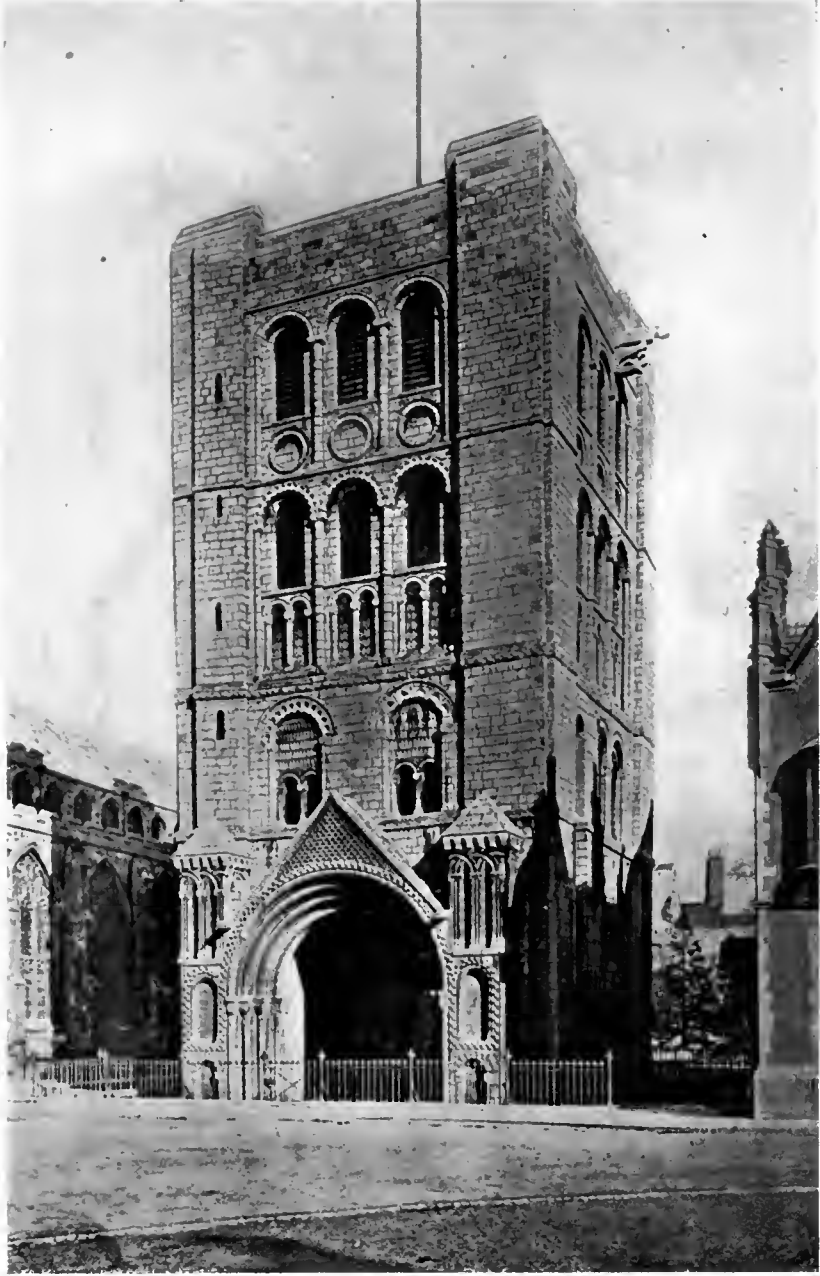
only to pressure is evidenced by his imprisonment of the knight who presented to him the articles at Lincoln, and by his enmity to Archbishop Winchelsey, who, with the Bishops and clergy, had held strongly against the King.

In a number of cases, in order to raise money, he violated the spirit, if not also the letter, of his promises. But it was as difficult for a monarch of the Thirteenth Century, as Americans believe it is for a monarch of any century, to honestly acknowledge that power comes from the people and not from the King; and, believing this, and that efforts to thwart his will were in reality acts of disloyal rebels, Edward I doubtless believed himself to be within his rights, and but doing his royal duty.

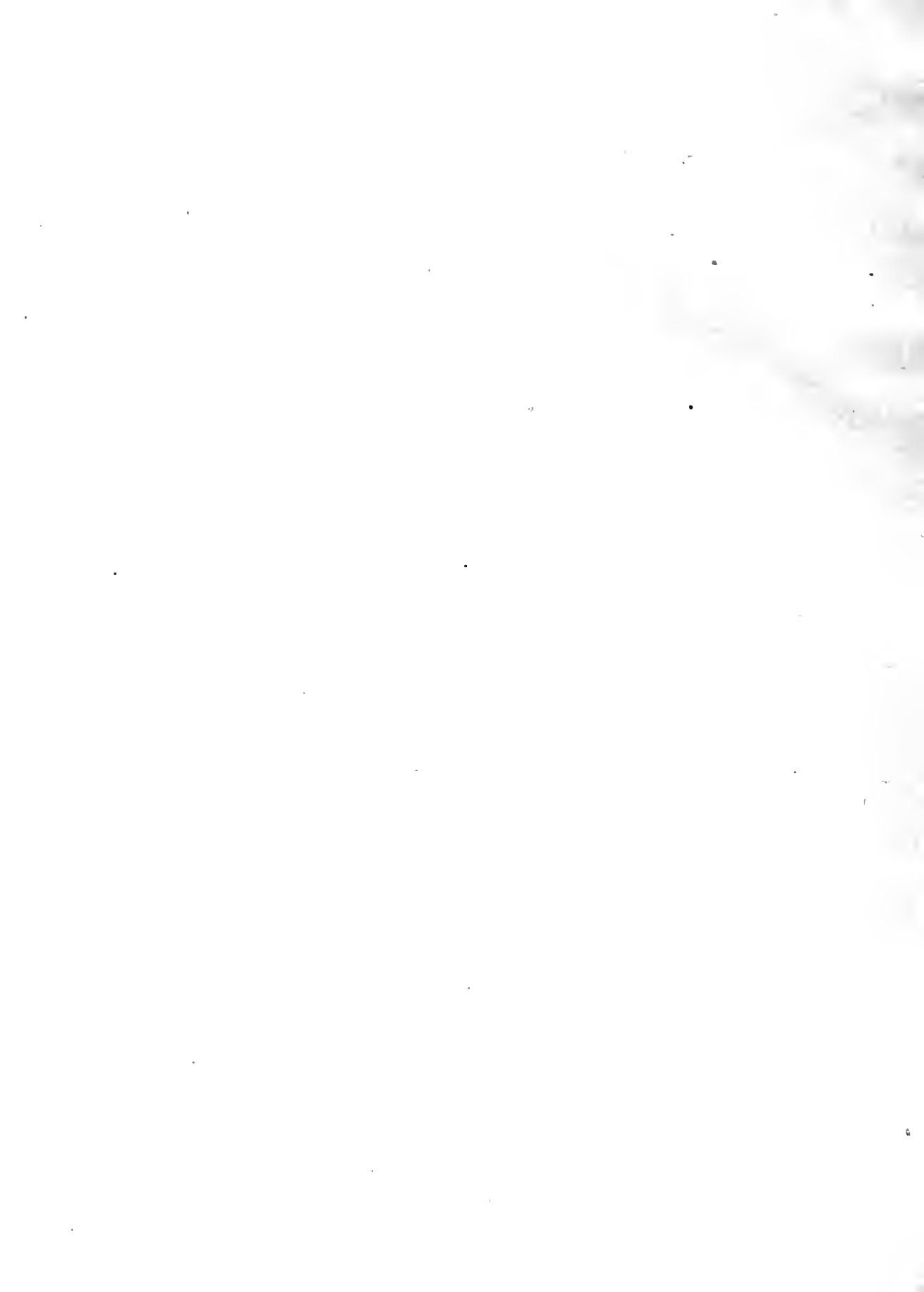
But there were moments, at least, when King Edward rose above the consciousness that he was ruler of England to the kinglier conception of his responsibility of service, and one of these moments came at his confirmation of Magna Charta at Westminster in 1300, when, before the assemblage of Bishops, Barons, and Commoners, he burst into the tears of a strong man splendidly moved and owned that he had done wrong in opposing the will of the people.

"Take him for all in all," he was a noble ruler, a valiant soldier, and devoted much of his reign to the development of the laws of England. He died fighting, for he fell ill while on the march with his army in Scotland, and, after a partial recovery, started again to go forward, when he died on July 7, 1307, at Burgh-on-Sands.

With the death of Edward I came to an end the actual chronicle of the winning and keeping of Magna Charta.



THE NORMAN TOWER, BURY ST. EDMUND'S

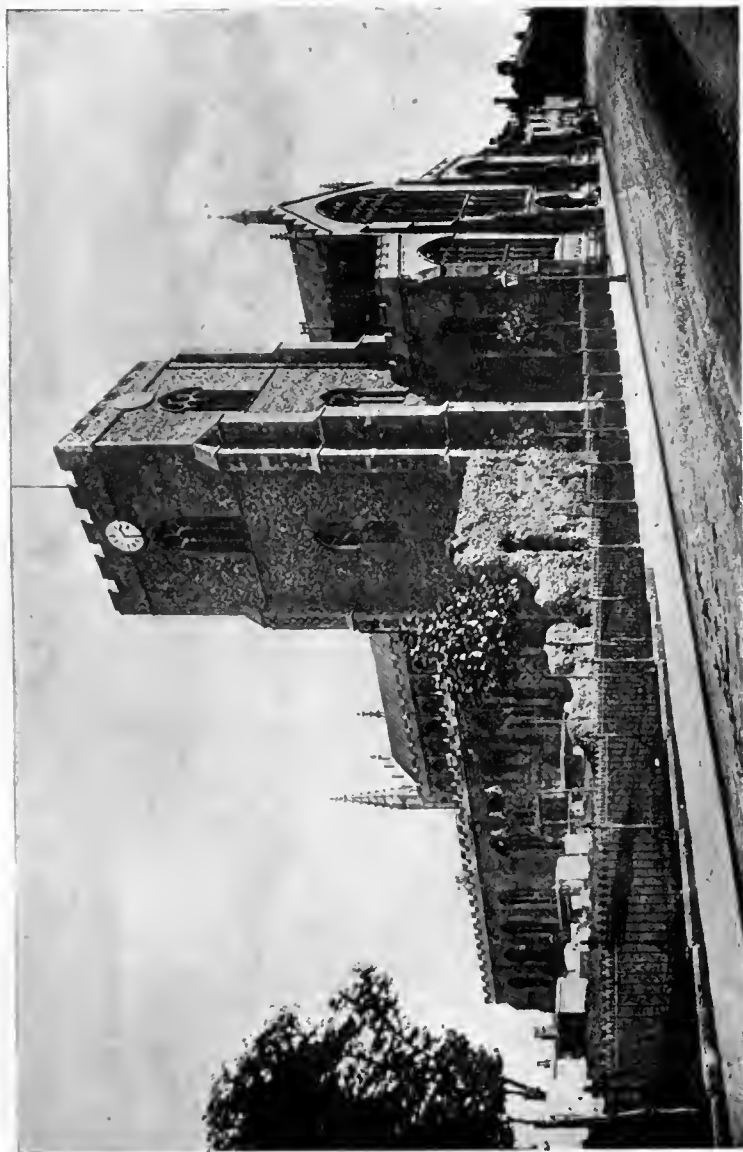






ABBAY RUINS AND THE BRIDGE, BURY ST. EDMUND'S

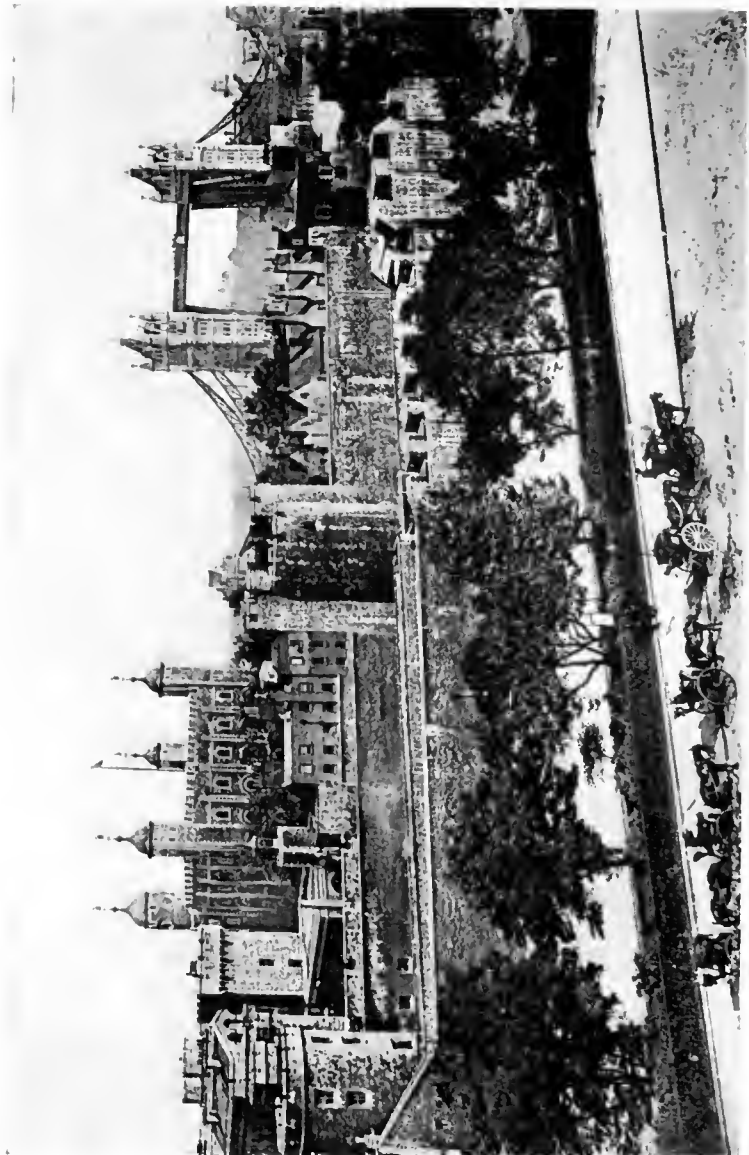




ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BURY ST. EDMUNDS  
Here was buried the last Abbot of St. Edmund's







THE TOWER OF LONDON

# The Coronation of King Henry III

BY

ROGER OF WENDOVER

English Monk and Historian, Who Died  
in 1237



ON THE death of John, King of England, there met together at Gloucester on the Eve of the Feast of Saints Simon and Jude,<sup>1</sup> in the presence of Gualo, Papal Legate, Peter, Bishop of Winchester, Sylvester, Bishop of Worcester, Randolph, Earl of Chester, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, William, Earl Ferrars, John Marshal, and Philip d'Albiny, together with Abbots, Priors, and many others, to crown King John's eldest son, Henry, as King of England.

And on the next day, when all necessary preparations for the coronation had been made, Gualo, the Legate, associating with himself all these Bishops and Earls, conducted the King in solemn procession to the Conventual Church to be crowned; and there, standing before the High Altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, Henry swore on the Holy Gospels and the relics of many Saints to live in honor, peace, and reverence to God and Holy Church and its ordinances all the days of his life. He swore also to do strict justice to the people committed to his charge, and to abolish bad laws and wicked customs, if so be any exist in the realms, and to keep good laws and make them be kept of all men. Thereupon he did homage to the Holy Roman Church and to Pope Innocent for the realm of England and Ireland; and he swore faithfully to pay a thousand marks, as promised by his father, to the Roman Church as long as he should hold those realms;

1. October 28, 1216.

and after this Peter, Bishop of Winchester, placed the crown upon his head and anointed him King, with the prayers and anthems that are usually sung at a King's coronation. Finally, after Mass had been duly celebrated, the Bishops and Earls escorted the King in his royal robes to a banquet, to which all sat down according to their rank and feasted in gladness and joy.

And on the next day the King received homage and fealty from all the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and others present, and all promised him their most loyal service.

King Henry was crowned in the tenth year of his age, on the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude—that is to say, on the twenty-eighth day of October; and after his coronation the King remained in the guardianship of William, Earl of Pembroke, the great Marshal, who forthwith sent letters to all the Sheriffs and keepers of castles in the realm of England, with instructions to each one to be zealous in the service of the newly-crowned King, with a like promise to all of estates and many rewards, according as they stood loyally by the King.

And so all the nobles and keepers of castles, who had served his father, stood much more loyally by Henry than King John, because they all thought that the father's misdeeds ought not to be visited upon the son. Accordingly, they all prepared for defence, and began to fortify their castles as strongly as possible.



# Prince Edward's Defence of the Gascon Wine Merchants

BY

MATTHEW OF PARIS

Written in 1256



THIS time the Gascon wine merchants had, as usual, endured much loss and hardship from the royal buyers, and, a quarrel ensuing, had made the following reply to the royal agents: "We have a new Lord,<sup>1</sup> from whom we hope to derive considerable gain and advantage, and we suppose, therefore, that you will change your evil plundering ways, which you call customs, to good, or, at any rate, passable regulations. Our Lord is new to us, and it is good for him to be well advised, and, while he is so new, to treat us affably and justly, so that he who is, we may say, a tender and youthful plant, may grow and increase in prosperity, and be fruitful in strength."

And when the royal officials refused to listen to them, but, as usual, took their wine from them by force, without paying for it, the Gascons applied to their Lord, Edward, and laid before him serious complaints as to what we have mentioned; and they added that they could, as merchants, land with more freedom and liberty among the Saracens, and expose their wares for sale, and get the proper price without any trouble.

The King's bailiffs, hearing this, came to the King in great anger, and said: "Sire, until now there has been only one King in England, whose business it is to do justice. The Gascon wine merchants have complained to another than you of the wrong they falsely say has been done to them. This cannot but redound to your prejudice and to that of the realm.

Just as the King as indignantly listening to this, Edward came,

1. Prince Edward, to whom, upon his marriage, Henry III gave Gascony.

and made a bitter complaint about the wrong inflicted on his subjects, maintaining that he would certainly not endure such conduct. So, when the King heard this, he groaned deeply, and said: See, my own flesh and blood oppose me. Just as my brother, Earl Richard, turned against me, so now does my eldest son. The days of my grandfather, Henry II, are come again, against whom his best-beloved sons presumptuously rebelled."

Many, therefore, drawing gloomy forebodings from this, were afraid of still worse to follow. But the King, following wiser counsels, passed over all this in silence, and gave proper instructions for the wrong to be righted. Edward, as if taking precautions for his own future, increased his retinue at that time, and rode out with two hundred mounted followers.





# The Marriage of King Edward I

Described by a Benedictine Monk and English Chronicler, Who Died in 1259, and Whose Designation "Of Paris," Sometimes Used as a Surname, "Paris," Is Believed To Have Originated from the Fact that He Studied at the University of Paris. The Following Record Was Written in the Year 1254

BY

MATTHEW OF PARIS



AT THAT time Edward was sent with great pomp and state to Alfonso, King of Spain. There he was honorably and courteously received, and at Burgos married Eleanor, the King's young sister, the King, who was well pleased with the young Prince's handsome bearing, bestowing upon him the honor of Knighthood.

When, therefore, Edward returned home to his father with his bride, he was welcomed with the greatest joy, as though he had been an Angel from Heaven. And Sir John Mansel brought with him a charter of the King of Spain, with golden seals, to the effect that he withdrew all claims to Gascony for himself and his heirs, in favor of the King of England and his heirs.

And then our Lord, the King of England, bestowed on his son and his son's wife, Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stamford, and Grantham; so that he himself appeared to be a mere dismembered kinglet.

# The Curse of the Charter-Breakers

BY

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

In Westminster's royal halls,  
Robed in their pontificals,  
England's ancient prelates stood  
For the people's right and good.

Closed around the waiting crowd,  
Dark and still, like Winter's cloud;  
King and council, lord and knight,  
Squire and yeoman, stood in sight—

Stood to hear the priest rehearse,  
In God's name, the Church's curse;  
By the tapers round them lit,  
Slowly, sternly uttering it.

“Right of voice in framing laws,  
Right of peers to try each cause;  
Peasant homestead, mean and small,  
Sacred as the monarch's hall—

“Whoso lays his hand on these,  
England's ancient liberties—  
Whoso breaks, by word or deed,  
England's vow at Runnymede—

“Be he Prince or belted knight,  
Whatso'er his rank or might,  
If the highest, then the worst,  
Let him live and die accursed.

THE CURSE OF THE CHARTER-BREAKERS

“Thou, Who to Thy Church hast given  
Keys alike of hell and heaven,  
Make our word and witness sure,  
Let the curse we speak endure!”

Silent, while that curse was said,  
Every bare and listening head  
Bowed in reverent awe, and then  
All the people said, Amen!

Seven times the bells have tolled,  
For the centuries gray and old,  
Since that stoled and mitred band  
Cursed the tyrants of their land.

Since the priesthood, like a tower,  
Stood between the poor and power;  
And the wronged and trodden down  
Blessed the abbot's shaven crown.



# What Caused the Battle of Lewes, 1264

From the Annals of Waverly, Written Contemporaneously  
with Events of English History from 1219 to 1266



IN THIS year a battle was fought between King Henry III and certain Barons of the realm, at Lewes, the circumstances of which we have thought right to give here briefly and summarily, in order that posterity may not be ignorant of them.

The King was relying far too much on the counsel of aliens, who made light of the great nobles of the realm, and drove them from the King's councils, in many matters ruling as they pleased. Hence arose indignation against the aliens, and disturbances, as a result of which the King and the leading nobility met at Oxford, and effected a settlement between them, by which they could reform evil laws; and these provisions they all swore to observe—King, Earls, Barons, even about a hundred of them; and the Bishops took this oath too, and excommunicated all who broke it. . . . .

Now, as a matter of fact, these provisions at first were approved by the Queen, seeing that certain wild spirits of whom she disapproved were compelled to leave England; but, when she understood that her fellow-countrymen were to be expelled the realm, she persuaded the King that the provisions should no longer hold; and the King, immediately listening to this persuasion, drew over to his opinion his eldest son and all others he could. Moreover, John Mansel, a clerk of the Court, serving the Queen's wishes to the best of his power, by entreaty or bribery, attracted some to the side of the perjured, and it was for this that he lost good name and world's gear, and died in exile.

The other side, who refused to turn, were indignant at this, and threatened those who had broken their oath. On the other hand, their opponents gave them no peace, but did their best to stir up feud and enmity. In short, this quarrel became so bitter that, now that the previous agreement had been violated by one side, the factions rose against each other and attacked one another most violently, looting

## WHAT CAUSED THE BATTLE OF LEWES, 1264

and plundering, setting fire to the noblest palaces, and razing castles to the ground.

When the kingdom was in such confusion, every day some evil was brought to light, which, as some thought, could only be settled by arms. So the King got together an army and marched hurriedly to the Cinque Ports,<sup>1</sup> and laid seige to three of them, in order to get a firmer hold over them, as they did seem to be ready to obey his will; and, on learning this, the party of the right-minded—that is to say, the ever-respected Lord Simon, Earl of Leicester, and Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, with their supporters, also hastened to march to the Ports. And at this news the King came with his army from the Ports to Lewes.

1. Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich.



# How the Battle of Lewes Was Won

As the Barons' Party Viewed the Great Victory & Con-  
temporary Chronicle in the Annals of Waverly, 1219  
to 1266



THE King came from the Cinque Ports to Lewes with an army of nearly sixty thousand fighting men; and on the better side there were fifty thousand men, under vigorous leaders, but for the most part quite young. They were joined by the Londoners, who, however, had very little experience in fighting; for at the first sight of it they turned to flight.

Now, the Barons wrote to the King that they would gladly serve him; but the King wrote back without the usual courtesies, and informed them that he was quite indifferent as to their service, but that he reckoned them his enemies and defied them as public foes. Also Edward, the King's eldest son, and his uncle Richard, formerly called King of the Romans, informed them that they would destroy their property and lives and their friends' as well. The Barons were saddened at this, for they were anxious for peace and made many offers to secure it; but they were all rejected with scorn by the King's councillors, who threatened to ruin the Barons utterly.

Since, therefore, they could obtain peace neither by their offers nor by their emissaries, they prepared for war; and, ascending the slope of a hill, they looked down on to the town in which their enemy lay, and would have taken them in their beds, but were prevented from doing so by the chivalry of some among them. For these said: "Let us await them here and give them time to get up; for if we attack them in their sleep, we should do ourselves dishonour." So while they awaited themselves they made some new knights, and drew up their men in position, till they saw the enemy approaching.

Right at the beginning of the fight, the Londoners took to flight, and were pursued by Edward with a numerous following of Knights, by whom a great number of the fugitives were slain. Meanwhile, how-

## HOW THE BATTLE OF LEWES WAS WON

ever, the King was captured; for while his followers were intent on booty—horses, armor, and so forth—the King was overpowered, along with some great nobles; but most of these took to flight and left their Lord on the field.

Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, took the King captive, for the King then held him as a greater and more powerful noble than the others, and gave him his sword in token of surrender; and this was because the Lord Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was high in his displeasure. However, it was to this Earl that the best men on that day surrendered.

After this had taken place, Edward, ceasing his pursuit of the Londoners, returned, thinking that he and his followers had gained a victory; but he was met by the victors, who had now set fire to the town, and though at sight of them Edward's men tried to escape, yet most of them were slain and many Knights got into the Priory, changing their armor for cassocks. Edward also, followed by numbers of his men, threw himself into the Church of the Franciscans. Some, too, in fleeing by the bridge, hindered each other's flight, so that many crowded together and were drowned. Those who did escape hastened oversea. The number of those slain in battle amounted to nearly three thousand gallant men, not counting those slain before the fight nor those drowned. The battle took place on May 14.

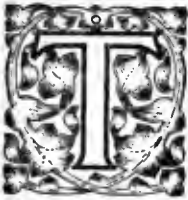


# An Account of the Battle of Lewes from the Standpoint of an Adherent of the King

BY

THOMAS WYKES

A Canon of Oseney, Whose Chronicle, Covering the Period from 1258 to 1289, Is the Only Important Contemporary Record Favoring the King's Party Rather than That of the Barons



THE King of England, trusting in the number of his supporters, and despising the scanty forces of the enemy, under the idea that they would not venture to attack him, was so ill advised as to command all and every one of them to renew their homage to him and his brother, King of the Romans. But the Earl and his supporters were so indignant at this that they at once renounced their fealty and homage to the King; and May 14, on the Wednesday next before the Feast of St. Dunstan, the recreants, with unparalleled wickedness, prepared to do battle with their King, and at daybreak put their squadrons in position, and drew up their lines for battle.

The King's men were ignorant of their movements. It might be thought the enemy expected to take them in their beds, for they made their way under cover of thick woods, and, with standards spread, marched under the Earl's command to the slope of a hill adjacent to the neighboring town of Lewes, where the King, in great alarm, at that time lay. But some of the King's men were aroused and, observing the standards, gave the alarm to the King and all his army, then in their beds asleep; and they, rising in amazement, with all speed, as best they could, armed themselves and went out to meet their unrighteous host.

Straightway the bugles sounded, and the hostile armies, with



fierce looks, charged one another. But the Earl was careful to secure that the whole weight of the fight was centred against the King of England and the King of the Romans, who were in command of the whole army. However, the Lord Edward, who had under him the flower of the army, left his father and uncle, and with all the troops in his command went against the Londoners, against whom he had a special grudge, in order thus to avenge not only his own, but his father's and his mother's wrongs.

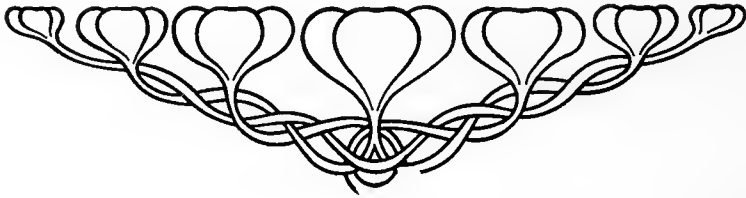
The large body of Londoners, inexperienced in war, were under the leadership of Henry Hastings, who was one of the first to let his terror get the better of his bravery, and fled from the field; and they thought it safer to trust to the chance of flight than to wait for the hazardous fortune of war. And so they left the Earl of Leicester's horse-litter, on which, if I may say so, he had somewhat dishonourably planted his standard, in order that he might be thought to be resting in it, as though disabled or sick; and in it he had put some citizens of London—namely, Augustine of Hadestock, Richard Pickard, and Stephen of Chelmsford, who, in order not to appear disloyal, refused to don breastplate against our Lord, the King—in order that he might expose them as cowards or traitors, and so make victims of them; and when they saw the Lord Edward with his troopers, boldly making for them with drawn swords, and observed how inferior they were to him, they straightway turned their backs, and following the aforementioned Henry at full gallop, staked their safety absolutely on flight.

But the Lord Edward, after most cruelly butchering those who had been put in the horse-litter, did not hesitate to pursue the rest of the fugitives at the top of his speed; and all he could reach by riding after them at the gallop he slew at the point of the sword, and after sating his blade with their blood—not to his contentment, however—he returned to the battle, so exhausted by hard riding—as, indeed, were all his followers in the pursuit, horses and all—as scarcely to be able to breathe.

Meanwhile, the King of England and the King of the Romans, whom he had left to themselves, were surrounded by far superior numbers, and when, after a stubborn tussle, they were no longer strong enough to resist the attacks of the surrounding foe, they took refuge in the conventual church, and, sad to tell, were compelled to surrender to the miscreants, who, they supposed, would assuredly come dutifully to their aid, to prevent them from being killed. And after their capture, all who fled into the town threw down their arms, so as to share in the misfortune of the Kings, and, without striking

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another blow, surrendered of their own accord to the same captors. Even the Lord Edward, along with his kinsman, the Lord Henry, eldest son of the King of the Romans, was so overcome with weariness that he was able to fight no further, and, seeing that there was no one left to help him, he did not blush to share his father's fortune.



# The Battle of Evesham

BY

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER

An English Monk of the Thirteenth Century  
and Author of a Chronicle of English  
History, in Verse

Then was Sir Simon his father at Hereford i-wis,  
With many good men of England, and also of Wales.  
He went out of Hereford with fair host enow,  
And toward Kenilworth to meet his son he drew;  
And 'twas the purpose of both to enclose their foes,  
As one saith, in either half, and to disgrace them each one.  
So that Sir Simon the old came the Monday, i-wis,  
To a town beside Worcester, that Kempsey called is.  
Then Tuesday to Evesham he went in the morning,  
And there he let him and his folk, priests, Masses sing;  
And thought to wend northward his son for to meet.  
But the King would not a step till he dined or ate.  
And Sir Simon the young and his host at Alcester were,  
And would not thence a step, ere they dined there.  
This to diners doleful was, alas,  
For many was the good body that there through slain was.  
Sir Edward and his power soon came to ride  
To the north half of the town, battle for to abide.  
When Sir Simon it knew and they that with him were,  
Soon they let them arm and their banners uprear.  
The Bishop of Worcester assoiled them all there,  
And preached to them, that they had of death the less fear.  
Their way against their foes in God's behalf they took,  
And thought that Sir Simon the young to meet them came.  
When they came into the field, and Sir Simon saw  
Sir Edward's host and others all so nigh,  
He disposed the host right well, and, through God's Grace,

He hoped to win that day the mastery of the place.  
 Then saw he there beside, as he beheld about,  
 The Earl's banner of Gloucester and him, with all his rout,  
 As for him to enclose, on the other half i-wis.  
 "Lo," he said, "ready folk and full wary is this,  
 And more cunning of battle than they were before.  
 Our souls," he said, "God take! for our bodies are theirs."  
 "Sir Henry," he said, to his son, "this hap is due to thy pride,  
 Were thy brother arrived, hope we yet might."  
 They committed life and soul to God's Grace each one,  
 And into battle smote fast among their foes,  
 And, as good Knights, to ground slew anon,  
 That their foes fled soon, thick many a one.  
 Sir Warin of Basingburn, when he did this did see,  
 Forward he 'gan spur, and to shout on high:  
 "Back, traitors, back, and have it in your thought  
 How vilely at Lewes ye were to ground y-brought.  
 Turn back, and bethink you that the power all ours is,  
 And we shall as for naught overcome our foes, i-wis."  
 Then was the battle strong on either side, alas!  
 But at the end went down the side that feebler was,  
 And Sir Simon was slain and his folk all to ground.  
 More murder was never before in so little time;  
 For there was first Simon de Monfort, slain, alas!  
 And Sir Henry his son, that so gentle knight was;  
 And Sir Hugh le Despenser, the noble justice;  
 And Sir Peter de Montfort, that strong was and wise;  
 Sir William de Perons, and Sir Ralph Bassett also;  
 Sir John de St. John, and Sir John Dive too;  
 Sir William Trussell; Sir Gilbert of Enfield;  
 And many good men were slain there in that field;  
 And among all others, most ruth it was ido,  
 That Sir Simon the old man dismembered was so.  
 For Sir William Mautravers—thanks have he none—  
 Carved off his feet and hands and his limbs many one.  
 And his head they smote off and to Wigmore it sent,  
 To dame Maud of Mortimer, that right foully it shent.



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The great, age-famous Church of England, whose ancient existence, as a Monastery Church, is lost in the mists of antiquity; which was re-founded in 1065, by Edward the Confessor; and whose building anew was begun, in 1245, by King Henry III. Here were buried John, Henry III, and Edward I, the Kings especially connected with Magna Charta.

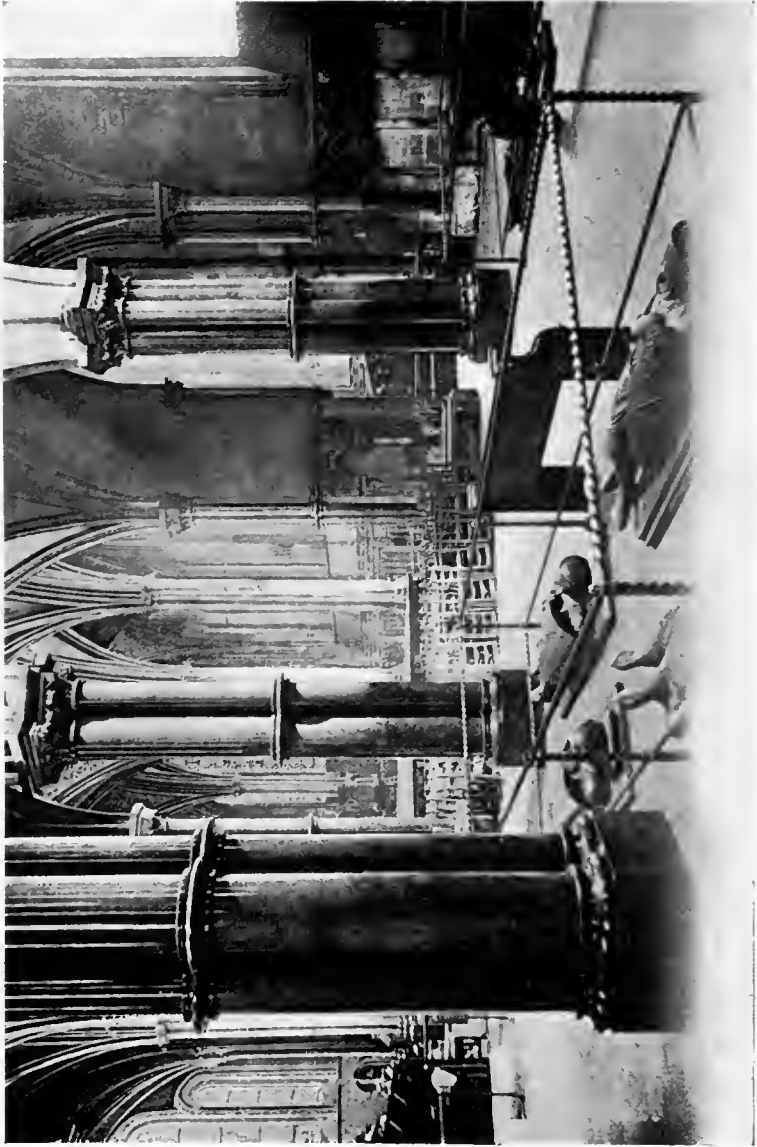






THE TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON





INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH







SIGNING OF MAGNA CHARTA BY KING JOHN

# Magna Charta and Democracy in America

BY

ERNEST C. MOSES



THE dawn of democracy in America during the Colonial period was but the reflection of the same light which centuries before had illumined the consciousness of Great Britain with a vital idea of self-government. This idea did not originate in England, or in America. Self-government among English-speaking people and other nations was the natural result of the brightness of Divine law which radiated from Sinai and Galilee, and which the darkness of the ages could not extinguish—for the light is permanent, while the darkness is not.

A good measure of democracy was established in England during the Thirteenth Century, and this progress encouraged the Americans of the Eighteenth Century to take their stand for self-government. As we have learned from history, while the American Colonies were subject to Great Britain, the royal Ministries claimed the right to tax the people of America without their consent. The Americans protested vigorously, and, when attempts were made to levy and collect imposts, the people of the Colonies several times petitioned Great Britain to make good the damages incurred and to stop such practices. It is interesting to recall that the Americans and their friends in England based their pleas on the rights of Americans as *English citizens*, as well as on their natural rights as citizens of the Kingdom of God.

The defenders of these rights boldly denied the alleged power of English authorities to exact taxations, because such measures violated the liberties guaranteed to the Colonies by the laws of Great Britain. A clear idea of these constitutional rights can be secured by reviewing the foundations erected in the national polity of Great Britain at various periods of its development for upholding common justice and liberty, on both sides of the Atlantic.

Back of the Fifth Century Britain was mostly under the control of Romanized Celts, and there was but a faint expression of the idea of civil liberty until after the invasion by the Angles and Saxons who came over from the east coast of the North Sea and conquered the island in 449-455. The laws of Edward the Confessor (1050) temporarily established the rights of the individual on a broader basis of liberty and equality than the English people had ever known before that time. But in 1066 William, the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, took possession of England, overthrew the Anglo-Saxon control, and did much to improve English methods of government; but he also made firm, for a time, the feudal supremacy of the king and barons. This method of government was established when the Norman king assembled the great land owners at Salisbury in 1086 and forced each to swear: "I become your man from this day forth, of life, of limb, of earthly worship, and unto you will be true and faithful, and bear you faith for the land I hold of you. So help me God."

Compared with present methods of government among the English-speaking people, this complete subordination of the individual to the absolute domination of a monarch would seem little less than slavery. But we must remember that there was an element of protection in this subordination for the people themselves. They were then incapable of self-government, and so this feudal control was about the only way in which they could secure protection from evil-disposed neighboring tribes or nations. Hence, until the sway of popular intelligence became more general, feudalism seemed to be the only practical way in which to secure solidarity within, and protection against any common foe without.

"Villeinage," by which a portion of the people became practically slaves to overlords was one of the institutions of the period. All men were subject to either arbitrary military service, or a war tax, called "scutage." Unjust exactions continued until Henry I restored part of the laws of Edward the Confessor in his "Charter of Liberties," granted in 1101. But the peasantry were oppressed, the earnings of the craftsmen and the goods of the merchant were confiscated, until during the reign of King John the better element of the nobility rebelled.

The real dawn of liberty for the British people sent its first rays into a long night of civil oppression in the year 1215—seven hundred years ago. The clearest thinkers had long foreseen the result of John's disregard of the natural rights of his subjects, and had often pleaded for a grant of constitutional law, which he continually refused. Finally, during Easter week of the year stated, the barons assembled at



*Dixon sculp.*

**JOHN.**

Stamford with a force of two thousand armed knights and demanded a grant of fixed liberties for the people. They proclaimed themselves the "Army of God" and elected Robert Fitzwalter, Earl of Dunmore, marshal of their forces. The army then marched to London, where it was heartily welcomed by the people.

King John fled from the London Tower to Hampshire, sending back word to the insurgents that he would comply with their petitions, and asked for a conference. The barons replied: "Let the day be the 9th of June,—the place, Runnymede." Runnymede was on the Thames, half-way between Odiham and London.

The army promptly marched to Runnymede, where it was met by the King, eight bishops, fifteen noblemen, and many of the English nobility. Negotiations were started and continued until June 19, 1215, when articles of agreement were drawn up and endorsed. The "Magna Charta" (Great Charter) was then written out in Latin and signed by King John.

As the year 1915 celebrates the seven hundredth anniversary of this great event, some of its principal details and provisions are worthy of our review. This great document was the basis of constitutional government in England. From its declarations have descended the civil rights of British and American citizenship which the Independence leaders of 1760-76 declared must be as inviolate in the Colonies as in the mother-country.

Let us examine some of the laws "wrung from King John on the field of Runnymede" and note how they dealt with personal rights, taxation, and representation.

Article 12: "No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom unless by the general council of our kingdom; except for ransoming our person, making our eldest son a knight, and once for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall be paid a reasonable aid." ("Scutage" was a tax imposed instead of military service; "aid" a feudal tax paid by a vassal to his lord.)

Article 14 provides a manner of holding "the general council (or parliament) for the assessment of aids." Article 16 provides that "no man shall be distrained to perform more service for a knight's fee, or other tenement, than is due from thence."

Article 31 reads: "Neither shall we or our bailiffs take any man's timber for our castles or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber." Article 39 provides for protection to both person and property: "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any way destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his





peers, or by the law of the land." Article 40: "We will sell to no man, we will not deny to any man, either justice or right." As "disseised" means deprived of property, it appears plain that this law of the Charter was intended to establish a firm foundation for legal taxing power.

The Great Charter was confirmed by Henry III, and by kings and parliaments upwards of forty times thereafter. Edward I issued a confirmation in 1300—"Confirmatio Cartarum" in which "Cap VI" insures a sweeping declaration of legal taxing power: "to all the commonality of the land, that for no business from thenceforth we shall take such manner of aids, tasks, nor prises, but by the common consent of all the realm, and for the common profit thereof."

So it became a constitutional principle of English law that the crown could not tax his loyal subjects without their consent or the consent of their representatives. This was based on a practical idea of democracy which a contrast cited by E. S. Creasy, M. A., in his book, "The English Constitution," makes plain indeed: "Sir William Temple has said that for a prince to govern all *by* all is the great secret of happiness and safety both for the prince and people. Napoleon's maxim was the exact converse: 'everything *for* the people; nothing *by* them.' The fate of Napoleon is the best proof of the superior wisdom of the English statesman."

The democratic idea of government by popular consent was somewhat of a factor in the Anglo-Saxon polity. Both democratic and aristocratic principles were woven into its structure, but because of the ignorance of the masses the latter methods prevailed mostly in order to give security for the time being to person and property. But the idea of government by representatives of the people steadily grew in power among the English people during the Anglo-Saxon period. They held an assembly called "Witenagemot" which comprised the "Witan" or wise men. It was attended by earls, magistrates of boroughs, bishops, and the reeves of various townships. This body made laws, voted the taxes, and was also a supreme court in civil and criminal causes. This method of government grew out of the assemblies of the *principes* of freemen among the primitive Teutons. They passed the practice over the Angles and Saxons, who established the idea in England after the Fifth Century.

Later, representative government found expression in the English political economy through a parliament of the realm composed of elective representatives of the commons and hereditary peers. The idea of delegated authority from the people was finally conveyed to America, and government by representation, based upon constitu-



tional law and legislative statutes, became the ideal of democracy in the New World.

In 1628 Charles I gave his royal assent to the "Petition of Right," which confirmed and extended the provisions of the Great Charter. When William, Prince of Orange, ascended the throne of England (1689) he assembled Parliament and passed another great statute known as the "Bill of Rights"—"the third great bulwark of English liberty." This statute continued a government by popular consent through parliament, and prohibited all interference by "foreign prince, person, prelate, or potentate."

Thus the foundations of the British constitutional government provide that the people themselves shall decide matters affecting their personal liberties and property rights, and exclude all foreign authority. This principle of rights and exclusion is today fundamental in all democratic governments and associations. It can not be broken, although persons may disregard it.

The American and English statesmen who worked to free the Colonies from tax aggressions during the Independence period had ample reason for holding that these rights were just as applicable to the Americans in Boston or Philadelphia, as they were to the sons of Britain in London. The charters issued by the Crown of Great Britain to the "Plymouth and London Colonies" (1606) stated that the colonists, and their descendants should "have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or in any other of our dominions."

But the people of the New World did not rest solely upon these ancient declarations to support their defense against attempts to violate their rights. The leading citizens of the Colonies were persuaded that their civil privileges were not defined nor limited by scroll or parchment. They believed that the rights of conscience and self-government were the continuing gifts of God to man, and that the Giver would eventually establish these natural rights on a firm basis in America. Therefore they regarded every foot-step of progress, recorded in the English origins of civil liberty and democracy, as signs of Divine favor available in a larger measure in their own times. The American patriots realized that they needed but listen to the dictates of wisdom, work diligently, and go forward with steadfast faith in the right. As we know, they finally won their cause.

The Magna Charta was a great political scripture—a fore-runner of better things to come. The conference held at Runnymede was a

## MAGNA CHARTA AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

turning-point in the world's destiny. It opened the way for constitutional liberty in England, and for other great charters which recorded the political liberties and obligations of the people of the United States about six centuries later—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The granting of the Magna Charta was one of the most impersonal events in English history. No triumphant personality of military renown or of statescraft is associated with King John's submission to the early demand of democracy in England. No man has been lifted up in English history as either the writer of the document or the central figure in winning it from the royal hand. The granting of the Great Charter as a covenant between monarch and subjects was a victory for justice and democracy. Its establishment was a long and firm step toward the time wherein the rights conferred by a good God on man should be expressed in governments of a far broader equality and benevolence for the English-speaking, and other nations of the world.



# The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297



EDWARD, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all those who shall see or hear these present letters, Greeting!

Know that, to the honor of God and Holy Church, and to the profit of our whole realm, we have granted for us and our heirs that the Great Charter of Liberties and the Charter of the Forest, which were made by the common consent of all the realm in the time of our Father, King Henry, be kept in all points, without breach. And we will that these same Charters be sent under our Seal to our Justices, as well of the Forest as to the others, and to all Sheriffs of Counties, and to all our other officers, to all our cities throughout the realm, together with our writs, wherein shall be instructions for them to have the aforesaid Charters published, and to have the people informed that we have granted their confirmation in all points; and our Justices, Sheriffs, Mayors, and other officers, who have the direction of the law of the land under and by us, we charge to admit the same Charters in all their points, in pleas before them and in giving judgment—that is to say, to admit the Great Charter of Liberties as common law and the Charter of the Forests according to the Assize of the Forest, for the benefit of our people.

II. And we will that henceforth, if any judgments be given contrary to the terms of the aforesaid Charters, by our Justices and other officers who uphold pleas in their Courts contrary to the terms of the Charters, they be annulled and held for nought.

III. And we will that these same Charters be sent under our Seal to the Cathedral Churches throughout our realm, and there remain; and that twice a year they be read to the people.

IV. And that the Archbishops and Bishops pronounce sentence of great excommunication against all those who shall transgress the aforesaid Charters by word, deed, or counsel, or infringe them in any point, or break them; and that these sentences be pronounced and published twice a year by the aforesaid Prelates. And if the same Prelates, or any of them, be remiss in making the aforesaid denunciations,

## THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS

they shall be made and compelled to make the aforesaid denunciation in the form aforesaid by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for the time being, as is fitting.

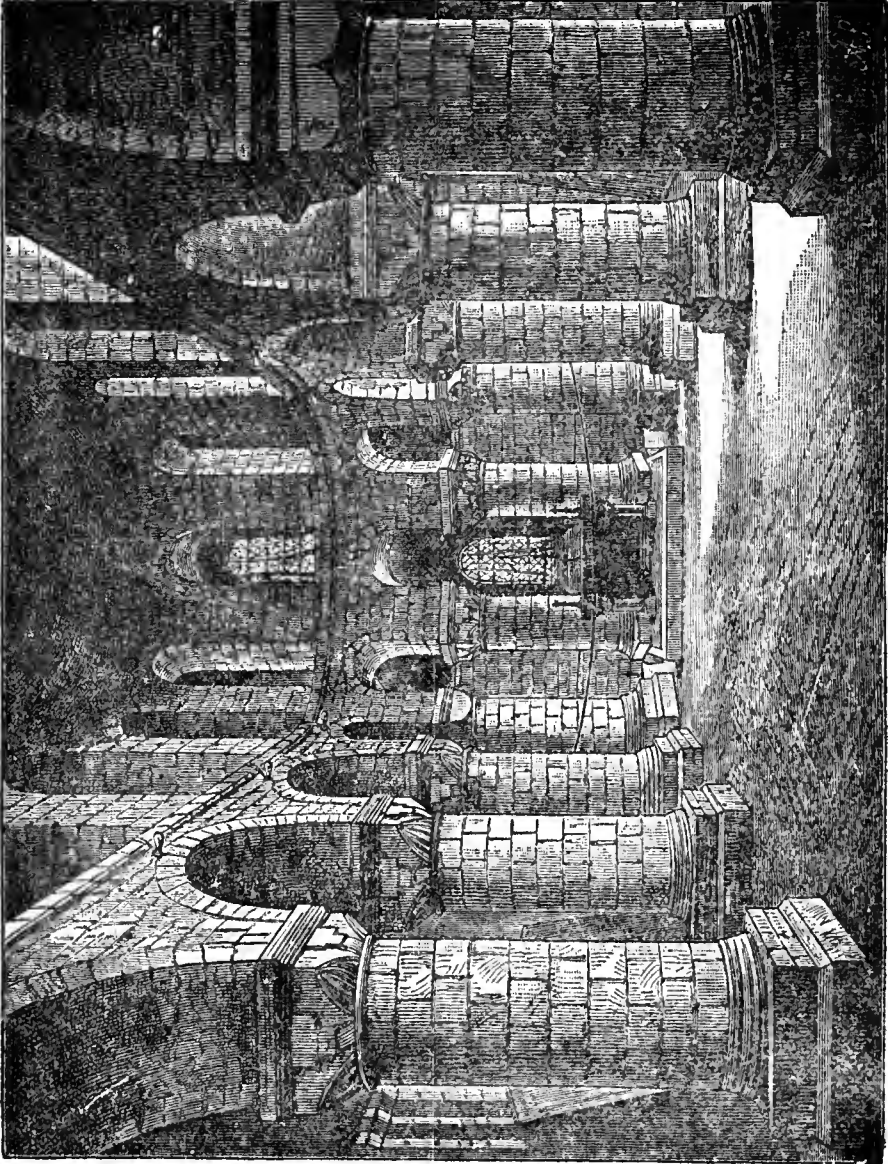
V. And whereas some people of our realm fear that the aids and tasks which they have made to us heretofore for our wars and other business, by their grant and goodwill, in whatever manner they have been made, may turn to their bondage and to that of their heirs, because they might be found at another time scheduled in the rolls, as also the prises taken throughout the realm by our officers, in our name, we have granted, for us and our heirs that we will not draw into precedent such aids, tasks, and prises, no matter what may have been done heretofore, or what can be found by roll, or in any other way.

VI. And, also, we have granted for us and for our heirs to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other people of Holy Church, to the Earls, Barons, and all the commonalty of the realm, that henceforth, for none of our business, will we take any such manner of aids, tasks, or prises of our realm except by the common consent of all the realm and for the common profit of the said realm, save the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed.

VII. And, whereas the greater part of the commonalty of the realm feel themselves greatly grieved by the maletote of wools—namely, forty shillings for each sack of wool—and have prayed us to be pleased to remit the same, we have, at their prayer, fully remitted them; and we have granted that henceforth we will neither take these nor any other, without their common assent and goodwill, saving to us and our heirs the customs of wools, skins, and leather granted aforetime by the commonalty of the aforesaid realm.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness Edward, our son, at London, the tenth day of October, the twenty-fifth year of our reign.

And it is to be remembered that this same charter in the same terms, word for word, was sealed in Flanders under the King's great Seal—that is to say, at Ghent—the fifth day of November, in the twenty-fifth year of our aforesaid Lord the King, and sent to England.



THE CHAPEL OF SAINT JOHN, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

This Chapel, in the White Tower, the most ancient part of the Tower of London, was in 1240, decorated by King Henry III with paintings and stained glass.



# A Poem on the Death of Edward the First

Written in the Thirteenth Century

All that be of heart true,  
A while hearken to my song,  
Of grief that death hath wrought us now,  
That makes me sigh and sorrow among;  
Of a Knight that was so strong,  
On whom God had done His will:  
Methinks that death hath done us wrong,  
That he so soon shall lie still.

All England ought for to know  
Of whom the song is that I sing;  
Of Edward, King, that lieth so low;  
Through all this world his name can spring.  
Truest man of every thing,  
An' in war wary and wise,  
For him we ought our hands to wring;  
Of Christendom he bare the prize.

Before that our King was dead,  
He spoke as one that was in care;  
"Clerks, Knights, Barons," he said,  
"I charge you by your sware,  
That ye to England be true.  
I die, I may live no more:  
Help my son, and crown him now,  
For he is next to be y-core."

\* \* \* \* \*

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Now is Edward of Carnarvon  
King of England all aright,  
God let him never be worse man  
Than his father, nor less of might  
To hold his poor men to right,  
And understand good counsel,  
All England for to rule and dight;  
Of good Knights there need him not fail.

Though my tongue were made of steel,  
And my heart y-got of brass,  
The goodness might I never tell  
That with King Edward was:  
King, as thou art cleped conqueror,  
In each battle thou haddest prize:  
God bring thy soul to the honor  
That ever was and ever is,  
That lasteth aye without end!  
Pray we God and our Lady,  
To that bliss Jesus us send. Amen.



# A Personal Description of King Edward I, Written About 1307

BY  
JOHN OF LONDON

Author of "Commendatio Lamentabilis in  
Transitu Magni Regis Edwardi"



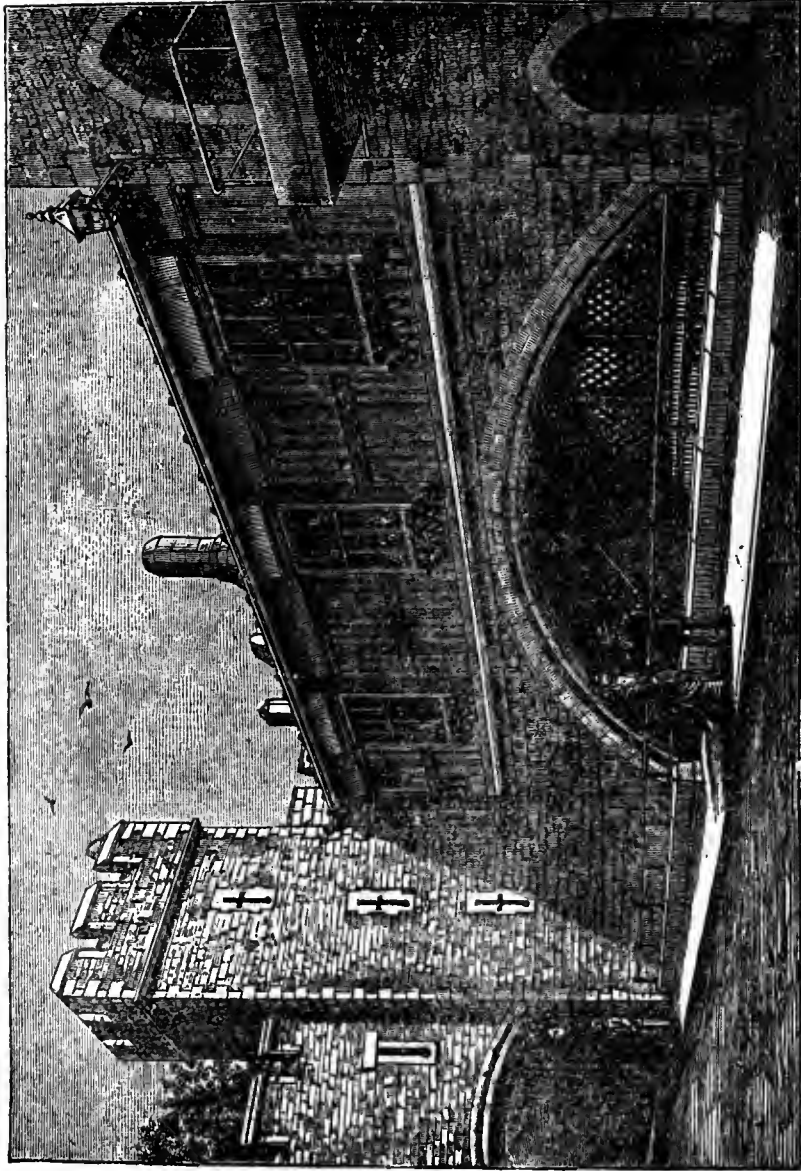
YOU must know that King Edward was not ruddy or high-coloured, but of that blend of dark and fair which is a sign of a hot and dogged temperament; and his complexion was hardly altered by age and greyness. He was tall and well built, so that, in walking with other people, he stood out head and shoulders above them, just as Saul of old times, the Lord's chosen servant, gladdened the heart of those who beheld the King walking.

His head was round, the abiding-place of great wisdom and the special sanctuary of high counsel. His full round eyes were frank and dove-like when he was in happy mood, but in anger, and when his lion heart was moved, they flashed fire and lightened up fiercely. His hair was black and curly, and even in old age he had little to fear from baldness.

He had a long, somewhat aquiline nose, and bowed legs. He was long-shanked, like a horse-man, and had a full throat, strong shoulders—all signs of strength, daring, and activity. . . .

Ever straight as a palm, he always maintained the nimbleness of youth in mounting or riding; and by keeping under grossness of physique by continual hard work he was hardly ever ill. . . . .

No one had a keener wit in counsel, a greater fluency in speaking, coolness in danger, restraint in success, constancy in failure. . . . His affections once pledged were rarely recalled, and if once he hated a man he seldom favored him afterwards with his friendship.



SAINT THOMAS' TOWER, AND THE TRAITORS' GATE, TOWER OF LONDON

## Stephen Langton: A Great Englishman



MARK PATTISON, the English essayist, Fellow and Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford University, called Langton "that great prelate, who, during a twenty-three years' occupation of the See of Canterbury, acted in public a most prominent part in material affairs, and in the cloister produced more works for the instruction of his flock than any who, before or since him, has been seated in that 'Papal Chair of the North,'—who was the soul of that powerful confederacy who took the crown from the head of the successor of the Conqueror,—and yet, next to Bede, the most voluminous and original commentator on the Scripture this country has produced,—and who has transmitted to us an enduring memorial of himself in three most different institutions, which, after the lapse of six centuries, are still in force and value among us—Magna Charta, the division of the Bible into chapters, and those constitutions which open the series, and form the basis, of that Canon Law which is still binding in our Ecclesiastical Courts."

This is the estimate, in epitome, of Langton, prelate, scholar, patriot, given by a learned clergyman of the Established Church of England, and it is a just one. Langton was one of the remarkable men of his land and his century.

He was born at Langton, near Spilsby in Lincolnshire, in the latter part of the Twelfth Century, the exact date being unknown. His father was the son of Henry de Langton and the elder brother of Simon Langton, who became Archdeacon of Canterbury. Dean Hook, in his "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury" (1862), states his belief that Langton came of the Yorkshire family of the name; but his family antecedents have never been accurately traced.

Burke blazons for him Arms: *Per pale azure and gules, a bend or.* The Coat-Armor of the Langtons of Langton, Lincolnshire, is blazoned as follows. Arms: *Quarterly, sable and or, a bend argent.* Crest: *An eagle or and wivern vert, interwoven and erect on their tails.* This is quite different, but there is the use of the bend in both Arms. The

Langtons of Yorkshire have blazoned Arms: *Gules, a chevron ermine, between three lions rampant argent.*

Early in his youth, Stephen Langton entered the University of Paris, where he became associated with Lothaire, the nephew of Pope Clement III, who later succeeded Celestine III in the Holy See as Innocent III. It is said that while in France Langton was Chancellor of Paris University and Dean of Rheims.

When Lothaire became Pope, he appointed Langton a member of his household, and himself attended the lectures given by Langton in public. In 1206 the Pope made him Cardinal Priest of Saint Chrysgonus.

As a patriot, the fame of Stephen Langton has shone so bright, during the seven centuries since Magna Charta, that his great achievements as a scholar have been too much forgotten. He was one of the greatest Bible students of the Middle Ages. "Everyone who reads the Bible or enjoys the benefit of civic freedom owes a deep debt of gratitude to this Catholic Cardinal. If men may be measured by the magnitude of the work they accomplish, it may be safely said that Langton was the greatest Englishman who ever sat in the Chair of St. Augustine."<sup>1</sup>

Before Langton, the Bible knew no division into chapters. His arrangement was adopted in the Vulgate, and thence has been copied by all modern versions. It has also been applied to the Greek New Testament and to the Septuagint. "It is indeed one of the few cases in which Latin scholarship has affected the Eastern Churches. Yet more remarkable is it that the division has also been adopted by the Jews themselves, and that the hand of the English Cardinal should leave its mark on the pages of the Talmud."<sup>2</sup>

Ralph Higden, in his "Polychronicon" (a history of human events from Adam to the chronicler's own times), finished in 1366, says of Langton: "He coted the Bible at Parys and marked the chapitres."<sup>3</sup>

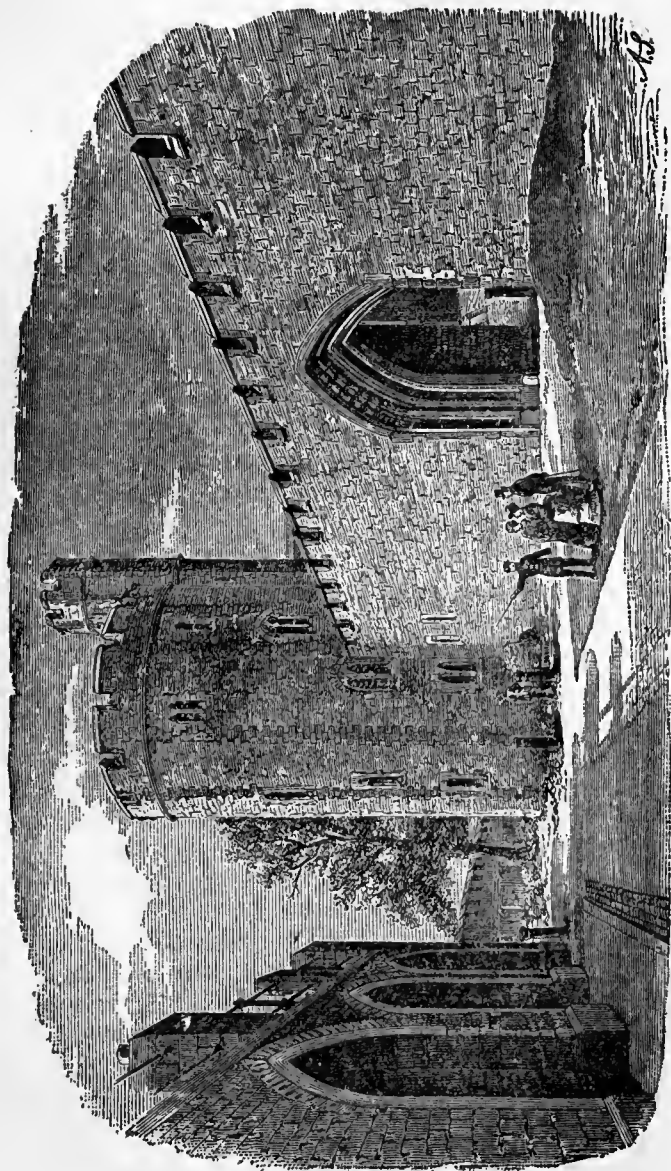
The Cardinal's accession to the See of Canterbury was long and bitterly opposed by King John. On the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205 dispute arose between the Bishops of the Province and the monks of the Canterbury Cathedral Chapter as to which body held the right to elect an Archbishop. Some of the monks held a secret council and elected their Sub-Prior, Reginald, who thereupon set out for Rome, to obtain the Pope's confirmation.

His election became known after he left England and the King was deeply angered. He compelled the monks to hold another election

1. Rev. W. H. Kent, O. H. C.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Translation into English made in 1387 by John de Trevisa.



A PART OF THE TOWER OF LONDON  
Showing the Cradle Tower and Wall of the Outer Ward, the Lanthorn  
Tower and the Curtain Wall of the Inner Ward

and elect his candidate, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. Another delegation then started for Rome for confirmation of this election. But the Pope rejected both elections as invalid, the first as having taken place in an irregular and secret manner, and the second because it had been enforced and had been made before the earlier election had been annulled. It was, however, decided that it was the Canterbury monks who held the right to elect an Archbishop, as this had been the procedure from Saxon times. Innocent III, therefore, directed the monks of the Chapter to hold another election, and he recommended Cardinal Langton as a candidate.

This election was made, confirmed, and Innocent sent to King John a letter strongly in praise of the new Archbishop. In a Bull sent to the Prior and monks of Canterbury, he spoke of "Our beloved son, Master Stephen Langton, a man verily endowed with life, fame, knowledge, and doctrine."

"But neither the words of Innocent nor the merits of Langton could satisfy the angry king, who wreaked his vengeance on the Church of Canterbury and vowed that Langton should never set foot in his dominions. Thus began the memorable struggle between the worst of English kings and the greatest of the mediaeval pontiffs."<sup>1</sup>

The King persisted for eight years, but at last,—under threat of excommunication, and fearing that, if this happened, Philip of France would take advantage of the discredit it would bring to the English King, and fearing also the growing indignation of the people of England,—he yielded. The Archbishop arrived in England and came to his See in July, 1213. A few weeks earlier, on May 15, John had tendered his kingdom to the Pope, receiving it back as a fief. This step was taken as a political move to prevent an attack by the French King, since, as a feudatory of the Holy See, John could claim its protection—a strong shield of moral influence in the thirteenth Century.

The Pope obliged him to pledge general reform in the government of England, but these promises were broken, with the result that Langton became the head and front of the great wave of indignation, and determination to enforce the ancient liberties of the realm, which culminated in the victory of Magna Charta, June of 1215,—just two years after the Archbishop was allowed to come into his country and his See. Francis Fortescue Urquhart, Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford University, says: "When peace was finally made with the Pope, the King seems to have thought that the Church would now support him against the mutinous Barons of the North; but he counted

1. Kent.



without the new Archbishop. Langton showed from the first that he intended to enforce the clause in John's submission to the Pope which promised a general reform of abuses, and his support provided the cause with the statesmanlike leadership it had hitherto lacked."

"The discontented Barons met at St. Alban's and St. Paul's in 1213, and Langton produced the Charter of Henry I to act as a model for their demands. Civil war was deferred by John's absence abroad, but the defeat of Bouvines sent him back still more discredited, and war practically broke out early in 1215. Special charters granted to the Church and to London failed to divide his enemies, and John had to meet the 'Army of God and Holy Church' on the field of Runnymede between Staines and Windsor."

The St. Alban's meeting was on August 4, 1213, and its formal purpose was "to make sworn inquest as to the extent or damage due to churchmen during the years of John's quarrel with Rome," writes William Sharp McKechnie, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil., Lecturer on Constitutional Law and History, University of Glasgow (1905). He says that this meeting was "the earliest national council at which the principle of representation received recognition (so far as our records go). Four lawful men, with the reeve, from each village or manor on the royal demesne, were present \*\*\*\* to make a sworn inquest as to the amount of damage done. Such inquests by the humble representatives of the villages were quite common locally; the innovation lies in this, that their verdict was now given in a national assembly."

The Archbishop called the meeting at St. Paul's on August 25, 1213. At this conference he reminded the Barons "that John's absolution had been conditional on a promise of good government, and, as a standard to guide them in judging what such government implied, he produced a copy of Henry I's Charter of Liberties."<sup>1</sup>

Then came the meeting at Bury Saint Edmund's on November 4, 1214, just after the King's return from France. John was present, but his concessions amounted to nothing practical, still insisting on payment of scutage, which the Barons continued to refuse. The second meeting at Saint Edmund's, when the nobles swore to take arms against their monarch in defense of the ancient liberties of England, which John had violated, took place on November 20.

How the Archbishop, with Pandulph, the Pope's Legate, the Bishops, Barons, and Earls of England, wrested the Great Charter of right and freedom and justice from King John, we all know. The King yielded from necessity, not from conviction. Throughout his reign, he seems to have been swayed by the cynic's principle that no

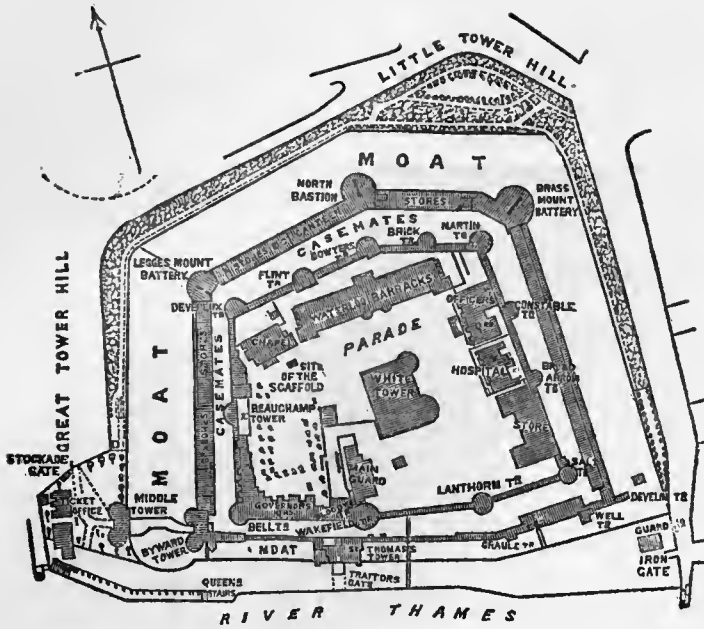
1. "Magna Charta," by McKechnie, as above.

action taken, no policy adopted, really mattered in itself, nor needed honesty of purpose and good faith to back it, since all acts, all courses, were to be considered in the relation of advantage to his own selfish ends and rooted determination for personal power and aggrandizement. His opposition to the Pope and the ecclesiastical authorities of England, his open defiance of the laws of common honesty and humanity in diverting funds of the Church to his own ends by keeping Sees in vacancy and seizing their revenues (purposed for the needs of religion, charity, and learning), during such vacancy, were no more conscienceless than his pretended submission to the Pope as feudal overlord that he might secure moral support in his war with France.

After his defeat at Runnymede, he still sought to gain the Pope's influence, using all means at his disposal to convince Innocent that the Barons and the Archbishop himself had acted wrongfully and that their patriotic victory was only the success of disloyal rebels. With only one side of the case before him, and with natural leaning toward the side of order and constituted authority, the Pope believed to some extent at least in the truth of John's version of the matter.

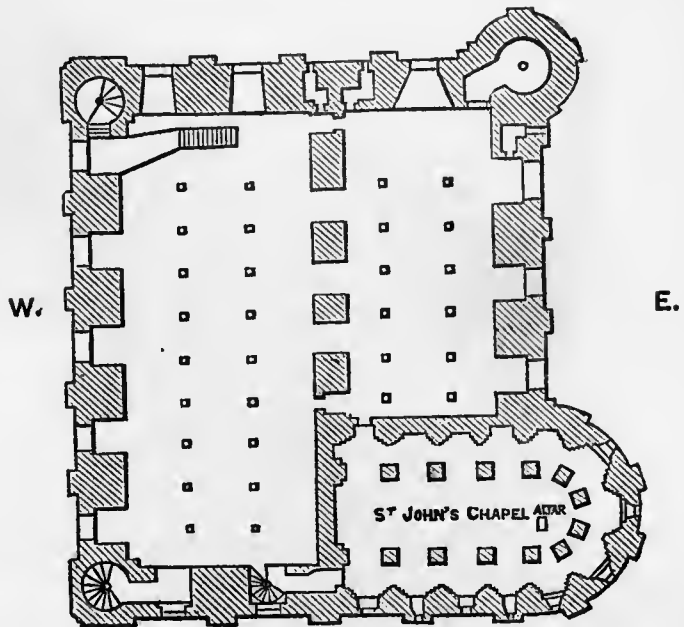
Langton himself went to Rome, where he remained some months, his censure being removed. He then returned to England and devoted the rest of his life to the government of his See, to study, and to the guidance of England during the minority of King Henry III. For Magna Charta was hard to keep, as hard to win, and the great Cardinal served the England of his love as gallantly during his latter days as when he pledged the Barons to the fight for England's freedom and led them to the victory of Runnymede.

Stephen Langton died probably on July 9, 1228, and was buried at Canterbury on July 15.—one month after the thirteenth anniversary of Runnymede. A few months after his death, Pope Honorius III said of him: "The custodian of the earthly paradise of Canterbury, Stephen of happy memory, a man pre-eminently endued with the gifts of knowledge and supernal grace, has been called, as we hope and believe, to the joy and rest of Paradise above."



PLAN OF THE TOWER.

N.



WHITE TOWER.  
Plan of Middle Floor.

S.

# “The Birthplace of American Independence, 1687”

How Ipswich, Massachusetts, Won This Inscription for  
Its Town Seal

BY

J. H. BURNHAM



Someone has truly said that every tree in the forest has, under ground, roots which are equal in body to all of its branches above ground. If this is correct, perhaps it can be said with equal truth that the great tree of American Liberty possesses, buried in the remote and distant past, as many roots and rootlets as its beautiful structure of branches exhibits to our admiring gaze.

We sometimes think of liberty's roots in the Swiss Mountains where William Tell slew the tyrant Gessler, and we often refer to the English Plains of Runnymede where the Barons compelled King John to assent to England's Magna Charta; but the branches of our own tree of American liberty have been nourished by many very deep growing roots concerning which history is sometimes entirely silent, or to which it has given but niggardly praise, and we can perhaps spend a few moments profitably in tracing one rootlet of our liberty tree, which has not been exactly overlooked by history, but which from the present generation of Americans has attracted little or no general attention.

I was born in Ipswich, Essex County, Massachusetts, in the very school district where the leader in the events I am about to describe was the settled Pastor in the Congregational Church in what was then called Chebacco Parish, but which is now, since 1819, the little town of Essex.

Ipswich, whose Indian name was Agawam, is located on the north side of Cape Ann, about thirty miles from Boston, and fronts on Ipswich Bay. It narrowly missed being the Plymouth home of the Pilgrims in 1620. You will remember that various un-

“THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1687”

foreseen delays prevented the *Mayflower* from sailing around the stormy point called Cape Cod, until too late in the season to undertake the passage of another Cape, which was Cape Ann, and this delay compelled them to settle on the miserably poor, sandy soil around Plymouth, where the limited harvest of Indian corn almost drove them to seek another location, and where frequent starvation came very near exhausting their determination and perseverance.

Agawam possessed large areas of fertile, cleared acres of rich, black soil, adapted to corn growing, where the Indian tribes had once lived in plenty. It was the intention of the Mate of the *Mayflower* to land at Agawam, where he vouched for the beauty and fertility of the neighborhood. Had this landing been made, it is probable the whole history of New England would have been vastly different.

In 1687 Ipswich was the second town in wealth and population in the ancient “Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,” as all of its legal papers then described the Province, and its residents religiously believed that their New England home was far dearer to them than the old English home which had so bitterly persecuted their fathers and mothers fifty years before.

The people who lived in Chebacco Parish in 1687 must have been a sturdy, patriotic, intellectual class. There are various evidences of this, one of which will here be called to your attention. Another is the fact that in this little community of perhaps five hundred people, almost entirely made up of old English Puritan families, were to be found the ancestors of Joshua R. Giddings, Nathan Dane, Seth Low, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greene Cogswell, Edna Dean Proctor, Joseph H. Choate, and Rufus Choate. The latter was my mother’s first cousin. Since commencing this paper I have discovered that all of the above mentioned persons find among their ancestors of over two hundred years ago some of the same ancestral lineages as are found in my father’s and mother’s families in that ancestral Parish.

The town seal of Ipswich bears this inscription: “The Birthplace of American Independence 1687.” The important events I shall describe were a mere tradition in the town where I was born until recent publications and celebrations brought them to light. The traditions had faded almost entirely out of the minds of the descendants of the actors, and to me it was almost a revelation, when, in later years, I found unquestioned historical records deserving of national attention.

One of the actors was my Grandmother’s Great-Grandfather,

thus bringing me within four generations of the event, and I feel a personal interest in calling attention to the importance of the action.

The English Charter, which was granted on March 9, 1629, to the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay,—inhabitants of Boston, Salem, Ipswich, Beverly, Gloucester, and other neighboring towns with good old English names,—was remarkably liberal in its terms in very many respects. Puritan influence prevailed at headquarters in London, and the leading idea of those who procured the Charter was to furnish a safe home to the Puritan Independents or Congregationalists, although it was hoped that mines of precious metals might be discovered, or that the pine forests and the fisheries might yield some return to the Chartered Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay Company. The settlers were given the right to make their own laws, elect their own Legislature and Governor, to make war, if necessary, in their own defense, and to exercise all of the privileges of Englishmen.

James I was King of England, but, between the granting of the Charter and the year 1687, successive changes occurred, from James I to Charles I, who was sent to the scaffold by the Cromwellians in 1649, then to Cromwell himself, then to Charles II, and finally, in 1685, to James II. The New England Puritans placed their chief dependence, for the keeping of their liberties, on that sacred charter under which they could, in Massachusetts, at least, keep watch and ward over as much British territory as that paper protected on their own side of the Atlantic Ocean.

During the great immigration of Puritans, which occurred mainly from 1631 to 1640, the population of Massachusetts Bay was increased by over twenty thousand souls, bringing with them property and money to the amount of one million dollars. When the English Puritans began to acquire the strength at home which culminated when Oliver Cromwell came into power, the tide of immigration actually turned backward to Old England, and quite a number of Cromwell's ablest officers and assistants were Puritans returned from Massachusetts.

During all of this time, however, the ruling element in the Colony was the Massachusetts Congregational Church, which held fast to its faith and jealously guarded its rights under the Charter with a watchfulness that is to us astonishing. We have no space here to follow the famous struggle between the British Government and the Colonists during the years between 1630 and 1680, which consolidated the advocates of liberty and home rule to an extent which we of the present find it impossible to understand.

The Colony kept jealous and zealous agents in London much of

“THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1687”

that time, where they were aided and assisted by eminent political and religious leaders, careful to ward off the attacks of those who eagerly strove to curb the liberty of the American Puritans. Time and again did these zealous London friends furnish assistance, and, even when Parliament sent over its own Commissioners, the Massachusetts General Court contrived to baffle all attempts at subjugation until the final annulment of the famous Charter in 1684.

We can but admire the statesmanship shown by the hardy republicans of the Colony in tenaciously clinging to their own interpretation of their liberal Charter. It is, indeed, enough to assert that, as the sturdy Cromwellians in England, men of almost exactly the same faith, demonstrated to the world at large the tremendous power of the people, so the progressive and liberty-loving Puritans of Massachusetts Bay demonstrated, to the little world on its side of the Atlantic, the real value of the large share of independence enjoyed by them before their Charter was annulled by the British Court of Chancery, June 21, 1684.

Threatening clouds now began to appear. The British Government demanded that all of the old Colonial laws should be amended and reformed, that all new ones must provide one and one-half years for the scrutiny of the home Government, and that the Governor and principal officers should be appointed by the Crown.

During the fifty years of home rule the New England Colonists had made remarkable progress. They had been confederated together in 1641 for mutual protection against Indian raids. Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven had thus united with Massachusetts, and here we find the germ of our national confederation of a later date. These communities were bound together by almost the same ties of religion. However, the others were much more liberal and moderate than was Massachusetts, and they did not bring upon themselves so much of the hatred and fury of their British rulers as did Massachusetts Bay. They did not feel the loss of their Charters at the end of this period so seriously as did the larger Colony, and in the great struggle of 1687-1689 the brunt of the contest fell almost entirely on Massachusetts.

A dozen years prior to the annulment of the Charter Massachusetts Bay had gone through with a terrible struggle with the Narragansett and other Indians, who, under the lead of the barbarous Philip, caused the death of over five hundred persons. These Indians burned over five hundred houses and utterly destroyed thirteen towns. They brought the frontier to within forty miles of Boston and within fifteen miles of Ipswich. One-half a million dollars was the financial cost, all of it borne in New England mostly by Massachusetts, and, at the end

of the war in 1676, the sufferings of the people were enough to appal the stoutest heart. Ipswich furnished its full quota of fighting men and some of the ablest leaders in this terrible war were from Ipswich.

Less than ten years of partial peace and relief from this intolerable condition of warfare gave the Colonists some slight rest and relief, when the loss of their Charter aroused the bitterest resentment, from the Hudson River to the farthest Eastern extremity of Massachusetts.

Charles II, who died in 1685, was succeeded at once by James II, and when, on December 12, 1686, his appointee, Governor Andros, landed in Boston, the full cup of bitterness was now presented to the liberty-loving citizens of Massachusetts Bay.

In carrying on the expensive Indian War without calling on England for assistance, Massachusetts had exercised nearly all of the attributes of sovereignty and independence, and yet felt itself loyal to Great Britain, and its people were fairly astounded at that interference with their Colonial affairs, which was evidenced by King James when he sent Sir Edmund Andros as General Governor to Boston accompanied by the frigate *Rose* and a company of British Red-Coats.

Political speculations must have been rife in the vicinity of Boston on the arrival of the new Governor, whose coming was apparently to punish the Puritans of New England for their long period of actual intolerance. We must not forget that the Established Church of England had been barely able to maintain one Church in all of this territory, that one being in Boston; that the Quakers and their sect had been rudely and scandalously persecuted in Massachusetts; and that England had some provocation for this demonstration. There were very few lawyers at this time in all of New England and none in the Legislature of the Colony. The Pastors of the Churches were the leading politicians and it had been customary for them to take the lead in defending and maintaining the much-loved Charter, which gave the ruling Church of the Puritans power to protect itself. All of my ancestors were Puritans of the strictest sort, and I can but lament that their intense zeal for their Church led them so often into the advocacy of extreme measures.

Now that Great Britain had actually overthrown the Charter, and had again grasped the governing and legislative authority, what might reasonably be expected to follow? King James had evinced religious toleration in America by the favor and partiality he was showing William Penn, whose Quaker settlement at Philadelphia was now but four years old; but he was suspected of being also in league with the Catholic King of France to overthrow the Protestant religion throughout the realm of England, and our New England



church leaders and others were anxiously enquiring of their friends in Old England concerning the signs of the times.

The appointment of Governor Andros in itself, had it been done as a measure of real pacification in the settlement of the serious misunderstandings between Parliament and the various Colonial governments, might have been a wise piece of statesmanship in the hands of moderate, far-seeing statesmen: it might within one-half a century have consolidated the friends of freedom in all of our American Colonies; have taken over later the French Canadians as British subjects; and have been the means of building up an American branch of the British Nation, embracing the whole of the Franco-English-American peoples, and immensely augmenting the influence of the British Nation as a vastly superior world-power. The plan of a Governor-General over all of the Colonies were proposed in 1754 by Benjamin Franklin, just before the French power in Canada came to an end by the peace of 1763.

The Puritans of New England were keenly alive to the threatening aspects of English politics and were quite generally informed as to the affairs of their English friends, but were not yet posted as to their secret plans, which included the assistance of the Protestants in Holland under the leadership of William, Prince of Orange.

The town of Ipswich, then second in population and wealth in Massachusetts, contained quite a number of the ablest religious and political leaders of New England thought, as will soon appear. In connection with their leaders in Boston and other places, they cautiously and jealously watched all of the public moves of Sir Edmund and his British associates. There was at this time no telegraph, no telephone, no local Post-Office, no newspaper, and we can but wonder at their success in keeping their own counsels from being made public.

When the Charter was annulled, in 1684, the Legislature was abolished, and the Governor-General with a Council of eighteen, not elected by the people, were in supreme control and under the orders of the King. In March, 1687, the Governor and Council ordered a tax levy of a penny in the pound for the public revenue of the Colony. This Council assumed to levy taxes which had previously been called for by the Legislature, by and with the advice of the Council and the Governor, and the different towns in the Colony were now arbitrarily ordered to assess this unjust and illegal tax. Boston, Salem, and many other towns obeyed the Governor's warrant and assessed the tax before the end of July, but Ipswich and some others did not act at once.

The Ipswich Town Meeting was called for August 23, 1687, and here commenced the famous rebellion or revolution of New England.

The Pastor of Chebacco Parish was the leader in this movement and was one of the great men of the times. The Encyclopaedia Britannica" has this to say:

"John Wise (1652-1725), a Puritan author deserving better remembrance than he has had, was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, graduated at Harvard in 1673, began in 1680 to preach in Ipswich, Mass., and passed his life in that charge."

Here I find sound authority for my attempt to keep this truly great man in remembrance, and we may well thank this good British publication for its sturdy commendation of our early genuine American patriot.

Chebacco Parish contained a collection of rich farms, occupied by prosperous farmers who had, with great difficulty, succeeded in organizing a new parish and building a church but a few years prior to 1687. The church was situated in the school-district where I was born, and Mr. Wise's residence, which was at first on the parsonage land nearby, was later, in 1703, built by himself on land adjoining my ancestral home, and there his house is still standing in good repair.

On another farm adjoining was my father's ancestral home, owned in 1687 by his mother's great-grandfather, Captain William Goodhue, Jr. Captain Goodhue was an able Indian fighter, was Parish Clerk, a Deacon, and the confidential friends of the Pastor.

Mr. Wise, then thirty-five years of age, was of towering frame, a vigorous athlete, an able theologian, and an impassioned orator. The ten-acre field given him by his parishioners at his settlement, about 1681, was on my father's farm and is called "Wise's field" to this day. While plowing in this field in 1855 I found an ancient gold mourning ring. Mr. Goodhue died October 12, 1712. On the inside of this ring may be seen a Latin abbreviation for died and some initials and figures as follows: "W. G. Obt, Oc. 12, 1712."

In all of this time four generations have come between me and Captain Goodhue. I have no doubt but following the ancient custom then in vogue among all well to do English people his widow presented this mourning ring to her Pastor, her husband's dearest friend, as a tender memento of the friendship and undying love which existed between these two leaders who had suffered together in the great cause we are now commemorating.

I love to think that Mr. Wise must have worn this ring with many touching recollections of his long and intimate association with his parish clerk and church deacon, Captain William Goodhue, Jr.

With his friend Goodhue and some of the Ipswich town officers,

“THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1687”

about a dozen in all, Mr. Wise held a meeting at Ipswich Village on August 22, 1687, the day before the Town Meeting, and discussed with these and other leading citizens the action to be recommended to the voters when they should assemble the next day. Mr. Wise addressed that Town Meeting in a lengthy and impassioned address and it is deeply to be regretted that no copy of this remarkable speech has been preserved. History informs us that a manuscript copy was afterwards carried to a few other towns and was the means of causing several of them to follow the example of Ipswich. This speech, according to tradition, fairly electrified his audience. Could this manuscript copy, which was read later in other town meetings, be now discovered it might take high rank with the very ablest American documents, not even excepting the Declaration of Independence.

In his “History of American Literature,” Professor Moses Coit Taylor says: “Upon the whole, no other author of the Colonial times is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought, with great splendor of speech, and he stands almost alone among our earlier writers for the blending of a racy and dainty humor with impassioned earnestness.”

The town records of the memorable meeting where this magnificent speech was delivered quaintly tell us concerning the action of the town after the hearing thereof, as follows:

“That considering the said act doth infringe their liberty as free born English subjects of his Majesty by interfering with the statutory laws of the land, by which it is enacted that no tax shall be levied on the subjects without consent of an assembly, chosen by the freeholders, for assessing same, they do, therefore, vote that they are not willing to choose a commissioner with such an end without said privileges, and moreover consent not that the select men do proceed to lay out any such rate until it be appointed by a general assembly concurring with the Governor and Council. Voted by the whole assembly twice.”

Taxation without the consent of the people was the issue in Ipswich in 1687, just as in 1775 “Taxation without Representation” was the issue on which our War of Independence was fought to a successful end. Macauley tells us that Washington and Franklin were both willing at one time during the Revolutionary War to recommend submission to England, provided this one principle of self-taxation should be conceded by the British Parliament, and this single quotation from Macauley proves that Ipswich stood out the leader in 1687 for the principle upon which was founded our American Independence, and its town seal to this day truly declares Ipswich to be “The Birthplace

of American Independence,"—a proud boast, but one which is literally true.

Governor Andros soon took steps to crush this rebellion and caused the arrest of Mr. Wise and a dozen of the town's leaders, who were imprisoned in the Boston jail; and six of them were fined as follows:

Rev. John Wise, Fine 100£, Bond 1000£,  
 John Andrews, Fine 50£, Bond 500£,  
 John Appleton, Fine 30£, Bond 500£,  
 Robert Kinsman, Fine 20£, Bond 500£,  
 Wm. Goodhue, Jr., Fine 20£, Bond 500£,  
 Thos. French, Fine 15£, Bond 500£.

The other persons who were arrested were dismissed. These heroes were kept in jail at Boston about thirty days when they were released after the payment of all fines and costs, which were afterward repaid by the town of Ipswich.

During their trial Justice Dudley refused these patriots the privilege of *Habeas Corpus*. Mr. Wise plead in their behalf the statute of Magna Charta, the laws of England, and the laws of the Colony, to show the utter illegality of the action of Governor Andros and his assistants, but one of the Judges of the Court replied to Mr. Wise that he must not think the laws of England followed him to the ends of the earth, and that he and his associates had no more privileges left than not to be sold as slaves.

Governor Andros, in addition to calling for this illegal tax, had taken the high ground that none of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay had valid titles to their lands, notwithstanding that the famous Charter had granted the land to settlers fifty years before. He argued that as the different towns had assumed title to these lands to which they were not in fact authorized by the English Government, that new titles and new deeds must be furnished by his own officers, after the payment of such patent fees as he and they should order.

No words can express the exasperation of the Colonists, who had in many cases occupied for over forty years the lands of which they were in possession, and all of these impositions and inflictions taken together caused a reign of terror such as has existed in few communities anywhere else in America.

Our Ipswich men must have felt that by their boldness of speech and action they had seriously imperiled the fortunes of the friends and neighbors. They were now in the custody of the officers of King James, charged with treason and rebellion, and we can imagine their position should they still contend in a hopeless cause. Now that nearly

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the whole Colony had levied the hated tax, there was apparently nothing further to be gained for their cause, and we need not wonder that they apologized and took the oath of allegiance to save their townsmen and friends from further trouble, and that they paid their fines and returned to their homes. To the lasting honor of Ipswich these fines and expenses were all refunded to the sufferers.

It should be remembered that the actors in this ancient drama were generally men of the second generation from the first immigration, that they always boasted of being Englishmen, and that they had not the inspiration we feel in being citizens of another nation. When confronted with the taunt of being little better than slaves, and with the insolent demand for re-payment for new titles to their lands, which they and their fathers had laboriously improved, they were face to face with a dilemma which brought out all of the manhood and resentment of which these independent natures were capable.

History does not fully explain the events of the next few months, but we can readily see that the excitement must have been intense. Our patriots were fully aware that only ten years before this time Sir William Berkely, the Royal Governor of Virginia, had forcibly put down Bacon's Rebellion, and had executed over twenty of those who had resisted his government, although they appeared to be actuated by nearly the same patriotic motives which had influenced the Ipswich leaders.

The year 1688 was a trying year for our Massachusetts Bay Colony. In England King James was pushing his efforts for the acquirement of absolute power. By the end of June, the historian Green tells us, "He had been deserted by the peerage, by the gentry, the bishops, the clergy, the universities, and every lawyer, every farmer and every trader stood aloof from him. He said, 'I will win all or I will lose all.'"

Finally James quartered an army of thirteen thousand men near London to over-awe the City and vast numbers of patriotic Englishmen of all classes were organizing for some desperate action. These movements were slowly reported to New England and in some manner, not fully known even to this day, preparations were being stealthily made for possible co-operation in some future attempt to parallel the action in England.

Thus the year dragged along and when, on November 5, 1688, William, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay in England with a large army, the Great British Rebellion was fairly underway. The want of regular communication between the two Continents prevented the New England people from learning of this event until the next April,

a most exasperatingly tedious delay, as it appears to this generation of rapid news-gatherers and news-readers. Merchant vessels brought news or rumors of news occasionally, several months old, throughout that winter, but if Sir Edmund was fully informed he effectually smothered the important information.

When the great news of the Prince's Protestant Dutch Army arrived in Boston on April 4, 1689, it was at first treated as a mere rumor; but the people could only be controlled for two weeks longer, when New England's revolution broke out in Boston without official news of Prince William's landing at Torbay and of the great revolution then going on in England.

On April 8, 1689, the drums beat to arms, the streets of Boston were soon filled with armed men, and several thousand more were on the march within a few miles of town. Now was witnessed one of the marvels of the world, and that was the instant organization of un-uniformed, sturdy, fighting men, maddened almost to fury and yet under reasonably good military restraint.

Most of these angry volunteers, who were upon the street in apparent disorder, were seasoned Indian fighters who had so desperately encountered King Philip's Narragansett Indians a little more than a dozen years before. In carrying on that war the Colony compelled every able-bodied man to furnish and keep in order his own gun and gunpowder, and to private ownership of guns and ammunition in thousands of homes, we no doubt owe the wonderful success of Boston's revolution in April, 1689, when the people, under the lead of a committee of leading citizens, took the law into their own hands and instinctively obeyed the orders of a few Captains.

The story is now briefly told. King James' Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, with his two or three hundred soldiers, was no match for these terrible Indian fighters, who fell into military order almost miraculously, and the Red Coats surrendered to them without blood shed. The proud Royal Governor-General and his officers were placed in confinement in Castle William in Boston Harbor, and were very soon sent as prisoners to their homes in England. This appears to have been the first American re-call of a ruler and will ever stand as the most successful re-call in American history.

The people were now free, and in a short time their former government was restored by their own acts, and, upon the final accession, a short time later, of King William and Queen Mary, the Massachusetts Colonists were once more in practical control of their own affairs.

The real loyalty of Massachusetts was given a remarkable test in 1690, one year later, by the dispatch of a home-made and home-

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paid naval force under Sir William Phipps, the famous New Englander, who captured and destroyed the strong Fortress of Port Royal at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, and proudly gave to the arms of Great Britain the glory of a most brilliant victory over France, the ally of King James, who was at that time still the defeated claimant to the Throne of England, which he never again occupied.

But we are not yet through with the Rev. Mr. Wise. The article from the “Britannica,” heretofore quoted, goes on to say:

“Gov. Andros, as governor, laid a tax on the Province without consent of the assembly. Wise, in 1687, advised Ipswich not to obey the order, as contrary to Charter rights. For this he was arrested, and pleading Magna Charta, was told by one of the Judges not to think the laws of England followed him to the ends of the earth. He was fined, imprisoned and deposed. After Andros’ fall he sued Judge Dudley for denying him *Habeas Corpus*. In November, 1705, appeared anonymously Questions and Proposals addressed to the New England Churches and attributed to the two Boston Mathers. Wise saw in it a plot to overthrow laic by clerical control in the Church and answered at his leisure with the ‘Church’s Quarrel Espoused’ (1710).

“Prof. M. C. Tyler says: ‘Its invectiveness, its earnestness, its vision of truth, its flashes of triumphant eloquence simply annihilated the scheme it assailed.’ The topic was further handled in a ‘Vindication of New England Churches (1717),’ which fully evolves the democratic theory. The two pamphlets were re-printed in one volume one-half century later (1772) to do duty in the Revolutionary struggle, and the correspondence of many of the sentences in the Declaration of Independence with the very expressions of Wise in his book are suggestive of something like plagiarism. This volume was reproduced by the Congregational Board in 1860 as an authority upon that polity.”

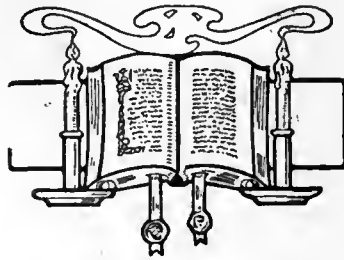
Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Josiah Quincy were among the members of the famous Committee of Correspondence whose writings influenced Philadelphia, New Jersey, Virginia, South Carolina, and other localities to join the great movement for independence, which movement was underway in 1772 and culminated in 1775. The influence of the clergy upon people of all sects was very strong up to the breaking out of the War of the Revolution, and no doubt ministers of all denominations had been influenced by the patriotic Pastor’s demonstration of Christian republicanism and Christian democracy in these re-published volumes. Adams and his radical friends showed great political shrewdness in this action, and no doubt it was largely

through this influence that the ideas of John Wise, which the "Britannica" tells us can be traced in the immortal Declaration of Independence, were distributed throughout the Colonies, until they became almost household words in the early days of our American Revolution. We can thus distinguish very clearly the great influence of that Ipswich town meeting, and see the propriety and justice of that patriotic claim, which will forever be the proud boast of the Town of Ipswich, that here was "The Birthplace of American Independence, 1687."

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# The Winning of the Illinois Country

BY  
JOHN GILMER GRAY

The Capture from the British of the Illinois Forts  
by Colonel George Rogers Clark, in 1778-1779

## I



HERE is no story of any time or any land of bolder undertaking, or more skillful performance, than is the story of the capture from the British of the military posts in the Illinois country by Colonel George Rogers Clark and his brave followers.

By act of the Legislature of Virginia, Colonel Clark had been placed in command of the forces to be raised for the better protection of the Western settlements. By this act, he was empowered, under the direction of the Governor, to raise seven Companies of soldiers in any County of the Commonwealth.

The first thing, then, was getting enlistments. To encourage this, three of the most prominent men of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, and George Mason, joined in a letter to Clark, promising to use their influence to secure from the State three hundred acres of land for each one who would enlist for this campaign, the land to be assigned from the conquered territory. Also, to help forward the expedition, the Legislature had appropriated the sum of twelve hundred pounds.

Colonel Clark at once set to work to secure the enlistments. He arranged with Major William Smith to recruit men on the Holston River, giving him one hundred and fifty pounds for expenses that might be incurred.

Captain Helm and Captain Bowman, both experienced and trusted men, were to raise a Company each, as were also Captain William Harrod, a noted scout, who had seen service against both British and Indians, and Captain Dillard. But, in securing the required number, much difficulty was experienced. The distance from home was a bar to

many. Then, the fact that Kentucky, to which they were supposed to be going, was a new country, kept back others: so that it appears, as Clark himself says, that "only those enlisted who have families there, or those whose self-interest induced them to go to the new country."

In his original estimate, Clark had expected to get together at least five hundred recruits. On assembling all his men at the Falls of the Ohio, early in May, he did not have more than half that number.

The arrangement with Major Smith did not result in anything; but, fortunately, Captain John Montgomery, with his Company, joined the four already there. Captain Montgomery brought most of his recruits from the Holston River country. He too, had seen service against the British and Indians.

Camp was established on Corn Island, at the Falls of the Ohio, near the present city of Louisville. Having his men all together, Clark now spent some time in drill and discipline. He chose this time, too, to disclose to them that the real object of the expedition, which had been supposed to be Kentucky, was the capture from the British of the military posts in the Illinois country.

Besides the Governor and several of his trusted counselors, Colonel Clark was the only one who had knowledge of this. With this in mind, and to guard against any defection when announcement was made, he had wisely selected Corn Island in the middle of the Ohio River as the place of *rendezvous*, considering that when the destination became known he would there be better prepared to check any disaffection should any arise. As a matter of fact, when announcement of destination was made, part of Captain Dillard's Company, under Lieutenant Hutching, did actually desert, making escape, to the north side of the river.

Everything was now in readiness for the start. Post St. Vincent being much closer to the starting point, Colonel Clark would naturally think of attacking this first, but, for several reasons, he decided to first attack the posts lying over towards the Mississippi River, such considerations as these influencing him in the decision. Post St. Vincent and the close-lying fort were garrisoned by a force of nearly four hundred men, almost twice as large as his own, and, besides, many Indian allies of the British were in the same neighborhood. Then, Posts Kaskaskia and Cahoes, aside from not being so well defended in case of defeat, from their location, would afford a retreat across the Mississippi to Spanish territory.

The start was made June 24, 1778, a day notable, too, on account of the Sun's almost total eclipse. Boats had been prepared, and the men were loaded in, almost two hundred in all, and moved down the

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Ohio. Running day and night for four days brought them to old Fort Massac, where they pushed their boats up a creek in hiding, and disembarked. Resting one night here, they started the next day by land in a northwest course to march to Kaskaskia, one hundred and fifty miles distant. They had along only four days' provisions. It took six days to reach their destination, and during the last two days they were without food.

On the evening of the Fourth of July, they reached a point three miles distant from Kaskaskia. Finding a supply of boats moored here, and using all precaution not to be surprised, they crossed the Kaskaskia River, reaching the other side without discovery.

It was now almost midnight, and everything seemed favorable for the attack. Dividing the forces into two parts, one to capture the town, the other the fort, Colonel Clark gave the order to push forward. In a short time, all the streets of the town were in possession of the Americans, and without bloodshed, word having been sent out by runners ordering all the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses.

As to the fort, it was surprised and captured without the firing of a gun, and, along with it, Phillip Rocheblave, the Commandant of the Post was taken, as were all his official papers, valuable for the secret information they contained. At the time of capture, the fort was well manned with cannon and soldiers, with plentiful supply of ammunition and provisions. Captain Bowman in commenting on it in one of his letters says: "It was so fortified, that it might have successfully fought a thousand men."

The town of Kaskaskia at that time consisted of several hundred families. It seems strange that it was taken without any attempt at defense, and incredible that the coming of Clark's forces was such a complete surprise. Certain it is, that neither the Commandant nor his officers used ordinary precautions to guard against surprise of town or fort.

Rocheblave was sent a prisoner to Williamsburg, the Virginia seat of Government. His correspondence disclosed instructions from the Governors of Canada to set the Indians upon the Americans with a reward for scalps.

The ease with which the town was captured may be explained somewhat, by certain recent political changes. It will be remembered that these townspeople were mostly French. Just before leaving the Falls, word had come to Colonel Clark, by special messenger sent by Governor Henry, of the treaties between France and the United States, whereby France became an ally of the United States. Clark made use

of this fact with the French residents, in conciliating them, and bringing them into friendly relations with the Americans.

But there was something more to do: for Posts Phillippe du Rocher and Cahokia, still further to the north, were to be taken. Wishing to spend some time in Kaskaskia establishing order, Clark sent Captain Bowman with a detachment to take possession of these posts. A number of the French citizens of Kaskaskia accompanied him, and rendered valuable assistance on their arrival, calling aloud to the residents, many of them their friends, "to submit to their happier fate."

In the meantime, Colonel Clark had called a meeting of the principal men of Kaskaskia, to give them an answer, as to what was to be their fate, for they all expected nothing but the harshest treatment. In this meeting, he told them that they were a conquered people, and, by the fate of war, were at his mercy, but that one of the principles of the Americans was to make those they reduced, free, and that, if he could be assured of their attachment to the American cause, they should at once enjoy all the privileges of our government and should be insured in their property. This greatly rejoiced the people, and they announced themselves as ready to espouse the American cause.

To test their sincerity, Clark told them he would require an oath of fidelity, but gave them several days' time to choose their course. At the same time, he directed any of them that chose to do so to leave the country with their families.

With the people of these posts attached thus to his interests, the next object of attack was Post St. Vincent.<sup>1</sup> In making plans for this campaign, something out of the usual was finally adopted. As mentioned above, the French residents of the conquered posts were so elated at the treatment accorded them, and so rejoiced at the freedom they enjoyed, that they showed a great willingness to give any possible assistance to the Americans anywhere.

Also Reverend Father Pierre Gibault, a French Catholic priest, lately come from Canada, had shown himself friendly to the Americans during all these stirring events at Kaskaskia and the adjacent posts. He had large influence with the people at this time, and Post St. Vincent was in his charge. On hearing that this fort was next to be taken, Father Gibault offered to undertake to win that post to the American interest, without the trouble of marching against it. As a priest charged with sacred things, he disclaimed having anything to do with temporal affairs, but, with the assistance of some persons of influence and address, he felt sure he would be able to say the word that would complete the matter.

1. Also known as St. Vincents, St. Vincennes, and Vincennes, the last being its modern name.

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Realizing the priest's sincerity, and convinced of his great influence with his parishioners, Colonel Clark, at his suggestion, named Doctor Laffout as his associate, to look more particularly after the temporal features of the undertaking. On the day set, a party of citizens accompanying, they started on their mission. Arriving at St. Vincent, after a tedious journey of two hundred miles, and spending a time explaining matters, the people, almost without exception, agreed to ally themselves with the American cause.

An officer to command the fort was elected, possession of the latter was taken, and it was immediately garrisoned, and the American Flag displayed. On August 1, Father Gibault, with his party, returned, bringing this news of the peaceful conquest of Post St. Vincent, the best fortified and most important of the forts south of Detroit.

This was far beyond anything that could have been expected. The victories gained had been bloodless; but their importance was not lessened by that fact. All the military posts in the Northwest, except Detroit, were now in the hands of the American forces; and all the Northwest country, covering an area out of which at a later period were carved nearly half a dozen of the most wealthy and populous States of the Union, came under American rule.

## II

### How Clark Re-Took Vincennes in 1779



HE expedition under Colonel George Rogers Clark, for the purpose of retaking Fort Sackville<sup>1</sup> at Post St. Vincent, is one of the most remarkable of any time, when considered as to difficulties met and overcome, or as to the far reaching results of its successful accomplishment.

Early in December, 1778, Colonel Clark, receiving word from Captain Helm, Commandant at Post St. Vincent, of his need of provisions and ammunition, sent Francis Vigo, a French merchant of St. Louis, always friendly to the American cause, to supply these needs. When about six miles from St. Vincent, he was taken prisoner by a party of Indians under a British officer. On being taken to the fort he found Captain Helm there, a prisoner of war. The fort had been re-taken by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton some time prior to this, but word had not reached Colonel Clark of its fall before Vigo started on his journey, nor had he heard of it on his way.

1. After Fort Sackville at Vincennes was taken by the American forces under Clark, its name was changed to Fort Patrick Henry.

Vigo, being a merchant and non-combatant, was soon released and allowed to return to his home, on promise that he would do nothing to injure the British cause during his journey home. Immediately after arrival at St. Louis, he went to Kaskaskia and told Colonel Clark of the fall of the fort, and gave him full information as to the strength of the enemy. This was a great surprise, and caused much excitement at Kaskaskia. A council of the officers was immediately called, and all agreed with Clark, that the post must be re-taken at the earliest possible moment.

All efforts were now bent to forwarding the new campaign. Captain McCarty, at Cahoes, was recalled, with his Company of French and Creoles. Captain Bowman with his old Company, and Captain Worthington with a Company of Americans, were placed in readiness. Captain Williams was also placed in charge of a Company of Kaskaskia residents. These made up the little army, and it may be called an army, considering what it accomplished. There were a scant two hundred of them as they started out on February 4, 1779, on their march to St. Vincent. Accompanied by a goodly number of Kaskaskian residents to the edge of the town, the French priest, Father Gibault, gave them his blessing.

The events of the two hundred mile march, occupying eighteen days, is of extreme interest. The country travelled over was unknown to them all. Their guide got lost more than once. It was mid-winter, and the weather, whether good or bad,—always an important factor in campaigns,—no one could foretell. The details of the journey are gathered mostly from the journals of Colonel Clark and Captain Bowman. They tell a thrilling story of hardships endured, and victory won.

The first week was not especially eventful,—just marching, a greater or less distance each day. The first day they went only three miles, and then remained in camp two days; then on again, one day marching nine hours, meeting with much slush and mud on account of heavy rains. As they came out of the timber country into the lowlands this trouble increased as the rains kept up causing the troops great fatigue.

On the fifth day they crossed the Petit Fork, a considerable stream, on trees cut so as to fall across the water. It was then still raining. On February 12 they killed a number of buffalo, thus furnishing much-needed meat. On February 13 they arrived at the two Wabashes, which are three miles apart, but at this time, on account of swollen conditions, they formed one broad river, five miles across. One would say it was impassable, but they passed through it. The record of February 15 says: "Waded and ferried across the two

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Wabashes—the strong waded, the weak in boats—troops much fatigued: camped on opposite shore—still raining.” On February 16 they marched all day through the rain until they came to the Embarrass River, which was impossible to cross, it was so swollen by rains. On February 18 they came to the banks of the Wabash River and made rafts. Two boats were procured, but for two days they had no provisions. They spent February 20 in making canoes for ferrying, killed a deer. On February 21 they began to ferry the men over, using two canoes, many wading up to the neck in water, and all suffering from hunger. They were still marching in water on February 22, to gain a small island ahead with half an acre of dry land, where they camped.

The last day of the march, February 23, Colonel Clark encouraged the men with cheering words, but it was still raining, and the bottom lands were flooded. How were they to reach the mainland over the waste of waters between?

Colonel Clark himself went ahead to take soundings, and found it up to his neck in places, waist-deep most of the way. Having only two canoes, the only way to do was to wade. Many of the men were weak from exposure and lack of food. The French militia, tired and hungry, were wishing they were home, and many of the Americans, exhausted by the labors of the march, were ready to quit. But this was no time for quitting. St. Vincent and the fort, just now appearing in sight, must be retaken.

The safety of the Illinois settlements and their own lives depended on it; for, should they fail and fall into the hands of the enemy, mostly savages, they could expect nothing but torture and death. These considerations urged them on to the work before them,—the capture of the fort.

Clark's resourcefulness now came into play. He harangued the soldiers to put courage into their breasts. To get the men to enter the water covered with thin ice near the shore, he resorted to this expedient; for all were expectant to see what he would do. Whispering to those about him to do as he did, he put some water on his hands, poured on some powder out of his flask, then smearing his face with the mixture, and giving a warwhoop, he stepped into the water. The soldiers, to a man, followed. He next requested some one to start a favorite song, in which all joined heartily. Then, as a precaution against any one turning back, Captain Bowman, with twenty-five picked soldiers, had been deployed with orders to put to death any man who turned back. If any became faint, and unable to go forward, he was picked up by boats, plying back and forth, and taken to land,

many, who would have otherwise perished, being in this way brought safely over.

Then, for further encouragement, some of them, as they got pretty well across, were instructed to pass word back, that it was getting shallower, and that they would easily come to land. As a matter of fact, it was deeper—neck-deep many times as they came closer to shore, but the ruse served its purpose. But, finally, they all came to land on a dry point, where they encamped. Many were so benumbed by the icy waters, they had to be walked up and down, a man on each side, to restore them, and all were exhausted by hunger and fatigue.

It was one o'clock of the 23rd when they reached shore. Badly as they needed rest, they could not safely take it. By some good fortune, an Indian canoe had been captured with a supply of buffalo meat aboard. Out of this, broth was made and served to the men, refreshing them in a measure for the work to be done. With everything ready, Colonel Clark resolved to go forward without delay.

But he must take all possible advantage of the situation. He must make up in skill, what he lacked in numbers. The fort was situated some distance from the town. He sent a proclamation to the people of the town to the effect that he was at the edge of the town with a large force, and intended to capture the fort; that he did not want to injure any one friendly to the Americans, and wanted all such to go off the streets into their houses; but if any were friends of the English, they should retire into the fort and fight with them.

Then, putting his men in motion, and doing some manœuvering to show off his strength to the best advantage, about sundown, he started with his main force to gain the town, at the same time sending a detachment to attack the fort.

Coming into possession of the town without any conflict, all effort was now directed against the fort. During the night, entrenchments were thrown up. Early on the morning of the 24th, the garrison began a defense by opening a musketry fire. At 8 o'clock, Clark sent a flag of truce with a letter to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, demanding the surrender of the fort with all stores, and that nothing be destroyed, and stating that, otherwise, no mercy would be extended.

Hamilton returned answer, declining to surrender. A general attack was then ordered. At 12 o'clock, Hamilton sent a messenger saying he would surrender if honorable terms were granted. Clark sent reply "must surrender at discretion, and half an hour to decide." After several messages back and forth, Hamilton signed arti-



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cles to surrender the fort and all stores, the officers to retain necessary baggage, and to march out the next day at 10 o'clock.

This was a glorious enough ending of this remarkable campaign, but it was not all. The day after the surrender, three boats with fifty men, under Captain Bowman, were dispatched up the Wabash to capture some stores and provisions which were being sent from Detroit to St. Vincent. They succeeded in capturing seven boats with forty men, and, along with them Phillip Dejean, who was a judge in Canada; also, a good supply of provisions and stores. The capture of these principal leaders was the cause of much rejoicing amongst the Americans.

Rocheblave, the Commandant at Kaskaskia, had already been sent forward to Williamsburg, Virginia, as a prisoner of war, and now Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, the worst-hated of all the British officers in the Northwest, instigator and director of many of the raids against the settlements where savages were used as allies of the British, was sent a prisoner to the Virginia Capital. With him was sent Major Hay, British paymaster, also a prisoner, and a squad of twenty-five soldiers, prisoners under guard.

On their arrival at Williamsburg, Governor Patrick Henry, elated by the unprecedented series of victories, sent a letter to the Legislature then in session, reciting the success of their arms in the Illinois country, and praising Colonel Clark for his skill and bravery, and the men for their valor.

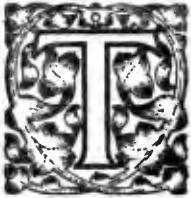
As a fitting *finale* to such a brilliant campaign, the Legislature voted thanks to Clark, and also a sword, in appreciation of his services. At the same time, reinforcements were voted to be placed under his command to conduct a further campaign against Detroit; and a commission was sent him, raising his rank from Lieutenant Colonel to that of Colonel of the Virginia forces.

In January, 1781, Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, issued a commission appointing George Rogers Clark "Brigadier-General of all the forces to be embodied in an expedition westward of the Ohio."

# A Condensed History of the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania

BY

ANNA NUGENT LAW



THE Wyoming Valley lies in the eastern part of Pennsylvania in Luzerne County. It extends from a gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains in the north where the Lackawanna (formerly Lackawannock) River joins the Susquehanna, to a gap in the south, where the river breaks through the wooded hills. The length of the valley is twenty-two miles. In the early days, when the Indians entered the valley, it was wild and beautiful with thick verdure.

Sidney George Fisher, in his "The Making of Pennsylvania," says:

"It was the great natural wonder, the Yosemite of that day. It aroused the interest and became the talk of every one in England. It was described as 'one of the happiest spots of human existence, both for the simplicity of the inhabitants and the beauty and fertility of the land.'

"The History of Pennsylvania is generally considered to have had its beginning with the early settlements on the Delaware Bay, for the reason that some of these ancient people extended their habitations for a few miles within the present limits of our State, and, also, because any title the Dutch had to the land on the river included part of our present territory.

"The early settlers were, first of all, the Dutch, who, beginning the year, 1623, occupied the shores of the Delaware for fifteen years. After them came the Swedes, who held the country for seventeen years. The Dutch reconquered the country and held it for nine years when the English took it, and under the Duke of York held it until the arrival of Penn and the Quakers in 1682. The Dutch were the first Europeans who attempted to occupy Pennsylvania. Any right they may have had to it, as well as their right to New York, was acquired by the discoveries of Henry Hudson, the explorer, who was an Englishman in their employ."

The frontier, as the land along the eastern coast of the Atlantic

Ocean, was called, was gradually being settled. In the north the Puritans had made their homes in the established colony of Massachusetts.

Fisher says: "The two little colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, the latter being situated at Hartford, were amalgamated into one commonwealth under a charter granted by Charles II in 1662. At the time of their first settlement they had no definite legal title to the land they occupied, and they had no charter giving them the right of civil government. The Connecticut Colony at Hartford was an offshoot from Massachusetts. The New Haven people had come direct from England. They were all Puritans of the sturdiest stock, aggressive, enterprising and independent."

They occupied the land by squatters' rights,—that is strangers were allowed to take up land under certain legal conditions, but without title. There was great leniency concerning this matter, such as would not be thought of to-day, which was a natural outcome of such a newly inhabited territory. Other people besides those from Connecticut settled by squatters' rights in the Wyoming Valley.

The Moravians were the first white men to enter the Valley. One of these people, Count Zinzendorf, was the first white missionary among the Indians in Pennsylvania, and was greatly revered by them. The story is told that while he once sat in his tent reading the Bible by the fire, a serpent crawled from the warmth of the blaze and passed over his feet without doing harm. The Indians who were gathered around thought their teacher was preserved by the Great Spirit.

To make clear how closely the interests of the Connecticut people were joined to this territory of the Wyoming Valley, Fisher says: "If any one will look at a map of the United States and carry out the northern and southern boundaries of Connecticut, he will see that they slice off nearly the whole of the upper half of Pennsylvania. The northern line of Connecticut will correspond very closely with the northern line of Pennsylvania, passing, in fact, only about a mile or so to the north of it, and the extreme southern limit of Connecticut, is carried westward, will pass a short distance above the forks of the Susquehanna."

The Wyoming Valley lies within these boundaries. A charter had been granted to the people of Connecticut on April 23, 1662, by King George the Second. The portion granted was a part of his royal domain lying between the forty-first and forty-second degrees of latitude, and extended across what they supposed was a narrow continent. The early settlers of this territory had also received a charter for the

same territory, granted by the same sovereign. It was an unjust and inconsiderate act, but was done at other times by other Kings. This last charter was granted to William Penn in 1681. The double grant naturally caused various conflicts in the formation of the Colony, and disputes as to proprietorship.

Penn's charter stated that the territory was one hundred and twenty miles long and forty miles wide.

The people of Connecticut having spent a number of years in developing their towns and taking care of their families, desired, as people do, to visit other places to see how other people lived. Following this desire and hearing more of the beautiful Wyoming Valley than of other districts, a number of people visited it, and some decided to make permanent homes. They had heard of the promising country, with its rich bottom lands along the river, which were excellent for farming, and of the fishing afforded by the many streams, and of the heavily wooded tracts which would give material for house-building and fuel.

So some of the men of Connecticut—six hundred in number—decided to form a Company, in order to strengthen their movements. This was called the Susquehanna Company and was organized in 1753. A number of parties went forth to make investigations, and in 1769 forty men were sent. Soon after the party left, two hundred more followed. They were given land and two hundred pounds in Connecticut currency, to provide themselves with farming tools and weapons, on condition that they would stay in the Valley and defend it against Pennsylvania.

The view that spread before the pioneers as they reached the summit of the Blue Ridge and looked down into the Valley is described thus:<sup>1</sup>

“The broad, rippling Susquehanna wound through it, now burying itself in groves of sycamores, and again flashing into the sunlight in wide expanses. There were woodland and meadow, level plains, and rolling plains, and the remains of ancient fortifications of a vanished race. Mountain ranges bounded every side, and on the open places along the river and streams the laurel and pine were abundant. The valley had evidently been a deep lake, which had gradually drained itself at the outlet, leaving a fertile floor, and it was afterward discovered to be underlaid by a bed of anthracite coal.

“The Delaware Indians held the Eastern side and the Shawanese the western side with the river between them. At the foot of the valley were the Nanticokes. Game was abundant. The quail whistled in

1. Fisher, as above.

A CONDENSED HISTORY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY

the meadows, the grouse drummed in the woods, and the wild ducks nested along the river. The deer and elk wandered at will from the lowlands to the mountains. The streams that poured down the ravines to join the river were full of trout and in the spring large schools of shad came up the Susquehanna River. Wild grapes and plums grew in the woods and here and there on the plains the Indians had cultivated tracts of corn. It was an ideal spot, the natural home of the hunter and the poet, a combination of peace and beauty and abundance, and wild life such as is seldom found."

A poet of Connecticut, Halleck, in 1823, described the Wyoming Valley:

"I then but dreamed; thou art before me now  
In life, a vision of the brain no more.  
I've stood upon the wooded mountain brow  
That beetles high thy lovely valley o'er  
And now, where winds thy greenest shore  
Within a bower of sycamore am laid;  
And winds as soft and sweet as ever bore  
The fragrance of wild flowers through sun and shade  
Are singing in the trees whose low boughs press my head.

"Nature hath made thee lovelier than the power  
Even of Campbell's pen hath pictured; he  
Had woven, had he gazed one sunny hour  
Upon thy smiling vale, its scenery  
With more of truth, and made each rock and tree  
Known like old friends, and greeted from afar;  
And there are tales of sad reality  
In the dark legends of thy border war,  
With woes of deeper tint than his own Gertrude's are."

The people from Connecticut were well pleased with the valley, and succeeded in making a purchase of land along the river, from the Six Nations (six tribes of Indians which had made certain agreements among themselves as to the territories they inhabited). The land was purchased for the sum of two thousand pounds. The people who were already in the valley prepared to resist the claims of the Yankees, as they called the Connecticut settlers. This name is said to have been derived from *Jankin*, the Dutch term for an Englishman, meaning "Little John."

S. R. Smith, in his "Story of Wyoming Valley," writes: "The Yankees came. It was not necessary for them to clear the land, as the

flats (flat lands bordering the river) were ready for plowing. They built log houses and planted crops. Their friends heard only cheerful accounts from them until one day a message came that the entire settlement had been wiped out by the Indians, only a few settlers having escaped to tell of the terrible act."

A short time after this first attempt at occupancy of the Valley, the Connecticut people determined to make a second trial. The English and Germans owned land along the Delaware River and settled there. When the Yankees came down, the English leased their land to three men,—Ogden, Stuart, and Jennings. This lease was for a term of seven years and the land was divided into two manors. It was found necessary to guard it with soldiers and military occupation was declared.

The Susquehanna Company divided this section into five townships, each five miles square, and then subdivided a portion into forty shares as a free will offering to the forty pioneers.

The French and Indian War had closed, the French having ceded the northern portion of the Continent to the English. The Indians, now that they were not aiding foreigners to fight with each other, began fierce warfare against the White Man. They plundered and burned in many sections.

When the War of the Revolution broke out, the people in the Valley prepared for the coming conflict. Orders were given to form a Militia Company in Westmoreland, midway in the Valley, and now a suburb of Wilkes Barre, and Congress stationed there two Companies for the people's protection. The Indians sent a petition saying that they desired to live peaceably with the white people, but it was feared this was a ruse, and their request was refused. When Washington had need of soldiers and sent for the Westmoreland Militia, the Indians rose, and the awful massacre of July 3, 1778, took place.

The wife of an Indian Chief, who was named Esther and who was of French descent, offered negotiations of peace with the settlers; but when they approached the meeting-place she ordered their capture. The Indians fell upon them and they were slain on a rock on the banks of the Wyoming River.

General Sullivan was appointed by Washington to go to the settlers' assistance, and with the aid of General Clinton and thirty-five hundred men nearly every vestige of the Indians was destroyed within two months and with a loss of only forty Americans.

By the close of the Revolution the dwellers in the Valley were tired of the conflicts which had been carried on so long between the Pennsylvania settlers and those from Connecticut, and both sides

were ready to let the Courts decide the question of rightful ownership. After some disagreements, an Act was passed, in 1787, called "The Confirming Act," giving the land to Connecticut, with just compensation to the Pennsylvania colonists.

These disagreements were called the Pennamite Wars. The Connecticut people had been required to pay for their land, while the Pennsylvanians had not been required to do so. But the Connecticut settlers had been refused papers of proprietorship. The Pennsylvanians also had grievances and plead for the right to peaceful inhabitation of the Valley. They were liable to ejection at any time, and they had never received the promised compensation for lands they had been obliged to give up to the State.

S. R. Smith, in his History to which reference is made above says: "In 1800, the population of Wilkes Barre, which had become the largest community, was about 300. The standard intelligence was equal to that of New England. Agriculture was the chief employment. Coal had been mined and sent to Carlisle for the forges of the United States Army. By 1820 digging coal and its portage in arks down the river had become a source of revenue. Col. George Shoemaker sent nine wagon-loads of coal from Pottsville to Philadelphia; some he sold and part he gave away and was arrested for swindling as the people could not make it burn. They tried putting it in a furnace to test it, they blew on it from the open door but without result, then they shut the door in disappointment and went to their midday meal; when they returned the furnace was red with heat. The problem of draught was soon solved. It is quite certain that coal has been used for domestic purposes since 1803."

One of the great natural landmarks of the Wyoming Valley, is a rocky peak which stands at the head of the Valley, and is six hundred feet high. It is called Dial Rock, and is also known as Campbell's Ledge. Toward the top of the peak is a bare face of rock, from which its name is derived; for Dial Rock faces the south, and when the sun brightens the rocky ledges, it is noon. The Rock was the time-piece of the early settlers working in the fields at the foot of the peak. When the farmers saw the bright face at noon and its shadowed face at sundown, they left their work to partake of their meals.

In the tangled locks of this old Guardian—Dial Rock—lies, almost secretly, the trail of Sullivan's army, traces of which have been found. The Dial's rugged body gives fruitage of conglomerate rocks, useful in construction work; while, from the still densely wooded tracts surrounding it, are procured the large logs used as supports in mining. Stretching away from the Guardian's foot are numerous cities,

boroughs, and towns, which are like a chain fastened together by the black diamond brooch, Wilkes Barre, the County-seat.

At the head of the Valley are East Pittston (or Pittston City), and West Pittston, where forts of prominence were once located. These are now marked with monuments erected by the Dial Rock Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution.

Three miles below West Pittston is the Borough of Wyoming, the place where the Indian massacre occurred. The stone upon which Esther, the Indian Queen, slew her victims, is covered by an iron grating to preserve the rock, which has been much mutilated by memento-seekers. At the lower end of Wyoming is a high monument under which lie the collected bones of many patriots who fought to preserve their families and homes in the Valley.

Three miles below Wyoming is the Borough of Forty Fort, where the largest fort was built, the only one having an underground passage to the river, and the only one having watch-towers. It is named, obviously, for the forty pioneers who came from Connecticut and settled in the Valley.

A mile below is Kingston, where another fort was located. Kingston is across the river from Wilkes Barre, with Westmoreland lying in between, built on the "flats" on the Kingston side.

Wilkes Barre is the only city beside Pittston on the west side of the river. Below Kingston is Plymouth, and at the foot of the Valley is Nanticoke, another early camping-ground of the Indians.

The whole of the Wyoming Valley, from Dial Rock at the northern point, to Tillbury's Knob at the southern end, is a beautiful, productive region. Its name is derived from an Indian word, Maughwanwame,—“Broad Valley.”





# An Early Fourth of July Celebration

BY

ADELAIDE L. FRIES

Archivist of the Southern Province  
of the Moravian Church in America



IF ANY one should ask you when the Fourth of July became a National holiday, what would you say? From the very first, or at least as soon as American Independence was established? Well, you are wrong, for the "Glorious Fourth" is not and never has been a National holiday! As a matter of fact the United States has no *National* holiday, neither the Fourth of July, nor Washington's Birthday, nor any other, for to make it National in a strict sense would mean that Congress had so declared it, and that Congress has never done.

In early years it set apart certain days as Days of Fasting and Humiliation, or Days of Thanksgiving, according to circumstances, but these were for the special occasion only, though the custom lingers in the annual Proclamation of the President appointing Thanksgiving Day.

But to make the President's Proclamation effective rests with each State, which has either provided for it by Legislative Enactment, or follows it with a Proclamation from the Governor. Legal holidays as affecting the Post Office and National Banks are set apart by *State* law, the National Government having recognized them by providing that the legal holidays of each State should apply to Post Offices and Banks therein.

The actual age, therefore, of the Fourth of July observance varies with each State, and here again a great surprise awaits us. In the city of Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence, the anniversary was celebrated from 1777 on, but the State of Pennsylvania did not make it a legal holiday until 1873. No, that is not a printer's mistake,—it was actually one hundred years, less three, before Pennsylvania formally recognized her most highly prized anniversary, and the Legislature of other States took the same step even later,

though each State and Territory now has the Fourth of July as one of its legal holidays.

So far as is known, the first celebration of the Fourth of July by Legislative Enactment took place in North Carolina in 1783. That was the year in which Peace began to smile once more upon the war-weary but victorious Colonies.

In November, 1782, the Commissioners of the Colonies and of England had met in Paris, and (most reluctantly, no doubt) "his Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States of America free, sovereign and independent, and for himself, his heirs and successors relinquished all claims to the Government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same." Hostilities were to cease as soon as England and France had come to terms on their own account.

News travelled slowly in those days, the Atlantic cable had not been dreamed of, and a "wireless" was beyond the reach of the wildest imagination, so we may imagine the courier carrying his dispatches to the nearest sailing vessel, the slow progress of that little craft across the storm-tossed wintry Atlantic, the copying of the dispatches, and their transmission by courier again to each of the thirteen States. When the word finally reached North Carolina, on April 19, 1783, the Legislature was in session, and with great gratification Governor Alexander Martin communicated the good news to that body.

Eleven days later another dispatch arrived, this time a Proclamation from Congress "declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land;" and orders were given for the release of prisoners of war, etc.

A great wave of rejoicing and gratitude thrilled through the Legislature, and before it adjourned it recommended the State-wide observance of the Fourth of July "as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving," and called upon the Governor to issue a Proclamation to that effect. A manuscript copy of this Proclamation has recently been found and it reads as follows.

"State of North Carolina

"By his Excellency Alexander Martin Esquire Governor Captain General and Commander in chief of the State aforesaid.

#### "A PROCLAMATION

"Whereas the honorable the General Assembly have by a Resolution of both Houses recommended to me to appoint Friday the fourth of July next being the anniversary of the declaration of the Ameri-

AN EARLY FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

can Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the many most gracious interpositions of his Providence manifested in a great and signal manner in behalf of these United States, during their conflict with one of the first powers of Europe:— For rescuing them in the Day of Distress from Tyranny and oppression, and supporting them with the aid of great and powerful allies:— For conducting them gloriously and triumphantly through a just and necessary War, and putting an end to the calamities thereof by the restoration of Peace, after humbling the pride of our enemies and compelling them to acknowledge the Sovereignty and Independence of the American Empire, and relinquish all right and claim to the same:—For raising up a distressed and Injured People to rank among independent nations and the sovereign Powers of the world. And for all other Divine favors bestowed on the Inhabitants of the United States and this in particular.

“In conformity to the pious intentions of the Legislature I have thought proper to issue this my Proclamation directing that the said 4th Day of July next be observed as above, hereby strictly commanding and enjoining all the Good Citizens of this State to set apart the said Day from bodily labour, and employ the same in devout and religious exercises. And I do require all Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination to convene their congregations at the same time, and to deliver to them Discourses suitable to the important occasion recommending in general the practice of Virtue and true Religion as the great foundation of private Blessing as well as National happiness and prosperity.

“Given under my hand and the great Seal of the State at Danbury the 18th Day of June in the year 1783 and seventh year of the Independence of the said State.

“ALEX. MARTIN.

“By his Excellency’s  
Command  
P. Henderson Pro Sec.

“God Save the State.”

In October, 1783, the representatives of the United States in Congress assembled issued a somewhat similar Proclamation, calling upon the people to observe a Day of Thanksgiving, for the Lord “has been pleased to conduct us in safety through all the perils and vicissitudes of the War,” “in the course of the present year hostilities have ceased, and we are left in undisputed possession of our liberties and Independence.” But to these causes for gratitude were added thanks

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“for plentiful harvests,” “the light of the blessed Gospel,” and “the rights of Conscience in faith and worship,” and the date appointed was not the Fourth of July but the second Thursday in December, that being the month in which the annual Thanksgiving Day was then celebrated.

Nowhere was the news of Peace more gladly received than in little Salem, and Governor Martin’s Proclamation for the Fourth of July was willingly obeyed. On the time-yellowed page of Pastor Peter’s diary stands the full account of the observance of the day,—no gunpowder, no accidents, but a “sane Fourth” that left the little village refreshed and strengthened for the new life just beginning.

Early in the morning the sleeping people were aroused by the sweet strains of trombones, playing appropriate chorals. Then a large congregation assembled in the prayer-hall, where the “Te Deum Laudamus” was chanted, the minister preached a beautiful sermon on the blessings of peace, and the choir sang, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.” In the afternoon another service was held, largely choral, and the full text is preserved in the old diary aforesaid.

Picture to yourself that large upper room, with its sanded floor, and the men and women seated on opposite sides; in the old-fashioned way. In front, to the minister’s right, would be the little girls, with their white net caps tied under the chin with pretty pink ribbons; behind them the older girls, wearing white linen caps and cherry ribbons; behind them again, the older women, their linen caps tied with light blue or pink or white, as circumstances required. To the left were the boys and men; and for this occasion two choirs led the singing, many of the stanzas being composed expressly for this day. Listen: <sup>1</sup>

GREGOR'S 56TH METRE. } 4,5, 4,5, 7, 7, 4,5, (ambic.) Moravian.  
*Ich will's wagen.*

1. The diary does not indicate the tunes, but the following is typical and may well have been one of those used.

AN EARLY FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

First Choir.—“Peace is with us! Peace is with us!  
People of the Lord.

Second Choir.— Peace is with us! Peace is with us!  
Hear the joyful word!

All.—Let it sound from shore to shore!  
Let it echo evermore!

Men.—Peace is with us!

Women.—Peace is with us!

All.—Peace, the gift of God!

Choirs.—“Let the Heavens rejoice and the earth be glad;  
Let all the land pray to Him and sing praises  
to his name; for He hath done glorious deeds; He  
hath done mighty deeds! Selah!

All.—“Full of joy our hearts are singing  
And to God thank offerings bringing,  
For His great miracle of Peace!  
Far and wide the war was spreading,  
And terror by its side was treading,  
To daunt us, and our woe increase,  
And little else was heard  
Than foe and fire and sword,  
Need and sorrow.

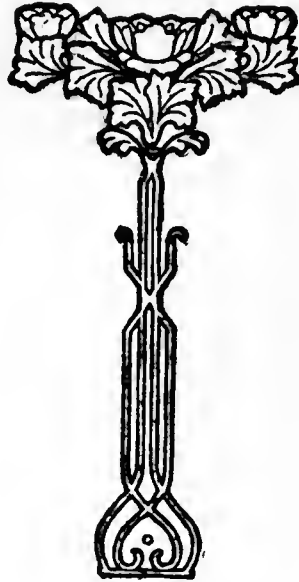
How often I cried, anxiously:  
“Look down, oh God! and pity me!”

Choirs.—“The Lord is a mighty warrior; Jehovah is His  
name. He causeth war to cease in all the earth.  
Because the miserable are distressed, and the poor  
cry, I will arise, saith the Lord; all soldiers must  
drop their hands. For I will arise, saith the Lord;  
they must put down their hands.

All.—“Oh, Rest that softly cometh,  
So gracious and so blest!  
We hail it with rejoicing,  
For we in Peace may rest!  
Redeemed from present sorrow,  
And trusting for to-morrow,  
Secure from every foe  
Thy flock may come and go.

All.—Pour out thy richest blessings now  
Wide as the clouds of heaven;  
From churches, homes and governments  
Be every evil driven;  
Give blessed peace in Christendom,  
Let godly fear and concord come  
To reign in every nation,  
Oh God of all creation!"

These and other hymns were sung by choirs and congregation, and, at length, a stately Hallelujah Chorus closed this celebration of the Fourth of July, one hundred and thirty years ago.



# The Columbus Light

The Giant Beacon To Be Placed at Santo Domingo in Honor of the Heroic Character Whose Genius, Courage, and Splendid Endurance Brought to Birth the New World That Is All-America. The Project Initiated by a Citizen of the United States, But To Be Carried Out by All the Countries of the Western Hemisphere, Our Own Nation, the Latin-American Republics, and the Dominion of Canada. Chronicle of the Plan for the Great Light and the Story of the Finding of the True Remains of Christopher Columbus

BY

GRACE PULLIAM



NOW that the Pan-American movement is gaining added prominence every day and Pan-American subjects are so much in the conversation everywhere, with the great possibilities by way of opening up new markets for our products—due in part also to the war closing the doors of many ports that were formerly entered—it is timely that another movement, also Pan-American, should be gaining national importance. In the near future, if certain plans are realized, there will be erected a great world-famous Marine Light, which will shed its rays out over the Carribean Sea. This light is proposed as a monument of the co-operation of North, South, and Central America, as well as Canada. In all, some twenty-one Republics and the Dominion of Canada will thus join in a truly Pan-American movement to pay belated honor where honor is due.

Centuries have passed since the little boy in far-away Genoa listened to the bomb-bomb of his father's shuttle in the daytime and dreamed dreams at night of the many sailing vessels that came and went monthly in the harbor. No one thought then that the boy Columbus was destined to have an unusual life; but since then he has been written of many times, not only as being great, but, as one writer says, of having a dual personality. According to Frederick A. Ober, his was "a dual nature: two towns claim the honor of his birth; two nations

held the luster of his deeds in reverence; two continents unite in laudation of his greatness; after his death two convents in Spain held his remains temporarily in charge, and now two continents lay claim to the absolute possession of his ashes."

It is partly to settle this controversy, partly to pay a long-delayed honor, and partly to do what Columbus was ever striving to do—help humanity—that the plan of the Columbus Light was first conceived.

The story is a fascinating one. We were all taught when we went to school that the dying wish of the explorer was that his body might be taken back to the land which he had discovered for his King Ferdinand. We also learned that in the year 1537 that wish was carried out.

Here the bones rested in peace until 1795. Then Spain lost her possessions in Santo Domingo to France, under the Treaty of the Basilea. Naturally, Lieutenant-General Gabriel de Aristixabal of the Royal Navy, being a good officer and a loyal Spaniard, did not think it proper that the remains of their great discoverer should rest under a foreign flag. So he begged leave that they might be removed to the Island of Cuba, then under Spanish sovereignty.

The Spaniards were allowed to make the exhumation the following year, but they had nothing to guide them save the fact "that the remains of Christopher Columbus had been laid to rest in the Chancel of the Cathedral on the Gospel side, in the place where the Bishop's throne used to stand." With these meagre instructions they found what they thought were the remains, or rather dust, for the casket was almost gone and did not contain any marks, except such as time had left undecipherable. This dust was carefully taken and conveyed, with due military and civic pomp, on board a Spanish war vessel, *San Lorenzo*, and on it carried and deposited in a specially prepared niche in the Cathedral at Havana, Cuba.

Here they rested until January, 1899. Again, Spain was called upon to step aside, that a greater power might be master and, again, she asked that the sacred remains might be carried away. This time, they were placed in a sepulchre in Seville. There they lie now.

But are they the remains of the Great Discoverer? Spain says yes. Unbiased students and thinkers everywhere say no.

Many writers, Spanish, French, German, and American, have written on the subject—the question of the authenticity of the remains removed in 1796 from Santo Domingo to Havana, and in 1899 from Havana to Seville. In 1877, the Spanish Government



## THE COLUMBUS LIGHT

went through the formality of issuing orders to the Royal Academy of Spain to make a thorough investigation and report.

Mr. John Boyd Thacher, a prominent citizen of New York State, formerly Mayor of Albany, who was a distinguished scholar, and a writer of authority on the West Indies, as well as on other historical subjects, says, in his "Early Discoveries of America" (Volume III, page 613): "It is to be regretted that the Royal Academy of Spain did not cause to be made a more careful investigation of the question of the remains of Columbus, and that it did not approach the subject more in a spirit of earnest inquiry and in a desire to know the truth. It was not merely a Spanish institution; it was an historical society. History knows no nation except the universal brotherhood of man. History acknowledges no loyalty except the truth."

But, to go back to the exhumation: it seems that the first exhumers did not know that in the same presbyterium, though in many different caskets, there rested the remains of other members of the family of Columbus.

From time to time there had been revived in Santo Domingo a vague, unauthorized rumor to the effect that, after all, the remains of the great discoverer had not been found, but still rested somewhere within the Cathedral. No one believed this rumor, though no one entirely ignored it. Hence it was that, in April, 1877, repair work was being done on the Church under the personal direction of Canon Billini. In May, the workmen unearthed a metallic coffin. The remains were visible through the crumbling outside, and the Canon ordered all work stopped immediately, while he awaited the arrival of the Archbishop, who was then traveling in the interior, and a person thought to be more fitted to personally superintend a work of such great moment.

When the prelate arrived, September 1, civil and military authorities, and the Consular corps, were invited to be present at the opening of the casket. And there in the Cathedral, under the watchful eyes of all, it was opened. Besides the dust and bones of a human body, the casket contained a plate, which, when read by the Dominican historical authority, Carlos Neucl, was translated: "Admiral Luis Columbus, Duke of Veragua, Marquis of . . . ."—supposedly Jamaica, Luis being the grandson of Columbus. Then the rumor voiced itself, and it was decided to examine farther and see what might yet be found.

Excavation work began immediately, and two days later the end of another box was disclosed, and, again, the Canon held up his hands to suspend operations. Again, the Archbishop, the Minister of the

Interior, and the Italian Consul were summoned. On their arrival, the work was resumed, and the box drawn out. Centuries-old dust covered the top, but it was not thick enough to entirely obliterate the words, "First Admiral."

This was of too great importance for even this high court of witnesses to share the responsibility alone; so again work ceased, while the Cabinet Ministers, Municipal Council, Consular corps, including representatives from both Spain and America, and other officials high in authority, were summoned.

In this august presence, the leaden casket was taken from its long resting-place, brought out into the dim light of the historic Church, and reverently opened. The remains, now nothing but dust and bones, were disclosed, and on both the outside and inside of the leaden cover were found inscriptions which proved conclusively its proper identity.

On the outside were the words, "Discoverer of America," the "First Admiral"; on the inside, "Illustrious and noble personage Don Christopher Columbus." Among the remains was a silver plate bearing his name and the initials "C. C. A." engraved on the sides.

The Spanish Consul, Don José Manuel de Echeverri, did not question the genuineness of the find, and, acting on his own initiative and what he thought to be the true interest of his country and King, immediately made formal demand that the precious find of that day be turned over to him that he might convey it to its rightful home, and thus rectify the great mistake of 1799. This demand was not granted, and the Spanish King, when he heard all the particulars, was greatly chagrined and promptly repudiated the action of his Consul, whom he immediately recalled and dismissed in disgrace from all further diplomatic service.

Santo Domingo has kept the precious dust, but nothing appropriate has been done to honor it. And this, despite the fact that, about twenty years ago, the Dominican Republic launched a plan to build a high tomb or monument in Columbus' honor, and for that purpose dedicated a magnificent site in the southern part of the city of Santo Domingo on the coral coast of the Caribbean Sea. To-day this ground is a park of twenty-five acres, known as the Plaza Columbias. The building of the projected mausoleum was abandoned owing to internal political differences.

The present campaign for the Pan-American memorial was begun a year ago by William Ellis Pulliam, at the time Receiver General of the Dominican customs. He held this post for six years, during which time he gave a great deal of thought and time to investigating the Columbus controversy. After being convinced of the genuineness

## THE COLUMBUS LIGHT

of the Republic's claim, he conceived the idea of using the Plaza Colombias, which is still available. It is proposed to raise by popular subscription, not exceeding fifty cents *per capita*, funds for the erection of a giant Pan-American memorial to the original blazer of the trail—the man who gave us the Western Hemisphere, the land which is now our home.

His plans, though tentative as yet, are for a massive tomb or mausoleum for the base. Each country assisting will supply a marble slab or bronze tablet suitably inscribed, bearing the names of all contributors, to be placed in the interior around the sarcophagus. The general outline of the whole is to be patterned after the tomb erected for Napoleon in *Les Invalides*, in Paris, and the Grant tomb on Riverside Drive, in New York. This is to be the foundation, from which will rise an enormous shaft, on the top of which will be placed the largest, brightest, most far-reaching Marine Light in the world, so endowed with a perpetual maintenance fund that, once it is lighted, it will never be allowed to go out.

On the Plaza are the ruins of the Cathedral where Columbus worshipped. It is the first place of Christian worship erected in the New World, and the only building now standing with which it can be said Columbus was personally associated.

The park faces the open Caribbean Sea, and hence the Light could guide the present-day perplexed mariner sailing south to the main land of South America and southwest towards Colon, the entrance of the Atlantic to the Panama Canal. The plan is thus seen to be a happy combination of sentiment, romance, and practicability.

Washington Irving has said of this very port and a similar, though lesser, movement: "We cannot but reflect that it was from this very port he was carried away loaded down with ignominious chains; blasted apparently in fame and fortune; followed by the revilings of the rabble. Such honors, it is true, are nothing to the dead—nor can we atone to the heart, but they speak volumes of comfort to the illustrious, yet stranded and persecuted, living, encouraging them bravely to bear with present injuries by showing them how true merit outlives all calumny and receives its glorious reward in the admiration of after ages."





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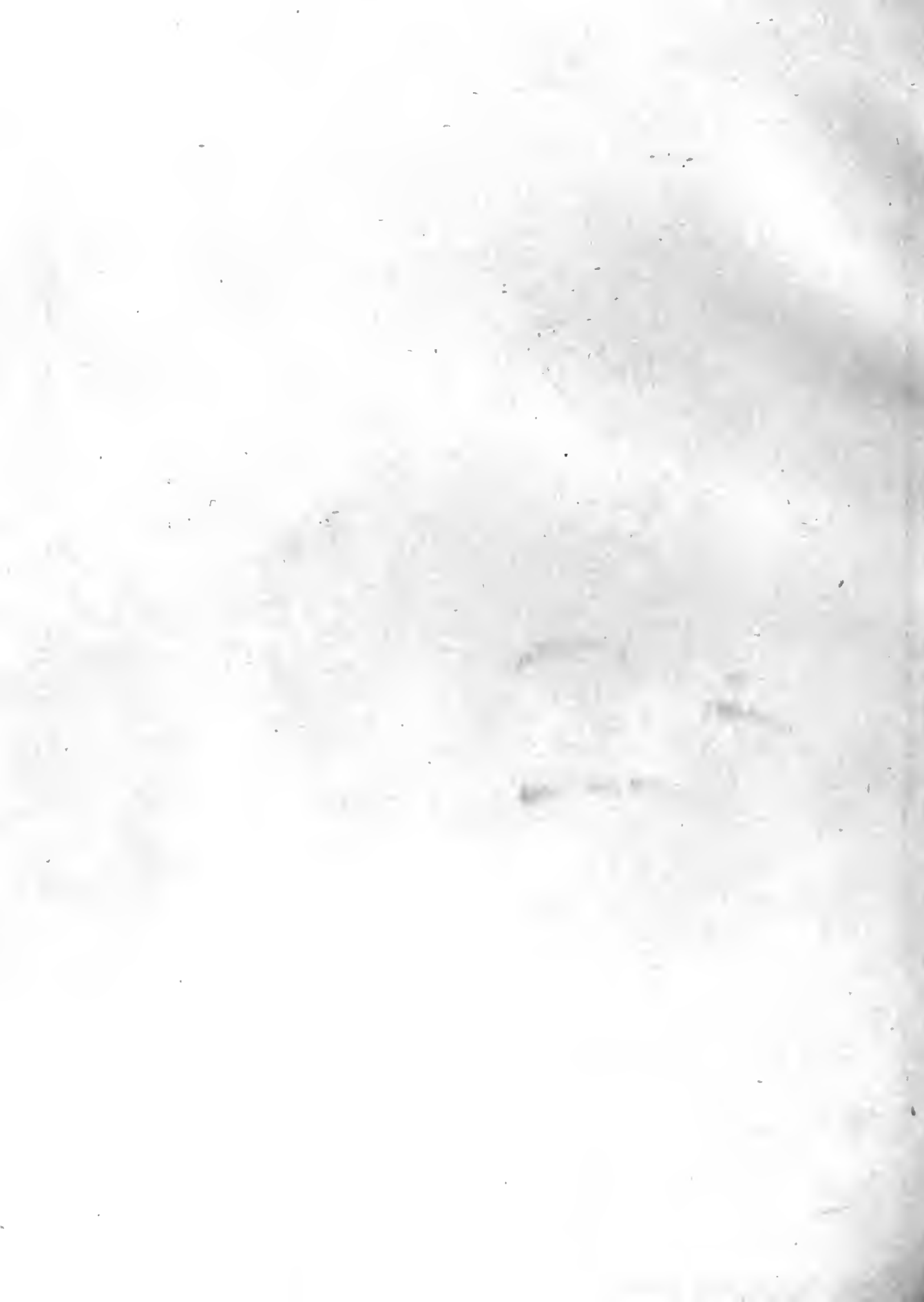
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*P. M. Joseph*



The Oldest Church in the United States

# The Journal of American History







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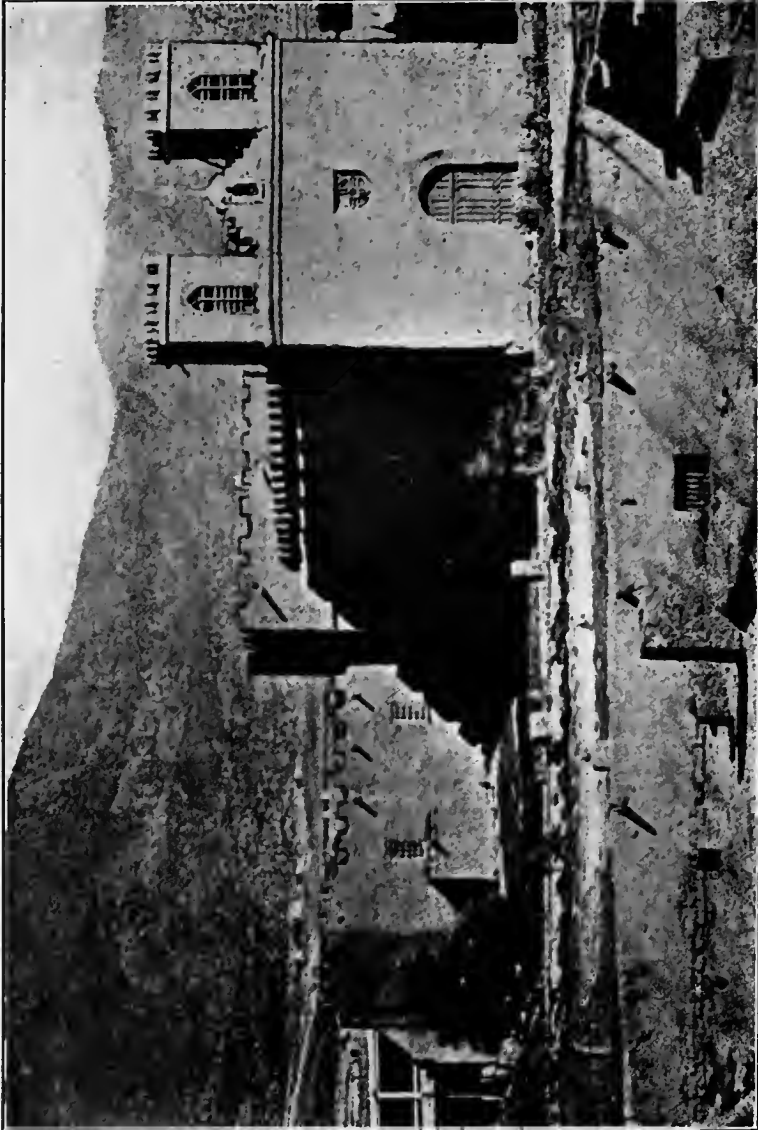
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THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF ST. FRANCIS, SANTA FE

Built in 1713 on the site of the first Parish Church of the city, erected about 1627 by Father Alonzo de Benavides. The corner-stone of the present Cathedral was laid by Bishop Lamy in 1869.







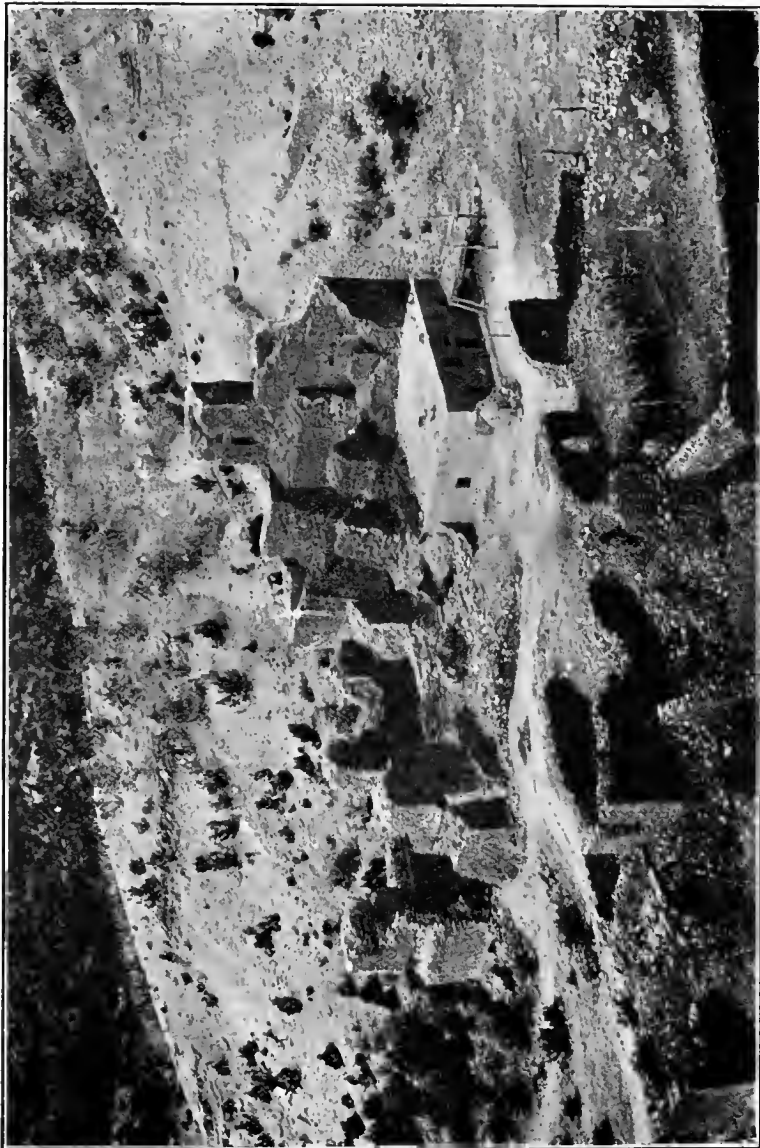
**THE GREAT CHURCH AT SANTA CRUZ, NEW MEXICO**  
The original Church was built in 1695, and the present one was probably finished in 1738. It is said to be the largest in New Mexico, and contains very interesting examples of both Spanish and Mexican art of the Seventeenth Century.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT SANTA CRUZ







#### RUINS OF THE JEMEZ MISSION

Jemez was visited in 1541 by Captain Francisco de Barrio-Nuevo, an officer of Coronado's army. The Mission was founded about 1698. During the Indian uprising of 1680 one of the Franciscan priests at Jemez was killed by an arrow, while ministering at the Altar





THE CHURCH AND FRANCISCAN MONASTERY AT ACOMA, NEW MEXICO  
Believed by some historians to be the original structure, built about 1629 by Friar Juan Ramirez, but by others thought to have been erected at a later period







INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHURCH AT ACOMA



MISSION CHURCH, LAS TRAMPAS, RIO ARRIBO  
COUNTY, NEW MEXICO







ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, ISLETA, NEW MEXICO  
Rebuilt in the last decade of the Seventeenth Century on the ruins of the first Church,  
erected by 1629



# Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico

BY

L. BRADFORD PRINCE, LL. D.

President, The Historical Society of New Mexico, and the Society for the Preservation of Spanish Antiquities; Vice-President, The National Historical Society; Former Governor and Chief Justice of New Mexico.



HERE is no series of structures in the United States that possesses such interest as the old Missions of California. Whether intact, or partially restored, or in ruins, they have an attraction and a charm that are unequalled.

There are various reasons for this. In the first place our country is so comparatively new, that anything that has a flavor of antiquity is attractive in itself. Especially is this so, if in its architecture and general arrangement it differs widely from that to which the average American is accustomed in his home. The fact that there is a chain of these structures, various in size and form and style, yet all parts of one comprehensive plan, multiplies the interest. The story of their inception, of the noble plan and the vigorous realization of his ideal by the untiring and self sacrificing Serra; of their almost miraculous success and prosperity, and then of their equally rapid fall and destruction, all these things appeal to everyone who has human sympathies and aspirations and enthusiasm. They make our quieter life seem tame and uneventful, and they have presented a field to poet and novelist and painter which has brought forth some of our choicest productions in literature and art.

So these old Missions have become the Mecca of thousands and tens of thousands of tourists, and there can be no doubt that their very existence, standing as monuments to zeal and self-sacrifice, and preaching a never ending sermon of love and devotion and consecration to God and humanity, has been a continual influence for good, and helped to weaken the widespread spirit of selfishness and com-

mercialism. The whole story is inspiring, and God forbid that any one should even by comparison detract from its beauty and influence.

We see a vast country favored above all others by nature in climate and resources, thinly settled by wandering tribes, who lived as their fathers had lived generations before. Though on the coast of Earth's greatest ocean, its people knew nothing of the world beyond the limitations of their frail canoes, and the world knew as little of them.

The white man had come from afar, almost three centuries before, and the Spaniard had settled to the south and the Russian to the north; but this fairest spot in the New Continent had only been glanced at by the venturesome navigator and explorer. For generations the light of the Gospel had been brought to Lower California and Sonora on the south by the Jesuit Fathers, and to New Mexico on the east by the zealous Franciscans, but Alta California, far richer than either, was ignored.

The Russian had journeyed southward from Alaska to the Bay of San Francisco, and held the services of the Greek Church there; but he had not remained. Even before that, Sir Francis Drake had anchored by the shore and set up an English standard, and his Chaplain read the first service of the English Church on the Pacific Coast under its shadow; but he sailed away and was forgotten.

Years passed, until, in 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish possessions, and the Franciscans were placed in charge of all their Missions in California and Northern Mexico. They were full of missionary zeal, and to lead their work came Father Junipero Serra, who was not satisfied simply to continue the old work on the lower peninsular, but looked beyond to the region on the north, to Alta California, and determined to Christianize its people. At last the hour and the man had come!

This is no place to tell of his efforts and his success. With the strong will and practical ability of Galvez, the Visitador General of New Spain, to aid the marvelous zeal and enthusiasm of Father Junipero, the latter performed the work of a century in a few short years.

The plan projected was to establish a line of missions all the way from San Diego in the south to Monterey and San Francisco in the north, each near to the sea, yet out of gunshot from national enemies or the buccaneers of the day; near enough to each other to be a support and a solace, but not so near as to cause over-lapping of activities.

The missionaries came by sea and land. King Charles the Third of Spain was interested in the work, and sufficient troops were sent

## SPANISH MISSION CHURCHES OF NEW MEXICO

to offer protection. Three ships were sent from different ports of western Mexico, and two safely anchored in the beautiful Bay of San Diego, where the soldiers, after a march of two months, were rejoiced to find them. The second division of the little army, with the Royal Governor of California and Serra himself, arrived on July 1st, and on the 16th, with a full ceremonial both of Church and State, a great Cross was erected, the Royal Standard was planted and its banner unfurled, Mass was celebrated and firearms discharged, and the Mission of San Diego was established.

The work went bravely on in spite of innumerable trials and obstacles. The next year the Mission of San Carlos Borromeo was founded, and two more in 1771. Before the end of the century there were eighteen in all, of which San Luis Rey was last. In the first ten years the Franciscans claimed three thousand native Indians as converts, and in 1800 this number had increased to ten thousand, under about forty priests of the Seraphic Order.

Father Junipero did not live to see all this accomplished, but succumbed to his untiring labors in 1784, and was buried, as he desired, in his beloved mission of San Carlos. But his spirit survived and controlled and vivified the work.

The list of the whole chain of California Missions, including the three established after the year 1800, with their dates, is as follows:

- San Diego, July 16, 1769.
- San Carlos Borromeo, June 3, 1770.
- San Antonio de Padua, July 14, 1771.
- San Gabriel Arcangel, September 8, 1771.
- San Luis Obispo, September 1, 1772.
- San Francisco de Asis, October 9, 1776.
- San Juan Capistrano, November 1, 1776.
- Santa Clara, January 12, 1777.
- San Buenaventura, March 29, 1783.
- Santa Barbara, December 15, 1786.
- La Purisima Concepcion, December 8, 1787.
- Santa Cruz, August 28, 1791.
- La Soledad, October 9, 1791.
- San Jose, June 11, 1797.
- San Juan Bautista, June 24, 1797.
- San Miguel Arcangel, July 25, 1797.
- San Fernando Rey, September 8, 1797.
- San Luis Rey, June 13, 1798.
- Santa Inez, September 17, 1804.

San Rafael Arcangel, December 17, 1817.  
San Francisco Solano, July 4, 1823.

The last was established just as the days of prosperity of all, were to end. As long as Spanish authority continued, the Missions were protected and fostered. With Mexican independence this was reversed, and decay and disintegration followed.

Some of the structures are in ruins, others have been most carefully repaired and preserved, others have been "restored" or "modernized" almost beyond recognition, but all have an undying interest as monuments to the zeal and energy of their founders and builders.

I have dwelt thus long on the Missions of California because in a comparison between them and those of New Mexico, I wished to detract in no way from the great interest that attaches to that remarkable chain of structures, or from the glory and admiration which are so justly due to their builders. Fortunately, there can be no rivalry between the achievements of the early missionaries in the two fields, for all were of the same Order of St. Francis, and displayed the same heroic self-sacrifice, and each field has its list of martyrs who gave their lives for their Christian faith.

But we are dealing simply with the material structures which they built, many of which remain to-day, some intact and some in ruins, as their monuments; and with the interest which the ordinary traveler or tourist finds in what is still to be seen of their work.

The claim of New Mexico to superiority in this view of the subject is based firstly on the far greater antiquity of its Mission Churches, and secondly on the greater variety in the history which they have experienced.

The first Mission Church in California was built in 1769—while nearly all of the original missions in New Mexico were established a century and a half before that time, and several of them one hundred and seventy years before. One whole chain of churches, those in the Salinas Valley, whose ruins are today the most interesting of any in New Mexico, had been built, and had done their Christian service to generations of Indians, and were deserted and destroyed, with that service ended, almost exactly a century before Padre Junipero came to establish the first mission in California.

Without wishing to anticipate what must appear more at large in subsequent chapters, it is not to be forgotten that the first mission church in New Mexico was built in August, 1598, and that before 1630 the whole "Kingdom" was well supplied with both churches and the adjoining "conventos," which were at once the residences of the

## SPANISH MISSION CHURCHES OF NEW MEXICO

priests and the centers of missionary work in their respective parochial districts. Fortunately we have exact and accurate chronicles of those early days in both the civil and ecclesiastical records, which under the Spanish system were much more scrupulously kept, and amply certified, and extended far more into detail, than anything recorded by English officers or clergy.

Those who are not familiar with the Spanish documents of that era are always amazed at the circumstantial manner in which every little event, however trivial, is made the subject of an "Auto," written at length, and attested not only by the responsible official, as the governor or commanding officer, but certified to by secretaries and witnesses, with official signatures and "rubrics" that seem to us unnecessarily prolix and formal; sometimes in the old Archives a half-dozen of such narrations being made in a single day.

In addition to these official chronicles, New Mexico possesses the unique distinction of having the history of its earliest settlement in the form of the most extensive epic poem ever written in the New World. This poem, entitled "Historia de la Nueva Mexico," by Captain Gaspar de Villagr a, contains no less than thirty-three cantos, constituting 182 pages of ordinary modern print, and gives a minute as well as graphic narration of all the events of the exploration and colonization under O ate, from first to last.

Villagr a was a captain in O ate's expedition and also held the position of procurador general. He was a valiant soldier as well as a courtier and a poet, and his testimony is that of an actual participant in all that occurred in those early days. H. H. Bancroft, the eminent historian of the West, says of the poem, "I found it a most complete narrative, very little, if at all, the less useful for being in verse. The subject is well enough adapted to epic narrative, and in the generally smooth-flowing endecasyllabic lines of Villagr a loses nothing of its intense fascination. Of all the territories of America, or of the world, so far as my knowledge goes, New Mexico alone may point to a poem as the original authority for its early annals."

In considering the promptitude with which the Mission Churches in New Mexico were founded, after the discovery and very first settlement of the country, we must bear in mind the intimate connection which then existed in all Spanish dominions between colonization and religion, and the important place which the conversion of the heathen held in all projects for exploration and conquest.

The ecclesiastical influence of that time, especially in Latin countries, was the dominating power, and had at least as much to do in shaping public events, as the civil authority; and in addition to

this, it was the age of the high tide of the great religious orders, most of which had been founded not very long before, and were now in the full exercise of their vigor and enthusiasm; and after the discovery of a new continent, filled with a great heathen population awaiting conversion to Christianity, the desire to accomplish that work permeated the whole Spanish nation with almost as much force as the determination to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the unbelieving Moslems had aroused all over Europe in the days of the Crusades.

The sovereigns of Spain in that era were zealous in religious matters, and showed in all their acts a genuine desire to bring about the conversion of the millions of new subjects that the discoveries by Columbus and his successors had providentially brought under their control, and to extend the bounds of Christian influence farther and farther into the unknown regions of the New World.

The connection between Church and State was never more strong and close than at that period. Pope Alexander VI, under a claim to universal dominion, had divided all of the newly found regions of the world between the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, by establishing a line which gave to the latter country all of what is now Brazil, and to the former the remainder of the American continent; and this became the foundation of the claim to sovereignty over newly found regions more relied upon even than any right by discovery. The power thus bestowed was of course to be exercised for the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions as well as civil ones; and this idea of the "two authorities" was constantly expressed in formal documents, and was almost the first thing taught to the newly discovered races. "There is one God who rules in the Heavens above, and one Emperor who reigns upon earth," in the time of Charles the Fifth was the foundation of all the teaching to the natives, and of the organization of government.

The first documents that relate to the discovery and settlement of New Mexico are excellent illustrations of these conditions. The grant made by the Emperor Charles V to Panphilo de Narvaex, included all of the continent from the extremity of Florida to the Rio de las Palmas in Mexico, and by it Narvaex was authorized to take possession of the whole of that enormous territory and assume the government thereof. This Rio de las Palmas is on the east coast of Mexico considerably south of the Rio Grande; so that the region to be explored, occupied and governed, embraced not only the States of our Union which border on the Gulf of Mexico but also all of northeastern Mexico, including what is now New Mexico, and the great unknown and undefined country beyond.

The petition of Narvaex for this vast grant of power sets forth

clearly its religious objects as well as the more material ones connected with sovereignty and riches. It begins as follows:

“Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty: In-as-much as I, Panfilo de Narvaez, have ever had and still have the intention of serving God and Your Majesty, I desire to go in person with my means to a certain country on the main of the Ocean Sea. I propose chiefly to traffic with the natives of the coast, and to take thither religious men and ecclesiastics, approved by your Royal Council of the Indies, that they may make known and plant the Christian Faith. I shall observe fully what your Council require and ordain to the ends of serving God and Your Highness, and for the good of your subjects.”

This petition was referred to the Council of the Indies, and they acted favorably upon it, largely perhaps because Narvaez had offered to pay all of the expenses of the expedition from his own funds; and they recommended that the king concede the right of conquest requested by Narvaez on condition that he take no less than two hundred colonists from Spain and found at least two towns. He was provided with a proclamation to be made to the native inhabitants, when they were discovered, which distinctly sets forth the grounds of the Spanish claims to sovereignty over America. It is addressed “To the inhabitants of the country and provinces that exist from Rio de las Palmas to the Cape of Florida,” and reads in part as follows:

“I in behalf of the Catholic Cæsarean Majesty of Don Carlos, King of the Romans and Emperor ever Augustus, and Dona Juana, his mother, Sovereigns of Leon and Castilla, Defenders of the Church, ever victors, never vanquished, and rulers of the barbarous nations, I, Panfilo de Narvaez, his servant, messenger, and captain, notify and cause you to know in the best manner I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heaven and the earth. All these nations God our Lord gave in charge to one person called Saint Peter, that he might be master and superior over mankind, to be obeyed and be heard by all the human race where-so-ever they might live and be, of whatever law, sect, or belief, giving him the whole world for his kingdom, lordship, and jurisdiction. This Saint Peter was obeyed and taken for King, Lord, and Superior of the Universe by those who lived at that time, and so likewise have all the rest been held, who to the Pontificate were afterward elected, and thus has it continued until now, and will continue to the end of things. One of the Popes who succeeded him to that seat and dignity, of which I spake, as Lord of the world, made a gift of these islands and main of the Ocean Sea to the said Emperor and Queen, and their successors, our Lords in these King-

doms, with all that is in them, as is contained in certain writings that thereupon took place, which may be seen if you desire."

Having thus demonstrated the rightful power of the sovereign, the proclamation calls on them "to recognize the Church as Mistress and Superior of the Universe, and the High Pontiff, called Papa, in its name; the Queen and King our masters, in their place as Lords Superiors, and Sovereigns of these Islands and the main, by virtue of said gift. If you shall do so, you will do well in what you are held and obliged; and their Majesties, and I, in their Royal name, will receive you with love and charity. If you do not do this, and of malice you be dilatory, I protest to you that with the help of Our Lord I will enter with force, making war upon you from all directions and in every manner that I may be able, when I will subject you to obedience to the Church and the yoke of their Majesties."

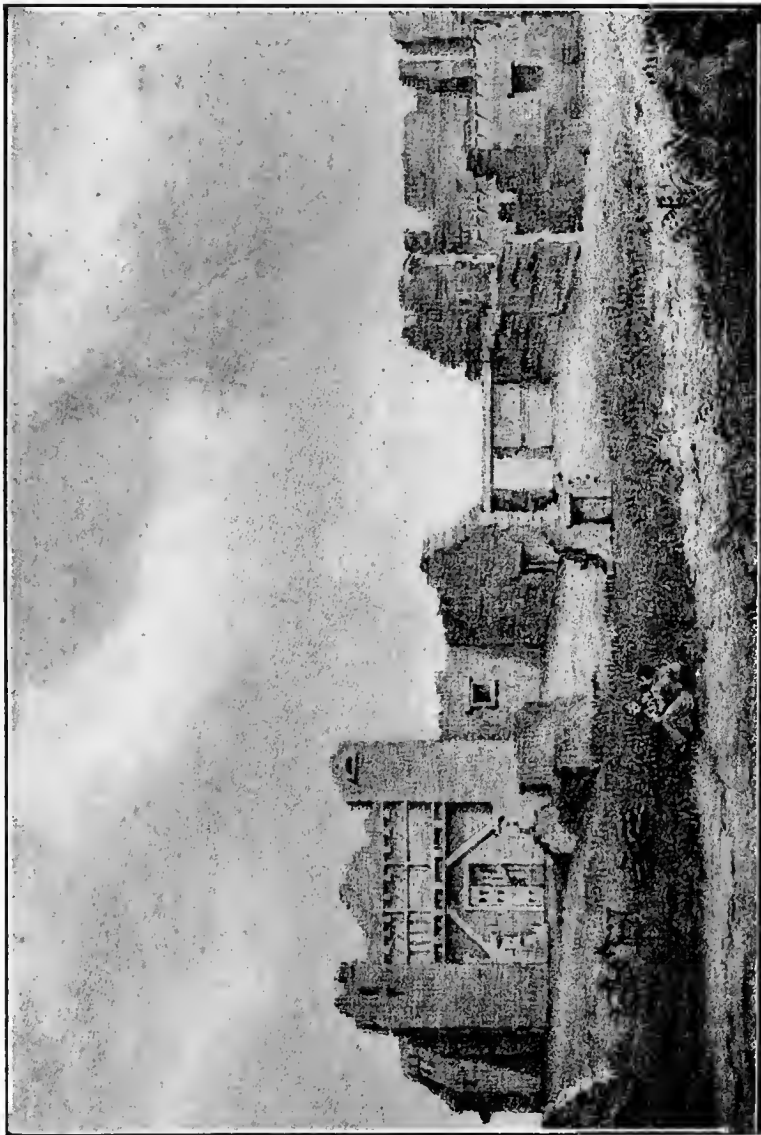
Unfortunately for Narvaez, this proclamation never was actually used, as this was the ill-starred expedition of which Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was treasurer, and which was destroyed on sea and land until only that historic man and his three companions were left to tell the tale, and to be the first strangers from the Old World to tread on the soil of New Mexico.

The history of all the subsequent expeditions shows the same religious character and influence. When the "Land of the Seven Cities" was to be explored from Mexico, it was Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan, who was placed in charge. Two years later, when Coronado started on his wonderful march, he was accompanied by a goodly number of Franciscan friars; and of these, two—Juan de Padilla, a priest, and Louis a lay brother,—remained in the newly discovered regions, one at Quivira and one at Cicuic, when the disappointed little army commenced its homeward march; and they soon received the crown of martyrdom which was their sure reward.

The next to penetrate the New Mexican region were Friar Ruiz and his devoted companions, Francisco Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria, all three Franciscans; and their journey was exclusively a missionary pilgrimage, induced by their burning zeal for the conversion of the unknown tribes who lived in the Rio Grande Valley in heathen darkness. They penetrated the wilderness as far as Puará, near the present Bernalillo, and then the little guard of soldiers was afraid to proceed or even to remain; and so they separated; the soldiers of the king returned to the safety and ease of the garrison life, and the Soldiers of the Cross went forward, braving hardships and dangers, until they also joined the "noble army of martyrs."

And when the actual settlement of New Mexico came, under





**OLD MISSION CHURCH AND RUINS AT PECOS, NEW MEXICO, AS THEY APPEARED IN 1846**

Pecos was visited by Coronado in 1540. The first Church was built in 1598 by Don Juan de Oñate, Governor and Captain-General of New Mexico. In the Revolution of 1680 the Mission was destroyed and the Priest in charge, Padre Francisco de Velasco, murdered by the Indians. After the re-conquest of New Mexico in 1692-1694 by Governor Diego de Vargas the Mission was restored and the Church rebuilt.







"OUR LADY OF LIGHT"

This representation, carved in high relief on a wooden slab, was brought to Jemez, New Mexico, by the thirteen remaining inhabitants of Pecos who migrated to Jemez in 1840. The Mission at Pecos was founded soon after 1598. This ancient picture remained in the possession of Agustin Peco, the last survivor of the thirteen, until 1882, when it was obtained by L. Bradford Prince, later Governor of New Mexico.



**THE ANCIENT BELL OF SAN MIGUEL, IN SANTA FE**  
Cast in Spain in 1356, from gold and silver and jewelry offered by the people for a bell to be dedicated to Saint Joseph, as a gage of their confidence in his prayers for their victory over the Moors, brought to America in the Seventeenth Century by Nicolas Ortiz Niño Ladron de Guevara, who was associated with de Vargas in the re-conquest of New Mexico in 1692, this historic bell now hangs in what is thought to be the oldest Church standing in the United States.







INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF SAN MIGUEL, SANTA FE  
Showing the gallery and carved *Vigas*, or round timbers of equal size





ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH, LAGUNA, NEW MEXICO, BUILT IN 1699

Over the Altar is a picture of St. Joseph, painted on elk skin, probably the largest painting on skin in the world.

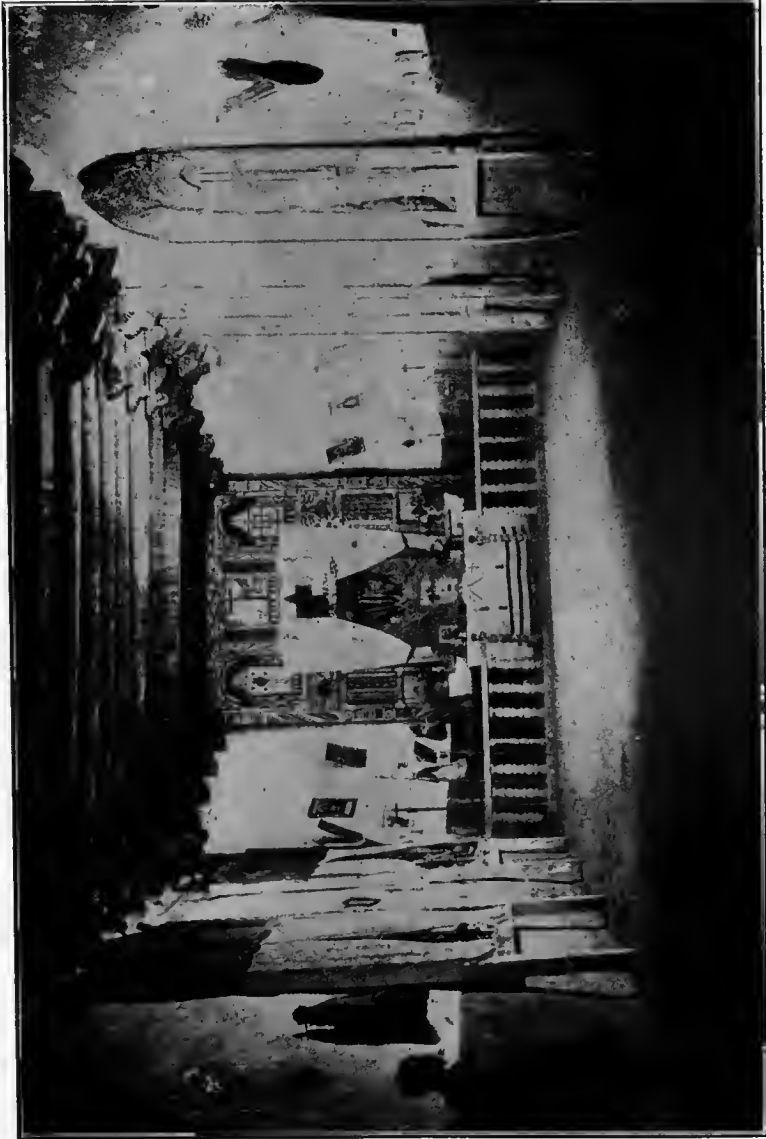






THE SANTUARIO OF CHIMAYO, NEW MEXICO

Chimayo, from time immemorial, has been famed for the health-giving properties of its soil, and the Church was built in 1816 that here might be a special shrine for worship and thanksgiving.



INTERIOR OF THE SANTUARIO OF CHIMAYO







THE ROSARIO CHAPEL, SANTA FE  
Erected in 1807 on the site of the original Chapel, built in 1692, by Don Diego de Vargas, in fulfillment of a vow to found here a Chapel and to institute an annual memorial procession, still made, in thanksgiving for Divine favor shown in the re-conquest of New Mexico after the revolution of 1680



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Oñate, the colonists were accompanied by no less than ten Franciscan friars, for the conversion of the Indians. This expedition started from San Bartolomé, in Mexico, on January 20, 1598, and three months later encamped in a beautiful grove on the banks of the Rio Grande, a little below Paso del Norte, where Oñate raised the royal standard and took possession of New Mexico and the adjoining provinces for God and the King. The formal declaration made by Oñate on this occasion, is so characteristic of the time, and illustrates so well the union of the religious and the secular powers, that we present its essential parts, as of general interest. It reads as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and the undivided Eternal Unity, Deity and Majesty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in one sole essence, and one and only true God, that by his eternal will, Almighty Power and Infinite Wisdom, directs, governs and disposes potently and sweetly from sea to sea, from end to end, as beginning and end of all things, and in whose hands the Eternal Pontificate and Priesthood, the Empires and Kingdoms, Principalities, Dynasties, Republics, elders and minors, families and persons, as in the Eternal Priest, Emperor and King of Emperors and Kings, Lord of lords, Creator of the heavens and the earth, elements, birds and fishes, animals and plants and all creatures corporal and spiritual, rational and irrational, from the most supreme cherubim to the most despised ant and tiny butterfly; and to his honor and glory and of his most sacred and blessed mother, the Holy Virgin Mary, our Lady, gate of heaven, ark of the covenant, and in whom the manna of heaven, the rod of divine justice, and arm of God and his law of grace and love was placed, as Mother of God, Sun, Moon, North Star, guide and advocate of humanity; and in honor of the Seraphic Father, San Francisco, image of Christ, God in body and soul, His Royal Ensign, patriarch of the poor, whom I adopt as my patrons and advocates, guides, defenders and intercessors.

"I wish that those that are now or at any time may be, know that I, Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain general, and Adelantado of New Mexico, and of its kingdoms and provinces, as well as of those in their vicinity and contiguous thereto, as settler, discoverer and pacifier of them and of the said kingdoms, by the order of the King, our lord. I find myself today with my full and entire camp near the river which they call Del Norte, and on the bank which is contiguous to the first towns of New Mexico, and whereas I wish to take possession of the land today, the day of the Ascension of our Lord, dated April 30th, of the present year 1598 through the medium of the person of Don Juan Perez de Donis, clerk of his Majesty, and secretary of this expedi-

tion and the government of said kingdoms and provinces, by authority and in the name of the most Christian King, Don Felipe, Segundo, and for his successors, (may they be many) and for the crown of Castile, and kings that from his glorious descent may reign therein, and for my said government, relying and resting in the sole and absolute power and jurisdiction of the Eternal High Priest, and King, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, universal head of the Church, because they are his, and he is their legitimate and universal pastor, for which purpose, having ascended to his Eternal Father, in his corporal being, he left as his Vicar and substitute, the prince of Apostles, St. Peter, and his successors legitimately elected to whom he gave and left the Kingdom, power and Empire. By the medium of the aforesaid power, jurisdiction and monarchy, apostolical and pontifical, there was granted and sanctioned, recommended and entrusted to the kings of Castile and Portugal and to their successors since the time of the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander VI, by divine and singular inspiration, the empire and dominion of the East and West Indies, in and to the kings of Castile and Portugal and to their successors, transferred and lodged upon them by the church militant and by the other sovereign pontiffs, successors of the said most holy pontiff of glorious memory, Alexander VI, to the present day, on which solid basis I rest to take the aforesaid possession of these kingdoms and provinces, in the aforesaid name.

“And therefore, resting on the solid basis aforesaid I take the aforesaid possession, in the presence of the most Reverend Father Fray Alonzo Martinez of the order of our lord Saint Francis, Apostolic Commissary, (and others). And this said possession I take and apprehend, in the Voice and name, of the other lands, Pueblos, Cities, and Villas, solid and plain houses that are now founded in the said Kingdoms and Provinces of New Mexico, and those that are neighbors and contiguous to it, and which were founded before in them, with the mountains, rivers, river banks, waters, pastures, meadows, dales, passes, and all its native Indians as are included and comprised in them, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction high and low from the edge of the mountains to the stone in the river and its sands, and from the stone and sands in the river to the leaf of the mountains. And I, Juan Perez de Donis, clerk of his Majesty and post secretary, do certify that the said lord Governor, Captain General and Adelantado of the said Kingdoms, as a sign of true and peaceful possession placed and nailed with his own hands on a certain tree, which was prepared for that purpose, the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and turning to it, with his knees on the ground, said: ‘Holy Cross, divine gate of heaven, altar of the only and essential sacrifice of the Body and the

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Blood of the Son of God, way of the Saints, and possession of their glory; open the gate of heaven to these infidels; found the Church and Altars where the Body and Blood of the Son of God may be offered; open to us a way of safety and peace for their conversion and our conversion, and give to our King, and to me, in his Royal name, peaceful possession of these Kingdoms and Provinces for his holy glory. Amen.'

"And immediately after he fixed and set in the same manner with his own hands the Royal Standard with the Coat of Arms of the most Christian King, Don Felipe, our lord; on the one side the Imperial Arms, and on another part, the Royal, and at the time this was being done, the clarinet sounded, and the arquebuses were discharged with the greatest demonstration of gladness."

Before proceeding to take up the stories of the different Missions separately, it is desirable to devote a chapter to the general history of church-building in New Mexico, so as to have a connected view of the subject.

The commencement of missionary work was almost simultaneous with the first Spanish settlement. The Expedition of Coronado was military and in the nature of an exploration of an utterly unknown region. No women or families accompanied the army and there was no idea of colonization or permanent occupation by the expedition. Consequently there was no attempt at church-building. The journey of Espejo was equally without any intention of settlement; but the coming of Oñate was expressly with a view to permanent occupation. After overcoming many obstacles he left the mines of Santa Barbara on January 20, 1598, with the long line of his soldiers and colonists, which was increased somewhat on the march by the addition of some who were not ready at the time of departure.

According to the best authorities, this expedition when it entered New Mexico comprised about four hundred men, one hundred and thirty of whom were accompanied by their families. There were in the train eighty-three wagons and seven thousand head of cattle. Accompanying the expedition were no less than ten Franciscan friars, of whom eight were priests and two lay brothers, all in charge of Padre Alonzo Martinez as comisario. Its progress was necessarily slow on account of the women and children and domestic animals. Oñate crossed the Rio Grande not far from Paso del Norte, on May 4, 1598, and the advance guard reached the most southerly pueblos, near the present San Marcial, on May 28th. Continuing up the Rio Grande Valley they arrived at Santo Domingo and San Ildefonso early in July and San Juan on the 9th of that month. On account of the

kindness and hospitality received from the Indians of San Juan, the words "de los Caballeros," "of the gentlemen," were added to the name of the town, and the pueblo has always retained its full title of "San Juan de los Caballeros." The beauty and broad expanse of the valley across the river from San Juan and extending up the Chama as far as the eye can reach, attracted the attention of the Spandiards, and it was soon determined that this was the most favorable spot that had been found for the location of their settlement and capital; and the San Juan Indians generously allowed them to occupy the houses in the little pueblo of Yunque until they could erect their own buildings.

It was on the 12th day of July that the settlement was finally made and the colony permanently located; so that this may be called the Birthday of Spanish New Mexico; and the three hundredth anniversary of this event was elaborately celebrated by the Historical Society of New Mexico on July 12, 1898, with a procession of Indians on horseback and a number of historical addresses.

Oñate was a man of untiring energy, and after determining on this location, he made a rapid journey to Picuris and Taos on the north, and within a fortnight had not only visited those pueblos but extended his rapid excursion to Pecos on the east, to San Marcos and San Christobal on the south, and to Santo Domingo on the southwest, where he met the main body of his little army, which had marched more slowly than the comparatively small advance guard. He then went directly west to Cia and Jemez, and returned to the new capital, which had been named San Gabriel, on August 10th.

Meanwhile the wagons and cattle of the colony were slowly arriving, and on August 18th the last of them had reached the little town, and there were great rejoicings that the whole body of settlers was at length reunited after their journey of more than six months.

No time was now lost in building their church, the first Mission in New Mexico and almost the first in what is now the United States; for the time antedated the settlement of Jamestown by more than eight years and that of Plymouth by twenty-two. Under the direction of the Governor and the zealous Franciscans, the work proceeded rapidly.

It did not need to be very large to meet present requirements, and the record shows that it was completed in two weeks; but, if its size was small, the ceremonies of its dedication were made as elaborate as possible in order to impress the minds and hearts of the natives. These ceremonies took place on September 8th, and at their conclusion there was a dramatic representation of a conflict between the Christians and the Moors, in which the former by the timely aid of St. James were

gloriously victorious, to the great satisfaction of all the audience, both white and red. To cement the friendship of the Indians and afford them entertainment, festivities were continued for an entire week; all kinds of sports, both of the Spaniards and of the Pueblos, being indulged in, amid much rejoicing.

Advantage was taken of this era of good feeling, and of the presence of large numbers of Indians from all directions, to hold a great meeting of the Spanish officials and ecclesiastics and the representatives of all the pueblos that could be reached, under the grandiloquent title of "Universal Meeting of all the Earth (Junta universal de toda la tierra). On this occasion their obligations both to the Cross and Crown were elaborately explained to the Indians, and they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Spanish king, and agreed to receive the Franciscans as their religious guides, though at the same time they tactfully suggested that the Spaniards certainly would not wish them to profess a belief which they did not yet comprehend.

All of the friars were of course in attendance, and as soon as the ceremonies were concluded, the comisario began the practical part of their missionary work by dividing the whole inhabited territory of New Mexico into seven districts, each of which was assigned to one of the Franciscan Fathers.

As this was the initial point of all the missionary work, and those thus sent out were the first band of church-builders in our land, it is well to preserve their names.

To Fr. Francisco de San Miguel was assigned the Province of the Pecos, with seven pueblos on the east, and also the pueblos of the Salinas country extending to the great plain.

To Fr. Juan Carlos, the Province of the Tihuas, on the Rio Grande and including the Piroso pueblos below, as far as Socorro and San Antonio (Teipana and Qualacu).

Fr. Juan de Rosas was placed in charge of the Province of the Queres, including Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Felipe, San Marcos, San Cristobal, etc.

Fr. Cristoval de Salazar was appointed to the Province of the Tehuas, including San Juan (Caypa), San Gabriel, San Yldefonso, Santa Clara, etc.

To Fr. Francisco de Zamora was assigned the Province of Picuris and Taos and the surrounding country.

To Fr. Alonzo de Lugo was given the Province of Jemez, including Cia, and many pueblos whose names cannot now be identified, in that general vicinity.

Fr. Andres Corchado was put in charge of a Province composed of the country west of Cia, including Acoma, Zuñi, and Moqui.

The other Franciscan Friars not so assigned were Pedro Vergara and Juan de San Buenaventura, the lay brother, who appears to have remained with Father Martinez, the comisario, to aid in his work.

The seven who were placed in charge of the districts into which New Mexico was divided, left immediately for their fields of labor; each taking his way into an unknown land, among a people whose language he did not understand, isolated from all familiar faces, with nothing but his undaunted faith and missionary zeal to support him in his lonely work.

"The harvest was plenteous but the laborers were few;" and so, in the succeeding year, Friars Martinez, Salazar, and Vergara went to Mexico for the purpose of securing more Franciscans for the Missions then being established. On the journey Padre Salazar died; Comisario Martinez remained in Mexico, and Fr. Juan de Escalona was sent in his place as the head of the Mission, with six or eight additional brothers.

Besides the inevitable difficulties of their work, the Franciscan missionaries, from the very first, found themselves antagonized, and many of their efforts rendered futile, by the action of Oñate and succeeding governors, and their opposition to the methods of the Franciscans. Their points of view were essentially different. The governors generally had no thought but of holding the Indians in subjection, of making further explorations and conquests, and of securing any personal gain possible from their official position. The other officials and the little army of soldiers naturally agreed with the governor and his wishes.

The friars, on the other hand, thought only of the salvation of souls, of the baptism of the natives of all ages, and the stamping out of heathen ceremonials. These essential differences created much friction and finally open antagonism. The first letters written at San Gabriel of which we have copies, express this bitterness of feeling. They appear in Torquemada's "Monarguia Indiana," and are written by Father Escalona, the comisario, to the Superior of the Franciscan Order in Mexico. They accuse the governor of all kinds of crimes and malfeasance. They charge cruelty in sacking Pueblo villages without reason; that he had prevented the raising of corn necessary for the garrison and people and thereby brought on a famine and caused the people to subsist on wild seeds; and insisted that the colony could not possibly succeed unless Oñate was removed. On his part, the gov-

ernor wrote to the Viceroy and the King, charging the friars with various delinquencies and general inefficiency.

But notwithstanding these drawbacks, the missionary work went on. There were changes in the person of the chief Franciscan, but no change in policy. Fr. Alonzo Peinado succeeded Fr. Escobar as comisario in 1608, and brought with him eight or nine additional friars. At this time, just ten years after the first settlement, the Missionaries reported that over eight thousand Indians had been converted to Christianity.

Six years later, Fr. Peinado gave place to Fr. Estevan de Perea, and he in turn was succeeded by Fr. Zarate Salmeron, who instilled new energy into the missionary work. By 1617 the number of supposed converts had reached fourteen thousand, but there were yet only eleven of the friars. Salmeron was a great orator and indefatigable worker; for eight years he lived at Jemez "sacrificing himself to the Lord among the pagans," and also having charge at Cia and Sandia; and he tells us himself that he baptized no less than six thousand five hundred and sixty-six persons with his own hands. His success and the account of it which he took personally to Mexico, attracted much attention, and resulted in the elevation of the New Mexican Mission into a "Custodia" called the "Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo," claiming sixteen thousand converts, and having at its head the celebrated Alonso de Benavides, who came from Mexico with twenty-seven additional friars. This increase in the clerical force showed immediate results, as only five years later the baptized converts are reported at thirty-four thousand.

Benavides was not only a most energetic custodio, constantly making visitations and inspiring the friars to greater activities, but we are indebted to him for the most authentic history of the mission work which had yet been written, with incidental descriptions of the towns and pueblos, of climate and products, of great interest and value. He had been induced to make the journey across the ocean to Spain in order to interest the King himself in the far distant work of the Franciscans, and his report was presented to the King of Spain in person, in Madrid, in 1630. Benavides never returned to New Mexico but became Archbishop of Goa in Asia.

There can be no doubt that his estimates of the number of Indians, like most of those of that day, were much exaggerated. Apart from the usual enlargement in the numbers of the population when they are estimated and not counted, there was throughout the whole report an evident attempt to impress the King with the greatness of the field and the importance of sending additional assistance to the Franciscan

missionaries, and especially of providing a bishop for New Mexico in order that the converts might be confirmed and a better administration secured. But the report is the best authority for the condition of the Missions of that time, and certainly describes a wonderful work performed within only thirty days after the first settlement.

He describes each group or "Nacion" separately, and the following condensed summary contains the substance of the report so far as the Missions and Churches are concerned:

"Piros nation, most southerly in New Mexico; on both sides of the Rio Grande for 15 leagues, from Senecu to Sevilleta; 15 pueblos, 6,000 Indians, all baptized; 3 missions, Nuestra Señora del Socorro at Pilabo, San Antonio de Senecu and San Luis Obispo at Sevilleta.

"Tihua nation, 7 leagues above Piros, 15 or 16 pueblos, 7,000 Indians, all baptized; 2 missions, at Sandia and Isleta.

"Queres nation, 4 leagues above the Tihuas, extending ten leagues from San Felipe and including Santa Ana on the west; 7 pueblos, 4,000 Indians, all baptized; 3 missions.

"Tompiros nation, ten leagues east of the Queres, extending 15 leagues from Chilili; 14 or 15 pueblos, over 10,000 Indians, all of whom were converted and most all of them baptized; six missions; these lived near the Salinas.

"Tanos nation, 10 leagues northwest of the Tompiros, extending 10 leagues; 5 pueblos and 1 mission; 4,000 Indians, all of whom had been baptized.

"Pecos pueblo, of Jemez nation and language; 4 leagues north of the Tanos; 2,000 Indians and a very fine mission.

"Villa de Santa Fe; 7 leagues west of Pecos; capital; 250 Spaniards and 700 Indians.

"Tehua nation, west of Santa Fe toward the Rio Grande, extending 10 or 12 leagues; 8 pueblos, including Santa Clara; 6,000 Indians; 3 missions, including San Ildefonso.

"Jemez nation; 7 leagues to the west there were 3,000 Indians, but half died, people now gathered in 2 pueblos of San José and San Diego.

"Picuris pueblo; 10 leagues up the river from San Ildefonso, 2,000 Indians baptized, and the most savage in the province.

"Taos pueblo, of same nation as the Picuris, but differing somewhat in language, 7 leagues north of Picuris; 2,500 baptized Indians; church and convento.

"Acoma pueblo, 12 leagues west of Santa Ana, containing 2,000 Indians; which was reduced in 1629 and at which one friar was located.



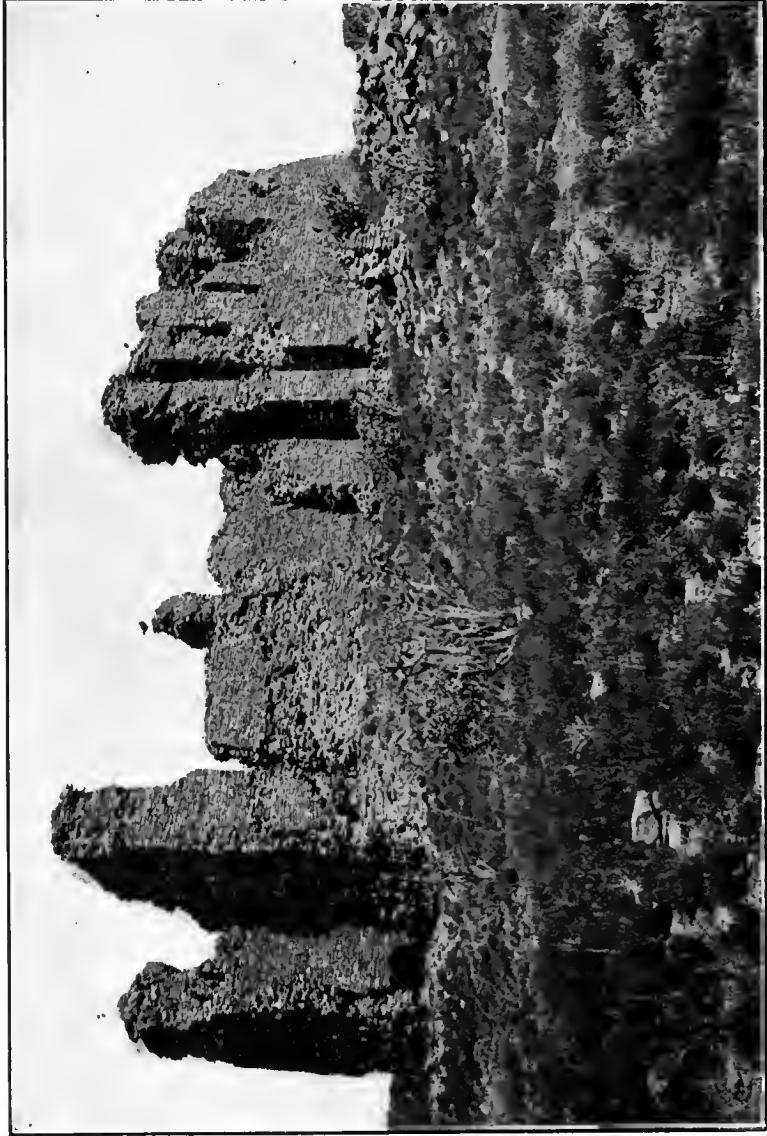


MISSION CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO, PICURIS, NEW MEXICO

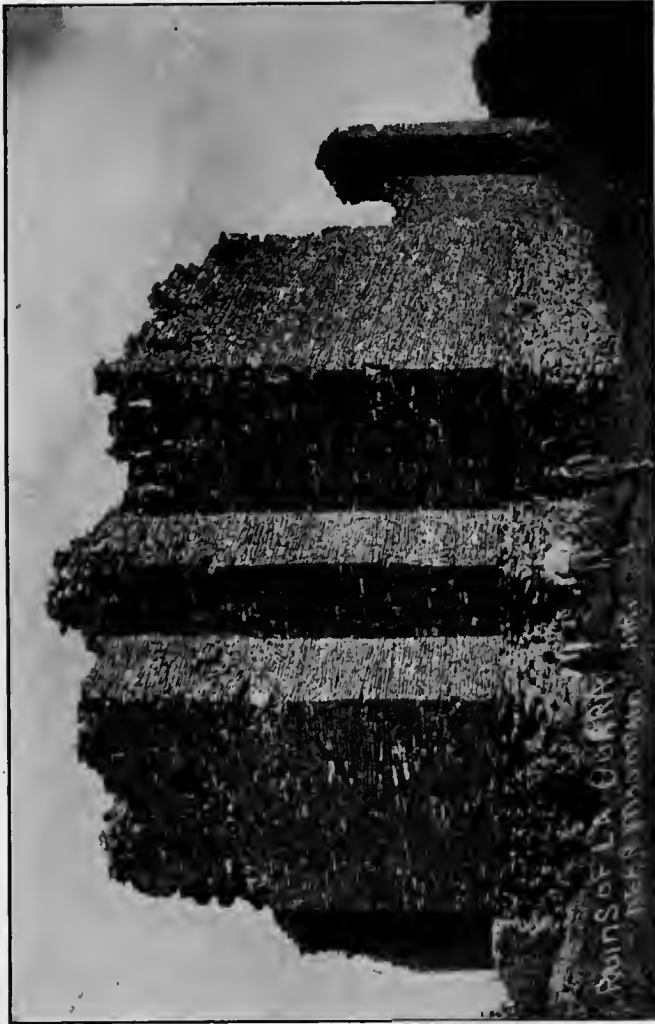
Picuris is the least modernized of the New Mexican Pueblos. The Mission was founded jointly with that of Taos, in 1598, by Don Juan De Oñate, Governor and Captain-General of New Mexico. In the Indian uprising of 1680, the Priest, Padre Matias Rendón, was killed, and the Church burned. The present Church was built after the re-conquest, which began in 1692.







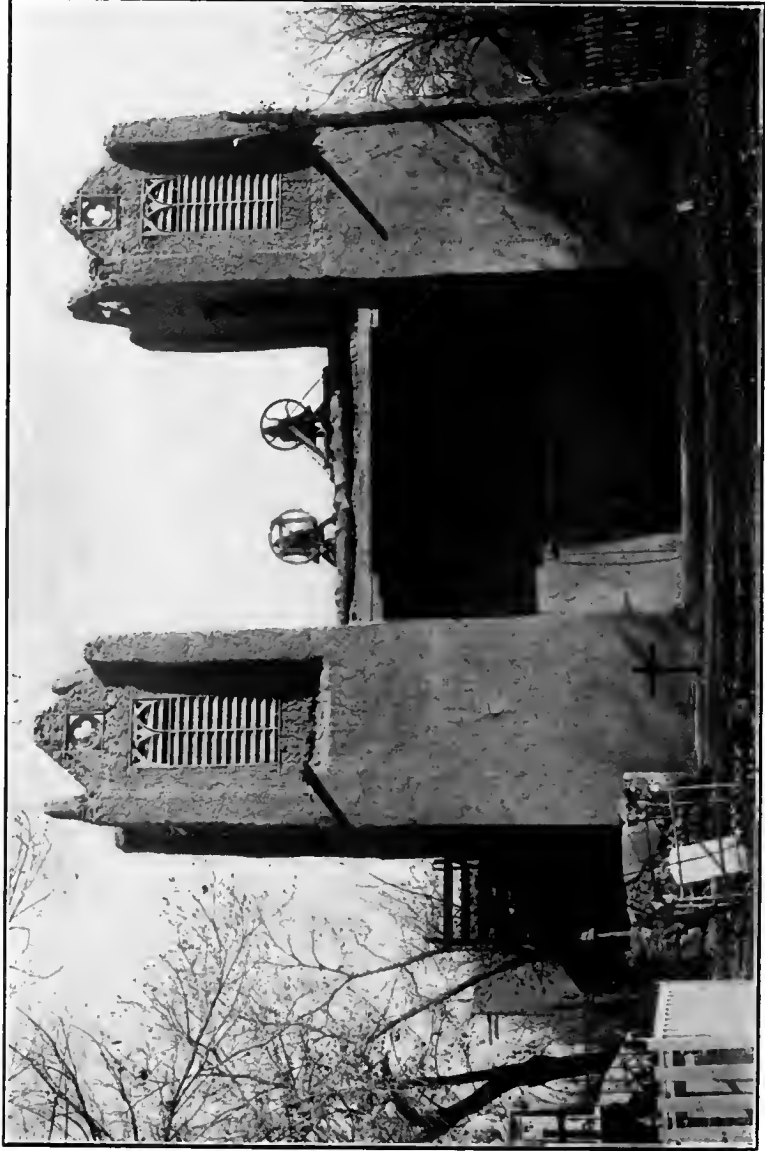
RUINS OF THE MISSION AT CUARA, NEW MEXICO  
Built probably in 1629, by Padre Acevedo, and destroyed by the Apaches in 1676



WHAT IS LEFT OF THE CHURCH AT CUARA





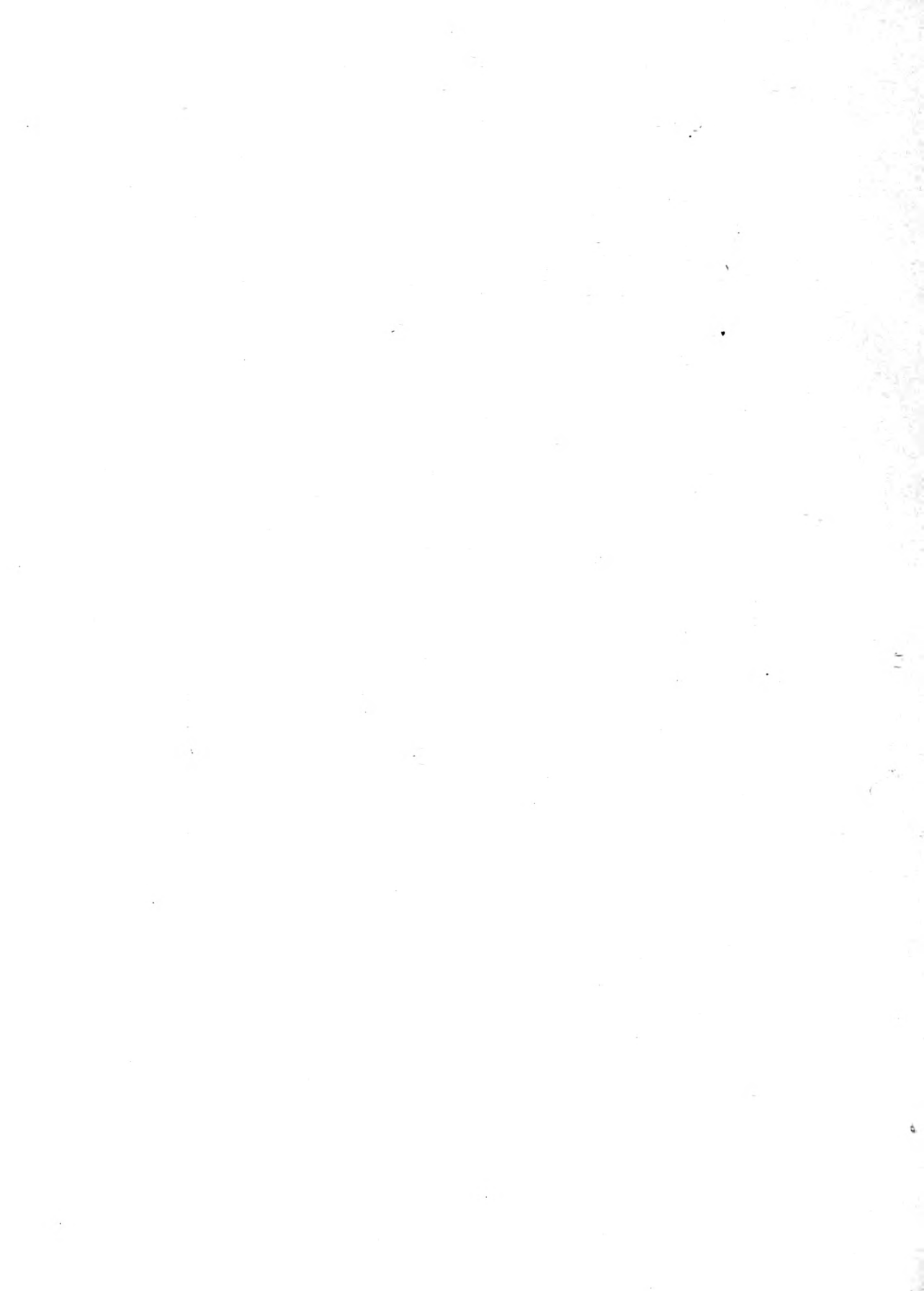


CHURCH OF TOME, NEW MEXICO





THE CHURCH OF RANCHOS DE TAOS, NEW MEXICO  
Built probably in 1772, this "is one of the finest specimens still standing of the early  
New Mexican church architecture."







CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE, SANTA FÉ, AS IT APPEARED IN 1880  
The date of erection is uncertain, but it was sometime after the reconquest of New Mexico in 1692, while the original Church is thought to have been built about 1640



THE CHURCH OF SAN BUENAVENTURA, IN THE PUEBLO OF COCHITI, NEW MEXICO

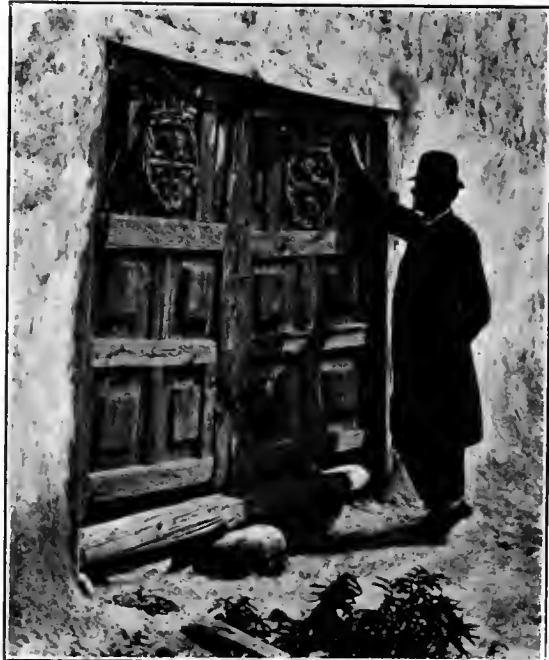
Re-built in 1694 on the site of the earlier Church, ruined in the Revolution of 1680.







**CHURCH OF THE PUEBLO OF SAN FELIPE, NEW MEXICO**  
 The Mission was founded in 1598, but the first Church was destroyed in 1680. Soon after 1693 it was rebuilt and the ruins of this structure may be seen to-day. The present Church, shown in the picture, was erected on another site early in the Eighteenth Century.



**THE ANCIENT CARVED DOOR OF THE MISSION CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO, NEW MEXICO**  
 The Mission was founded about 1598, and the first Church was built in 1607 by Padre Juan de Escalona. Three Priests were here massacred in 1680, but the Indians did not demolish the Church. This picture was made in 1880 before the destruction of this ancient edifice by the flooding of the Rio Grande. The figure is that of A. F. Bandeller, the archaeologist, who is seen examining the wonderful heraldic carvings.



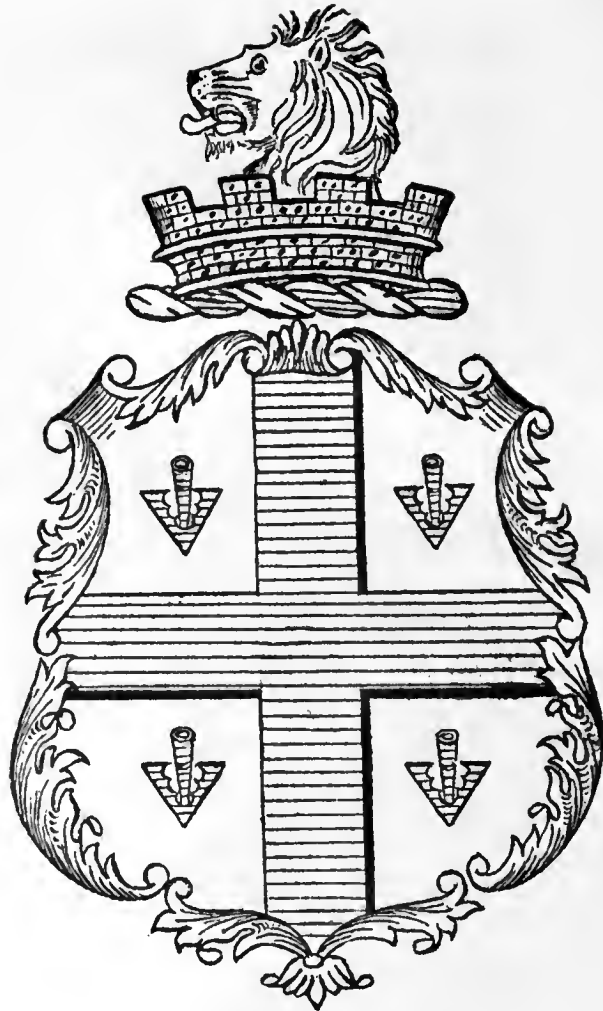
## SPANISH MISSION CHURCHES OF NEW MEXICO

"Zuñi nation, 30 leagues west of Acoma, extending 9 or 10 leagues containing 11 or 12 pueblos and 10,000 converted Indians; there were 2 missions at Zuñi."

Benavides summarizes the whole matter by saying that at that time there were about fifty Friars in New Mexico, serving over 60,000 natives who had accepted Christianity; that they lived in ninety pueblos, grouped into about twenty-five Missions with churches and conventos, and that each pueblo also had its own church.

In 1629 a considerable number of friars arrived from Mexico under the leadership of Father Estevan de Perea; and these occupied new fields and erected some of the most important churches. Among these was Father Garcia de San Francisco who founded a church at Socorro, and Father Francisco Acevedo, who is credited with the direction of the churches at Abó, Tenabó, and Tabira, in the Salinas region. He died in 1644, so that we have an approximate date for the building of those notable edifices. The Salinas pueblos were destroyed or abandoned owing to the persistent attacks of the Apaches, between 1669 and 1676, as will be stated in more detail when those pueblos are described.

The "Cronica" of Vetancur contains a list of the principal Missions as they existed in 1680, just prior to the Pueblo Revolution, with the name of the priest in charge of each. The points of interest in this will be embodied in the separate descriptions of the Missions. It shows how thoroughly the whole of New Mexico was covered at that time by the Missions of the Franciscans, most of them being the centers of districts, from which the friars living in the central convento visited and served the smaller surrounding villages.



Devon

# Chaumiere du Prairie

The Charming Story of an Ideal Home in Kentucky, Recalling the Genial Hospitality, Scholarly Tastes, and Gracious Neighborliness Which Were the Fine Flavor of American Gentlehood a Hundred Years Ago

BY

MRS. IDA WITHERS HARRISON

## The Author's Foreword



AM indebted to Mrs. Margaret Robertson Letcher Bronaugh of Nicholasville, Kentucky, great-great-granddaughter of Colonel David Meade, of Chaumiére du Prairie, for the information on which this article is based. She kindly placed at my disposal a large volume, printed only for family use, called: "Chaumiére Papers, Containing Matters of Interest to the Descendants of David Meade, of Nansemond County, Virginia."

This notable collection contains various articles of interest to different members and friends of the Meade family; but the most valuable part of it is a Family History, written by Colonel David Meade, of Chaumiére du Prairie, Jessamine County, Kentucky, when he was about eighty years old. Of it, he says quaintly: "It was written for the amusement, and, peradventure, the edification of the House of Meade."

It was not intended for publication, and was never revised, or re-written. The editor of these family papers says of his autobiography:

"The manuscript was a half century old, when it was first copied by our cousin, Elizabeth Thompson, who had to use a magnifying glass to decipher it. One unfamiliar with David Meade's handwriting cannot appreciate the magnitude of the undertaking. Possibly his hieroglyphs have been mistranslated in some instances, but the marvel is the work has been so well done under the circumstance."

In addition to this large volume, Mrs. Bronaugh also loaned me several articles on Chaumière du Prairie, all of these being papers bequeathed to her by her mother, Mrs. Anna Meade Letcher, who was a great student of family history.

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ACCORDING to the Memoirs of Colonel David Meade, the American history of the Meade Family began with the emigration of Andrew Meade, an Irish gentleman, who came to the Colonies in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century. He was of illustrious birth, being a descendant of Roderick O'Connor, the last independent King of Ireland. He settled permanently in Virginia, at the head of navigation on Nansmond River, where he accumulated a handsome estate and a large number of slaves.

These were inherited by his only son, David Meade, who married in 1730 Susannah Everard, daughter of Sir Richard Everard, Baronet, and granddaughter of Doctor Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The Everards were of ancient lineage, tracing their pedigree as far back as the reign of King Henry II, and had on their family tree the name of Oliver Cromwell.

Sir Richard served with distinction as a Naval officer in the days of Queen Anne, who made him Proprietary Governor of North Carolina, and it was during his term of office that his daughter married the young Virginian. The male line of Everard became extinct with him, and his two daughters, of whom Susannah was the elder, inherited very valuable property in England—large country estates with handsome mansions on them, furniture, jewels, and objects of art.

David Meade of Chaumière, was the oldest son of this marriage, and he writes in his memoirs of his father and his fair English wife:

## CHAUMIÈRE DU PRAIRIE

"No pair ever enjoyed more happiness in the hymeneal state than they did. He was the most affectionate of husbands, the tenderest of parents, the best of masters, and an ingenuous and sincere friend. . . . . He was just, generous and hospitable, and deceased in the year 1757, being then in his 47th year."

David Meade, the hero of this sketch, was born in 1744. He was a delicate child, and was sent to England when he was only seven years old. It seems to have been customary in Colonial times for Virginians of wealth and culture to send their sons to the Old Country to be educated. There were no adequate schools in the Province, and even if a well equipped tutor could be found, the solitudes of those great estates, peopled by negroes, was not adapted to the development of youth in an age that held, "polish for the manners as indispensable as powder for the hair."

Of course, this did not apply to the daughters, for in those days the most rudimentary education was all that was considered necessary for a woman. Anything beyond that was supposed to unfit her for the sphere to which God had assigned her.

For ten years, the young Virginian attended the best schools in England. His ample fortune, his advantages of birth, through his mother's as well as his father's family, and his own bright mind and personal charm threw him into the best society, and he was honored with the friendship of some of the most distinguished men and women of the day. He says in his autobiography, "I associated upon equal terms with any Lord, Duke, or Sir Harry of them all."

One interesting incident of his stay in England occurred at the funeral of a member of the Meade family, who was a stranger to him. He went to it on account of the name, and found that the dead man was supposed to be the last of his race, and that they had placed the family escutcheon on his coffin, to be buried with him—which seems to have been the custom when the male line became extinct. When the American boy told who he was, it was given to him, and has been preserved in the family ever since. It now belongs to Mrs. Bronaugh, and the heraldic marks on it are perfectly distinct. Every line and device on it mean something, and it is supposed to trace the descent of the Meades from the Irish O'Connors.

David Meade returned to Virginia in 1761, "after a passage of about two months, on board a ship of 100 hogsheads burdens," and found his father dead, and a family of brothers and sisters, who were all but strangers to him. As he was the eldest, he became the head of the family, but his modest narrative has little to say of himself. It

is filled with praise and appreciation of his grandfather, his father, his brothers, and his friends.

He was especially proud of his brother, Richard Kidder, who seems to have had more taste for public life than any of them. During the Revolutionary War, he was *aide-de-camp* to General Washington, and had the painful distinction of being the commanding officer at the execution of Major André.

The Meades were intimately associated with the distinguished Randolph family. The most personal part of David Meade's Memoirs is an account of a journey he took through New York and Canada, in company with the two Randolph brothers, one of whom afterward married his sister, Anne. His brother, Richard, also married Elizabeth Randolph, who was aunt to the famous John Randolph of Roanoke.

In 1768, David Meade married Sarah Waters, a beautiful girl of Williamsburg, Virginia. He writes of himself at this time, "That he was chaste and sober, an avowed enemy of gaming, and free from all the great vices, which disturb the order and peace of society, and stamps the seal of Satan on the perpetrator." His long and useful life bore out this estimate of himself, for he was ever a model husband, father, and friend.

Though his young manhood fell in the stirring times of the Revolution, yet he made only one brief entry into public life. The year after his marriage, in 1769, he was elected First Burgess from Nansmond County to the Virginia Assembly. He relates, "That he went to Williamsburg, afflicted with a tertian fever and ague, but that the thought of speaking before that distinguished body bore more heavily upon him than his bodily sickness."

Lord Botetourt, the Governor of Virginia, was an ardent Tory, and was so incensed at the freedom with which the Burgesses discussed the differences between England and the Colonies, that he abruptly dissolved the Assembly, and the young representative from Nansmond County returned home, completely cured of all political aspirations, and never more took part in public life.

But, though he spent the eventful years of the struggle for independence managing his large estate, and devoting himself to his rapidly growing family, there was no more devoted patriot in Virginia than David Meade. While his long residence in England had given him all the graces of a courtier, and implanted in his mind the ideals of home and social life that he found there, yet they in no way weaned him from the Democratic principles for which his country was struggling.

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Just before the War began, he sold the ancestral home in Nansemond County to his brother, Andrew, and bought an estate on the James River, in Prince George County, which he called Maycox. Here for twenty-two years he practiced that hospitality, which was one of the fine arts of his day, and often had as his guests the leaders of his State, and of the Nation. In a publication of the Massachusetts Historical Society, "The Pleasure Grounds of David Meade, Esq., of Maycox," are thus described:

"These grounds contain about 12 acres, laid out on the banks of the James River in a most beautiful and enchanting manner. Forest and fruit trees are here arranged, as if nature and art had conspired together to strike the eye most agreeably. Beautiful vistas which open pleasing views of the river, the land thrown into many artificial hollows or gentle swellings, with the pleasing verdure of the turf, and the perfect order in which the whole is preserved, altogether tend to form one of the most delightful seats that is to be met with in the United States, and to do honor to the taste and skill of the proprietor, who is also the architect." (*Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Volume III, Page 90.*)

Maycox was on that part of the James River where so many historic Virginia homes were situated, whose names are still synonyms for hospitality in its fullest flower. Just across, was Westover, the home of Colonel William Byrd, with whom the Meade family became connected by marriage. Above and below, on either side of the broad river, were Brandon, Shirley, Berkeley, Powhatan, Cawsons, the homes of the Harrisons, the Carters, the Mayos, the Blands, the Randolphs, and many others. In this lovely spot, the family of David Meade and Sarah Waters increased to nine children, and there they spent twenty-two tranquil and useful years.

Until the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century, white settlements in our country were exclusively along the Atlantic seaboard. For more than one hundred miles, the Allegheny Mountains rose, a solid, rocky wall, between them and the unknown land beyond. In the early seventies, however, a few daring pioneers ventured through Cumberland Gap, the one break in that frowning barrier that was known, and discovered the favored land beyond. When they returned, they painted it as a veritable Eldorado. Daniel Boone called it, "a second paradise." Felix Walker, one of his companions, wrote, "Of the pleasing and rapturous appearance of the plains of Kentucky; a new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to our view."

Not only the natural beauties appealed to an imaginative and adventurous age, but stories of the quantities of game that haunted

its rich canebrakes and abundant salt licks captured a time, when men "were mighty hunters before the Lord." Doctor Felix Walker, another early explorer, who only remained in the new land a few months, wrote in his diary: "We killed 13 buffaloes, 8 elks, 53 bears, 20 deer, 4 wild geese, about 150 wild turkeys, besides small game. We might have killed three times as many, if we had cared."

This was a veritable call from the West to the East, and the response to it was a burst of immigration through Cumberland Gap and Eastern Kentucky, surpassing any movement of population before or since, of which we have any record—although the Revolutionary War was going on for part of the time. In the twenty-five years, from 1775 to 1800, two hundred and twenty thousand people streamed over the rough, rocky footpath, blazed by Daniel Boone, which was dignified with the name of the Old Wilderness Road.

It is not hard to understand the lure of the new and unknown country to adventurous spirits like Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, or to those to whom enrichment, and betterment of their material condition was a prime necessity. But it is difficult to know what was the magnet that drew David Meade, a man fifty-two years old, of large wealth, and cultured, refined tastes, to leave his beautiful estate on the James River, and bring his gentle wife and large family into what was practically virgin wilderness. He gives no clue as to his motive for this migration in his narrative, merely stating that, in the summer of 1796, he and his family, with a large retinue of servants, left Virginia and came to Kentucky.

He bought a large tract of land, nine miles from Lexington, and devoted the rest of his long life to making a home in this forest primeval, modeled after the splendid country seats he had so admired in England.

The natural beauties of this Bluegrass Region lent themselves admirably to the art of the landscape gardener; the gently-rolling land, clothed in richest green, made the curving line of beauty everywhere; the superb forest trees of unequaled size and variety, the rich limestone soil, the mild climate, made an ideal setting for this first and fairest of Old Kentucky Homes.

With characteristic modesty, he gave it a name suited to its sylvan surroundings, "Chaumiére du Prairie"—"The Cottage in the Meadow"—and only mentions his famous place at the close of his Memoirs, in these simple words:

"At the precise period of recording this the writer, David Meade, has resided in tranquil retirement thirty years, with a numerous household, at his seat of Chaumiére du Prairie, where his days have been



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engaged in the wholesome and agreeable, and he trusts, innocent occupation of the improvement of his grounds, after the mode of horticulture, calculated more to please the eye, than to result in the acquirement of what the world generally deems the more substantial goods of life."

But though he speaks thus briefly of his palatial home, there are more adequate descriptions of it in the Chaumière Papers. One of the frequent visitors to Chaumière was Doctor Horace Holley, President of Transylvania University from 1818 to 1827, who writes this tribute:

"I went with a party of ladies and gentlemen, nine miles from Lexington, to the country seat of Colonel Meade, where we dined and passed the day. This gentleman, who is past seventy, is a Virginian of the old school. He was a good deal in England in his youth, and brought back with him English notions of a country seat—though he is a great republican in politics. He and his wife dress in the costume of the olden time; he wears the square coat and great cuffs, the long court vest, knee breeches, and white silk stockings at all times; the buttons of his coat and vest are of silver, with the Meade crest on them. Mrs. Meade has the long waist, the stays, the ruffles at the elbows, and the cap of the past century. She is very mild and lady-like, and though between 60 and 70, plays upon her pianoforte, the first one brought to Kentucky, with the facility and cheerfulness of a young girl. Colonel Meade is entirely a man of leisure, never having followed any business, and only using his fortune in adorning his place, and entertaining his friends, and strangers. No word is ever sent him that company is coming—to do so offends him. Servants are always in waiting. Twenty of us went out one day without warning, and were entertained luxuriously on the viands of the country. . . . His house consists of a cluster of buildings, in front of which spreads a beautiful sloping lawn, smooth as velvet. From this, walks diverge in various directions forming vistas, terminated by picturesque objects. Seats, verdant banks, alcoves, and a Chinese temple are interspersed at convenient distances. The lake, over which presides a Grecian temple, that you may imagine to be the home of the Water Nymphs, has in it a small island, which communicates with the shore by a white bridge of one arch. The whole park is surrounded by a low, rustic stone fence, almost hidden by roses and honeysuckle, now in full flower. You enter from the road through a gate with massive columns, and follow a drive, which winds through a noble park, to an minor gate, the capitals to whose pillars are formed of the roots of trees, carved by nature. There the rich scene of ver-

ture and flower-capped hedges bursts upon you. There is no establishment like this in our country."

In 1825 Doctor Craik, Rector of the Episcopal Church in Lexington, writes of it with equal enthusiasm. He says:

"Every one who went to Lexington, or any part of the bluegrass country, visited Chaumière as a matter of course, to enjoy the wondrous beauty which the taste and genius of one man had created; the result was that for a time every day at Chaumière was like a *levée*. My first visit was paid with Dr. Holley, the brilliant and admired President of Transylvania. Colonel and Mrs. Meade were then quite aged, but they had lost nothing of the refined courtesy of their day—a day when culture was of the highest in the class to which they belonged. Colonel Meade told me he had selected his present residence on account of the natural beauties of the country, and he pointed with enthusiasm to several groups of sugar maples, with the lovely grass beneath them, as the most attractive features of the place. The grounds were enclosed with a low stone wall; lakes with boats, streams crossed by bridges, meandering walks, made a scene of delightful enchantment. There is nothing like it in this country."

One of David Meade's granddaughters, Mrs. Susan C. Williams, gives a more intimate description of this paradise in the wilderness.

"The house might be called a villa, built in an irregular style of various materials, wood, stone and brick. The part composed of brick was a large octagon drawing room. The dining room was large and square, wainscotted with black walnut, with very deep windows, where we children used to hide ourselves behind the heavy curtains; there was a large, square hall, and numerous lobbies, passage ways, and areas. The grounds were extensive and beautiful; at that time, it was said there was not so highly and tastefully improved a country seat in America; distinguished visitors to Lexington were always taken there. . . . . And then, the walks!—The serpentine one mile around, the haw-haw, a wide, straight walk with an echo—both with white benches at intervals, and in a secluded nook, a tasteful Chinese pavilion. The bird-cage walk was cut through a dense plum thicket, excluding the sun, and lead to a dell, where was a large spring of water, and the mouth of a cave. At this point was the terminus of the lake, and after a hard rain there was a waterfall, in which my grandfather greatly delighted. . . . . I should not omit to say that both my grandfather and grandmother were all that their servants could desire as master and mistress; all that were capable of taking care of themselves were manumitted at his death."

The servants were indeed an important part of their sumptuous

## CHAUMIÈRE DU PRAIRIE

and spacious establishment. Seven men were kept at work on the grounds, mowing the grass, trimming and tending the trees, shrub-berries, and gardens; not a leaf or twig was ever allowed to remain on the velvet turf.

At least twenty were employed about the house, under the absolute rule of Betsy Miller, the housekeeper. She was of good Scotch descent, and of unusual strength and nobility of character. She was entirely devoted to the Meade family, and at her death (at ninety years of age), she left all her possessions to Evelyn Bird Woodson, one of the grandchildren.

All the rest of the servants were negroes. There were cooks, dining-room servants, coachmen, footmen, outriders, valets, and housemaids. All these were under the special charge of Dean, the negro butler, who copied the polish and grace of his master's manners, with the imitative talent of his race. The plate and jewelry, and the liveries of the servants were under his oversight. The butler and men of the establishment wore a livery of drab cloth with silver buttons and low-cut shoes. The care of the silver and cut glass was no little charge. The magnificent solid silver plate, which was brought from England, and the costly china and cut glass were on such a lavish scale, that one hundred guests could be easily served at one time.

Mrs. Anna Meade Letcher, a great-granddaughter of Colonel Meade, writes of the house:

"Most of it was but one story, but it contained a great number of rooms, which were richly furnished. In the octagon drawing room hung four handsome mirrors, which were draped, as were the windows and the eight sides of the room, with hangings of brocaded satin. The large square hall was called the stone passage, where in summer afternoons tea was served. The pictures on the wall were mostly family portraits, some of them by celebrated artists. One of David Meade at eight years of age was by Hudson, the teacher of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and several were by Sir Joshua himself. One was by the celebrated Sully. When Edward Everett visited Chaumière, just after a stay abroad, he pronounced the art collection there, though small, the equal of any he had seen in private galleries in Europe."

Mrs. Letcher also speaks of the many distinguished visitors to Chaumière. Among them were four Presidents of the United States—Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, and Zachary Taylor. General Scott and George Rogers Clark were guests there a number of times.

Mrs. Letcher says: "Of all the noted visitors to the place, I have heard my grandmother talk most of Aaron Burr and Blenner-

hassett; at one time they were guests there for several weeks. Next to these, she considered Andrew Jackson the most remarkable man she ever knew. She has often described to me how he looked on his war horse, as he came through the gates of the porter's lodge, and rode up to the house."

But the most honored of Chaumiére's guests was Lafayette, when he visited Lexington in 1825. It was that he might be entertained in a fitting manner, the Colonel Meade built this splendid octagon drawing room. This is all that remains of the old home, and is an apartment of noble and ample proportions, with lofty windows, and beautiful woodwork of black walnut. If its mute walls could speak, what stories it could tell of the courtly gatherings there, and the spacious hospitalities of those days that are no more!

It goes without saying, that all the old Kentucky families were frequent guests. Henry Clay, then a young man, was a constant visitor; Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, the eccentric and brilliant naturalist, during his seven years' stay in Lexington, found a congenial spirit in Colonel Meade, and a contributor and shareholder to his scheme of a Transylvania Botanical Garden. He makes three allusions to him in his diary of that short-lived enterprise. One entry says, "David Meade sent Billy, an able black man, for labor."

Doubtless, the generous master of Chaumiére contributed Billy's work, for there is no record of paying him wages, as there is about James Stewart, Wasson, and William.

On March 19, the diary notes: "Sent Billy to Mr. Meade's to bring cart load of trees, cuttings, and seeds from his pleasure grounds." And a day later he writes, "Billy comes back with cartload of slips and cuttings from David Meade's—We begin to plant." Those were surely large-hearted days, when gifts from one's gardens and shrubberies were made by the cartload!

This stately and serene old couple lived to a good old age. Mrs. Meade died in 1829, in her eightieth year, and Colonel Meade followed her in six months, at the ripe age of four score and six years.

The death of his son, David Meade, who inherited his refined tastes, and to whom he looked to keep up the traditions of Chaumiére, was the great grief of Colonel Meade's life. As none of his daughters was able to own the place, it was put up for sale at his death, and his personal effects divided between his heirs.

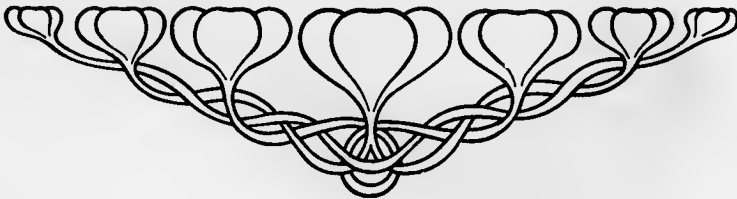
Mrs. Letcher writes of the tragic passing of this unique and magnificent home:

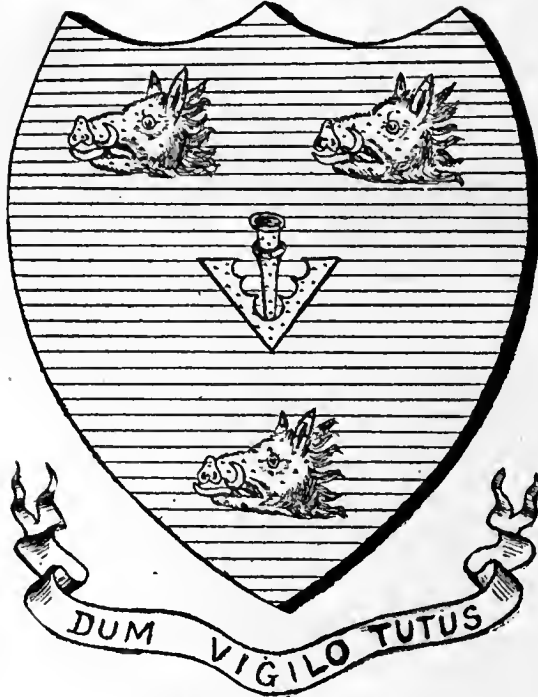
"On the day of the sale, a large crowd collected to hear Chaumiére cried off to a coarse, vulgar man; when he bought it, every

## CHAUMIÈRE DU PRAIRIE

one was so surprised and indignant, that a murmur of disapproval was heard, and soon after, some one wrote on the pleasure houses all through the grounds, *Paradise Lost*. This so enraged the purchaser, that he determined to make these words true. In less than a week, the beautiful grounds were filled with horses, cattle, sheep, and filthy swine. He felled the forest trees in the grounds and park, and cut down the hedges—in fine, committed such vandalism, as has never been heard of in this country. He pulled down some of the prettiest rooms in the house, stored grain in others, and made ruins of all of the pleasure houses and bridges through the place. He only kept it long enough to destroy it, and the next purchaser found Chaumière but a wreck of its former beauty.”

To-day, the old octagon drawing-room is all that remains of this noble home. Not a vestige is left of those pleasure grounds, that were the marvel of all who saw them. The place is but a beautiful memory—but a memory that has done much to make the phrase “An Old Kentucky Home,” a standard and an ideal of hospitality, famous alike in song and story. Happy the community and the State, that has among its traditions such a home as Chaumière, and such gracious and generous hospitality as was there dispensed by Colonel David Meade, and Sarah Waters, his wife!





Gordon

# The Famous Old Octagon House in Washington

BY

JEAN CABELL O'NEILL



IF TREATIES and the abrogation thereof, of universal peace-talk while a good percentage of the world's horizon is draped with war-clouds, the press keeps the public well informed. But a treaty so important that for nearly a century it has kept harmony between Great Britain and these United States is practically forgotten, though the theatre of its ratification is within sight of the White House, at the National Capital.

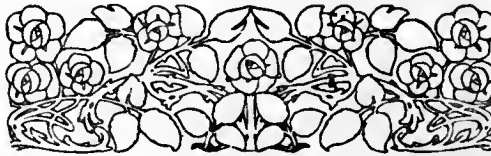
The Treaty of Ghent, which amicably closed the quarrel between Uncle Sam and John Bull, restoring the harmony which during 1812-1814 had been sadly disturbed, was ratified in the Octagon House in Washington, D. C., during the Administration of President Madison, that building serving at the time as the private and official residence of our fourth President and the notable "Mistress Dolly," the Executive Mansion proper being in ruins, as a souvenir of the visit of the invading force a short while before. The room above the main entrance was the scene of the sealing of the peace bond which holds as well to-day as before the ink was dry on the parchment, one hundred and one years ago.

The Octagon House,—its popular cognomen having become official during the passing years,—was among the first residences erected in the Federal city. It is said that General Washington helped to draw the plans of the house for his friend, Colonel Tayloe, who was reputed the third richest man in the country, and who paid a pretty penny for the land, and a good many other pennies before his splendid home was complete. In design, it was a startling departure from the conventional four-square pattern of the Colonial dwelling, and historians say caused much comment of adverse nature among the conservative element of Washington society.

It was to this house that the portrait of General Washington was sent by Mrs. Madison before she fled from the White House, just before the British captured Washington. The picture proved a mas-

cot, for the Octagon House was one of the few pretentious buildings in the infant city that escaped destruction. Probably for this reason it became the logical residence of the Administration on its return to the city after the storm had routed the enemy and quenched their torches. Colonel Tayloe was too wealthy to have desired to rent his beautiful home, but, like the majority of the Americans of that period, he was patriotic, and through the remaining term of Madison and the first seventeen months of Monroe's Administration this house was the home of our Chief Magistrate, its owners residing elsewhere.

This building is still one of the show-places in the city it adorns, but even among Washingtonians its history had been almost forgotten, until the Daughters of the American Revolution came to the rescue of its tradition-encrusted fame and cleared away the cobweb of fancy, by a plain statement of facts, recorded on a bronze tablet, set in the wall of the room of chief interest.







WHERE THE TREATY OF GHENT WAS RATIFIED  
The Octagon House in Washington where President Madison resided after the White House had been destroyed by the British in the War of 1812







AN ANCIENT TORREON IN NEW MEXICO  
These round towers were built by the Spanish colonists as look-outs and refuges in their warfare with the Indians.

**DESCRIPTION**  
**HISTORIQUE**  
D'UN MONSTRE SYM-  
BOLIQUE, Pris vivant sur les  
bords du Lac Eagua, près Santa-Fé,  
par les soins de Francisco Xaveiro de  
Meunrios, Comte de Barcelonne &  
Vice-roi du Nouveau Mexique.

Envoyée par un Négociant du pays à un Parisien  
son Ami.



A S A N T A - F É  
Et se trouve A PARIS, chez le correspondant de  
l'Auteur, Rue Neuve des Petits-Champs ;  
Et sous les Portiques du MYSTERE.

---

1784

TITLE-PAGE OF A FANTASTIC BOOK, NOW VERY  
RARE, ON NEW MEXICO, WRITTEN IN 1784 BY  
THE PRINCE WHO LATER SUCCEEDED TO  
THE THRONE OF FRANCE AS LOUIS XVIII,  
HIS *NOM-DE-PLUME* HERE BEING AS  
OF A NEW MEXICAN VICEROY







**HARPIE MÂLE, MONSTRE AMPHIBIE VIVANT,**

*Pris dans l'Amérique Méridionale, Province de Chili, en sortant du Lac de Eagua, d'ou il ne sortoit que la nuit pour dévorer Cochons, Vaches et Taureaux: le Vice-Roy voulant éviter l'embarquement d'une trop grande quantité de bestiaux pour sa nourriture, le fit conduire dans les terres jusqu'au Golfe de Honduras d'ou on le embarque pour la Havane et de la pour l'Espagne. Ce monstre mange 1. Bœuf et 3. ou 4. Cochons par jours.*

A CHILEAN MONSTER AS PICTURED IN LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH'S IMAGINARY DESCRIPTION OF NEW MEXICO

The habitat of this "Male Harpy" he places in Chile, "near Santa Fé."





**HARPIE FEMELLE, MONSTRE AMPHIBIE.**

*Cette Harpie a été apperçue vers le même Lac de Fagua, elle a les mêmes proportions que son mâle tant pour les Ailes, Queues, Pattes, Cornes, Oreilles & Chevelure, que pour la grosseur et longueur qui est de 12 pieds.*

*Le Vice-Roy apporte tout ses soins pour que cette femelle soit prise.*

FEMALE AMPHIBIOUS MONSTER

From Louis the Eighteenth's Book on New Mexico







THE FIRST OFFICE OF THE E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS COMPANY



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE DU PONT OFFICE OF MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO







PIERRE SAMUEL DU PONT DE NEMOURS, WHO, WITH HIS SON, ELEUTHERE IRÉNÉE DU PONT DE NEMOURS, CAME TO AMERICA IN 1800, THUS BECOMING THE FOUNDER, IN THE UNITED STATES, OF THE FAMILY WHICH, IN ITS INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES, HAS GIVEN PATROTIC SERVICE TO THE NATION FOR MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED YEARS



# In the Service of the Republic

Chronicles of a Great Industry, Founded in 1802 Under the Auspices of Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, and John Mason. How the du Ponts Served America in the War of 1812, the Civil War, and Our War with Spain. The du Pont Powder Wagon and How It Helped Win Perry's Victory. The Principle of "Noblesse Oblige" Brought into Business as a Basic Ideal. Patriotism, Achievement, and Resources Which Have Been at the Command of the United States for One Hundred and Thirteen Years, and Which Are Ready To-day—or To-morrow—for the Needs of the Nation in Peace and in War.

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN



THE following article, concerning the patriotic activities of the du Pont de Nemours Company in connection with Perry's victory on Lake Erie in the War of 1812 and the centennial celebration of the Battle, was written by the author in 1913, and it was read by the Mayor of Erie, Pennsylvania, in his public address when the "du Pont Powder Wagon" arrived in that city one hundred years after its first coming "with powder for Perry."

The grave menace which the World War of 1914 and 1915 has written in letters of black and red in the minds of all serious and patriotic Americans has led many of us to the consideration of one great advantage which the United States would possess should the terrible Scourge of the Nations ever become a present evil in our own beloved Land—which may God avert!

This advantage is the existence of well-equipped organizations for the manufacture of munitions. Among such, for efficiency of service and for a fine tradition of obligation to patriotism, the du Ponts stand out before the Country with the strength of their historic past as well as of their remarkable present-day achievement.

Because of this, and in the light of immediate problems, and possible needs of to-morrow, the author has considered some account

of this storied industry might be of interest to the people of America at this time.

Not only in the Battle of Lake Erie did the du Pont powder blaze the trail to victory, but throughout the War of 1812 its prompt and efficient supply was unceasing. As a family and as a business organization the du Ponts served faithfully their new Motherland in her second struggle for Independence.

During the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century they placed themselves squarely behind the cause of liberty by supplying powder to the Latin American Republics, fighting to win or maintain their independence from European tyranny. During this period also their ammunition was of the greatest value to the pioneers of our Far West in defence against the Indians.

The resourcefulness and boldness of a du Pont untied a hard knot for us in the Civil War. There seem to have been joined in the character of Lammot du Pont the fire of his French ancestors with the gallant recklessness of danger and cool wit in the teeth of difficulties that are characteristic of Americans. He was the son of Alfred Victor, and grandson of Eleuthere Irénée, the founder of the du Pont Company. All his life, he was in the midst of exciting events, and he died in an explosion of the du Pont dynamite and nitroglycerine works, on March 29, 1884. Some one rushed in to tell him that one of the mills had caught fire, crying to him to save himself. But he stayed at his post, seeking to save his men and the works, and so died bravely, as he had lived.

During the Crimean War he undertook to deliver a large shipment of powder to the Russian Government, for use in the Siege of Sebastopol. English frigates were sent to our coast to prevent the powder ship from getting away, but Lammot du Pont, then a young man of twenty-five, took charge in person, ran the British blockade, and carried the powder to the Russians.

The Civil War burst, a horror, upon the Country when he was thirty years old. Before the actual conflict began, with General Henry Algernon du Pont (who received from Congress a medal of honor for "most distinguished gallantry and voluntary exposure to the enemy's fire at a critical moment" in the Battle of Cedar Creek, and was later a United States Senator), and with others of the family, Lammot du Pont was called into consultation with President Lincoln, the Cabinet, and chiefs of the Army and Navy; and in 1860 he was honored with a mission of the greatest importance.

He had informed the Government that the supply of saltpetre, necessary for the making of gunpowder, would soon become ex-

hausted. Sailing for England, to get the needed supply, he arranged that half a million dollars in gold should be sent by the next ship. On his arrival, without waiting for the money, he at once purchased all the saltpetre obtainable. The brokers who delivered it pressed for immediate payment, for his enormous purchases had caused a rise in price, and they hoped he would be forced to cancel the orders, through lack of money for prompt payment, which would enable them to sell the saltpetre elsewhere at the advanced price. Du Pont sought aid from London bankers,—Brown, Shipley, and Company, and the Barings,—but it was refused. Whether or not this was due to sympathy with the Confederate States is not known. Finally, the firm of Peabody and Company agreed to furnish the money if du Pont proved his identity, which he did. He paid for the saltpetre, ordered more, faced the disappointment of the next ship's arrival without the gold, and pluckily waited for the third vessel, which brought the longed-for funds.

But in the meantime a wave of opposition to the shipment of the saltpetre had arisen, and was being fomented by the London *Times*. Lamot du Pont was a man of quick thought and prompt action. He chartered a vessel, procured a crew, but, just as the cargo was nearly loaded aboard ship, a Customs officer arrived and forbade the sailing. Du Pont informed the officer that he must show his authority for this high-handed conduct, and was invited to come to the Custom House to see the officer's credentials. Before leaving the ship, the American found time to whisper to the Captain: "Load every pound of saltpetre as quickly as possible, and be ready to sail at a moment's notice."

He found a way to give his Captain time to do this by inviting the Customs officer to lunch with him before they proceeded to the Custom House, and on his return to the docks found the entire cargo safely loaded on board. Although he had learned that the order to stop the shipment came direct from Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister of England, he directed sails set for four o'clock the next morning. But when the hour came, a detachment of British soldiers lined up on the wharf, and, for the time being, du Pont was defeated. He returned to the United States, in a frank talk with President Lincoln advised that our Government present an ultimatum of war if England would not release the saltpetre, received necessary credentials from Secretary of State Seward, and started again for England.

Palmerston refused to grant him an interview, although he called four times to see him. On his fourth visit, du Pont decided that boldness would untie the knot of red tape. He brushed aside the door-

keeper, hastened into Palmerston's private office, and presented his card to the startled Premier. The latter was plainly told that permission for the shipment must be given. Palmerston agreed to summon a conference at once and to give a reply to the American's demand that afternoon. The answer was duly given, and it was a refusal to let the saltpetre leave England. Lammot du Pont quietly informed the Minister that this refusal meant war between America and Great Britain, and withdrew, stating that he should leave England the next day.

That evening, while du Pont was dining at Morley's Hotel, he received a personal visit from Lord Palmerston, who withdrew his refusal, and promised a permit for the shipment would be given the next day. But Lammot du Pont had learned that princes and princes' servitors are not to be trusted, and he demanded an immediate authorization. Perhaps he remembered the words of Eleuthere Irénée du Pont, his family's founder in America: "Soutiens ton courage. Les du Ponts ne s'abandonnent pas!" At any rate, he stood firm against the actual head of the English Government, and he won the day. The Prime Minister, then in his carriage, descended, entered the hotel, and wrote the permit releasing the saltpetre. At the same time he informed du Pont that he was "at liberty to state confidentially to Mr. Lincoln that scarcely for any cause would England at that period go to war with America."

Lammot du Pont continued, throughout the Civil War, to give of his strength and his skill, raising a Company of Volunteers, to fight for the Union, and working unceasingly to supply the ammunition needed to win the cause.

Among the other du Ponts who served the Union in this war was Samuel Francis du Pont, who was a sea-commander, winning many battles, and serving in the Navy for nearly half a century. By Act of Congress du Pont Circle in the city of Washington was named for him, as was also Fort du Pont at Delaware City.

In our War with Spain in 1898 the family upheld the same tradition of matter-of-course patriotism that has been their characteristic. During President Roosevelt's Administration, a charge was made that the Government was being overcharged for its powder supply. The Committee on Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives investigated and the du Pont Company was asked to appear before the Committee to give such information as might be useful to the latter. General Crozier and Admiral Mason were present at this interview, and their testimony, as heads of the Ordnance Bureaus of the Army and Navy, to the exactness of every statement made by the

representative of the du Ponts, together with the evidence brought out as to the high standard of service and business relations which the du Ponts held in their Government transactions, caused a withdrawal of the efforts which had been made to limit the Government's purchase of powder.

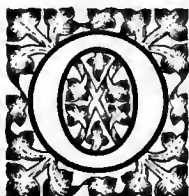
It was found in this examination that in 1898, while many contractors raised the price of gunpowder sold to the United States Government, the du Ponts maintained their former price, and, for some kinds of material, reduced the prices. It was also brought to light that, at the outbreak of the War with Spain, when smokeless powder was first used to a large extent, the du Pont Company had contracted with the Government to furnish monthly quantities, erecting much new machinery to manufacture this material on a broad scale; but that, at the close of this short war, when not only was the amount contracted for superfluous, but it had been learned that this powder was of no value in military operations, the du Ponts had cancelled their contract.

The story of the development of the powder industry, as applied to peaceful conditions, and the high order of scientific attainment and practical efficiency which the du Pont Company has reached in these directions, is an interesting one, but has its proper place elsewhere. It is the du Ponts themselves, no less than the organization they have brought to the service of the United States for more than a hundred years, that may to-day be regarded as an asset by the people of America. President Wilson has said recently that "We ought to be prepared, not for war, but for defense, and very adequately prepared." Let us hope and pray that the need to use our adequate preparation may not come, but let us be thankful that, if this Nation of Freemen is ever called upon to hurl back from our shores any of the besavaged hordes now trampling the civilization of the Old World, our munition problem will have been already solved. America can supply her own men, her own guns, her own ships, and her own powder.

# The du Pont Powder Wagon and How It Helped Win Perry's Victory

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN



ONE of the most picturesque features of the Perry's Victory Centennial Celebration in 1913 was the pilgrimage from Wilmington, Delaware, to Erie, Pennsylvania, of an old "Conestoga" wagon laden with gun-powder and guarded by United States Cavalrymen.

The old wagon, of the kind used by the Pennsylvania Germans in the olden times,—and so called "Conestoga" from their early settlements on the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County,—was sent out by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company, to signalize the patriotic part which this historic industry and business took in the Battle of Lake Erie one hundred years before. For it was the du Pont Company which furnished Perry the powder with which his gallant guns won for America the freedom of the Lakes.

During the War of the Revolution we were greatly handicapped by the poor quality of the gun-powder which the Colonists had to use, and the memory of this disadvantage,—together with the tremendous importance of powder in those days of pioneering, Indian ravages, and potential foreign attacks on our new-born Nation,—made most opportune the proposition of the du Ponts to establish a scientific powder plant in the United States. This was made between 1800 and 1802, and Thomas Jefferson, then President, John Hancock, and General John Mason, were the Americans who rendered possible this foundation, which has proved, in its century and more of existence, so practically valuable to the country, not only in every American war, but in times of peace.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812 Eleuthère Irénée du Pont de Nemours, the actual founder of the Company, at once placed at the Nation's disposal his services and his equipment. When Perry's fleet had been built at Erie, when the splendid young American sailors and soldiers had assembled for the defence of the Lakes, the next consideration was the provision of powder for their guns. A consultation was held, and a courier was sent to Wilmington asking the du Ponts to

## THE DU PONT POWDER WAGON AND PERRY'S VICTORY

furnish the necessary ammunition. Payment was not offered and payment was not asked. The manufacture of the powder was completed as rapidly as possible and when ready it was carefully packed into a great covered wagon, drawn by six horses, and guarded by four American troopers, and the long, toilsome journey to Erie and victory was begun.

The way led then past the Quaker town of Philadelphia, past the quaint old towns of Chester and Lancaster and York, past tiny hamlets scattered through the wilderness, on through dense forests, perilous with concealed British foes and their savage Indian allies, on to the little town of Erie, waiting, tense and valiant, for the onslaught of the enemy and the succour of the du Ponts. When the old wagon arrived, on 6 July, 1813, the people thronged out to meet and convey the powder to the waiting vessels.

So, one hundred years afterwards, the du Ponts sent forth another old Conestoga wagon, to travel by the old route by which they bore the powder to Perry,—the same route, and yet so vastly changed in a century of progress.

On June 2, 1913, the pilgrimage left the du Pont factory in Wilmington, escorted by four United States troopers, dressed as were their predecessor-guards of the summer of 1813. Sabres and flintlock pistols were their side arms, and they bore powder horns, bullet boxes, and water casks. The wagon passed through Chester, Philadelphia, Devon, Paoli, Downingtown, Coatesville, Lancaster, York, Latimore, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Chambersburg, McConnellsburg, Everett, Bedford, Stoyestown, Ligonier, Greensburg, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Butler, Mercer, Meadville, and then to Erie. It reached its destination on 7 July, and two Cavalry troops rode out to welcome and escort the wagon into the city.

The four troopers who escorted the wagon were all from the United States Fifteenth Cavalry, stationed at Fort Myer, Virginia. They were Sergeant Joseph L. Smith, Troop C, Private Marcus O. Giles, Troop A, Private George Statham, Troop B, Private Peyton W. Byron, Troop D.

The wagon was lent for the Celebration by a resident of Lancaster County, Mr. Gingrich, and was inscribed: "The wagon that carried du Pont powder to Perry, Wilmington, Del., to Erie, Pa., 1813-1913." The harness was similar to that used on the journey of 1813, including a set of bronze bells for the horses.

All along the route Chapters of the Society of Daughters of 1812 met the wagon as it passed through the several towns, and made its passing the occasion of a patriotic celebration.

There are critics of America who claim that the American spirit is bound by commercialism, that ideals have no place in our conceptions of modern business, that we are a race of materialists. To them, the history of the du Pont de Nemours Company might serve as a refutation of their charges. Their guiding principle, since, in 1800, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, and his sons, Victor and Eleuthère Irénée, came from France to become citizens and servers of America, has been a principle of loyalty and devotion which considered their business to be always at the Country's service. Theirs has been called a "policy of patriotism," but this, like the proverbial "policy" of honesty to men of honor, is an inadequate term to express the generous zeal which has characterized the du Ponts.

Perhaps the ancient traditions of "*Noblesse oblige*" in the Old World history of the du Pont de Nemours family have helped to maintain this spirit. For the founder of the family here, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, was true to his King, when fidelity meant imprisonment and exile, and, frequently, death, at the hands of the French Revolutionists.

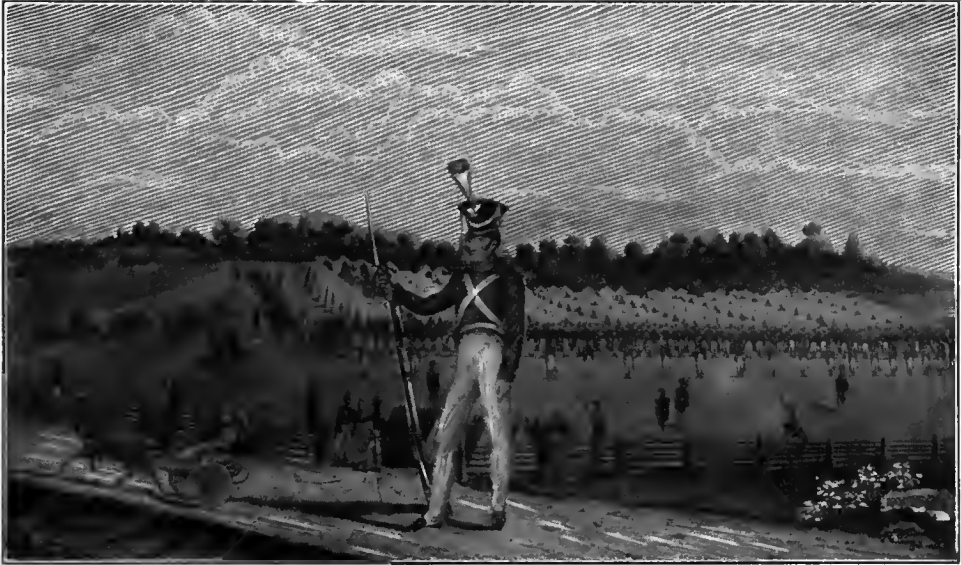
He was born Pierre Samuel du Pont, on 14 December, 1739, in Paris. He studied medicine, but the dominant call of the hour in France was to active participation in the public affairs,—then in so turbulent and ominous a condition. In his early manhood he became absorbed in questions of political and economic science, and was actively associated with François Quesnay, Turgot and other leaders of the Economist school of philosophy.

He was the author, at this period, of many noteworthy pamphlets and articles on finance, which were of the greatest value in propagating the theories of the Economists. He wrote for, and became the Editor of the *Journal de l'Agriculture, du Commerce, et des Finances*, and afterwards of the *Ephemerides du Citoyen*.

In 1772, Stanislas Poniatowski, then King of Poland, appointed him Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction of that country. He remained in this office for two years, and then returned to Paris, where his friend, Turgot, had been made Minister of Marine.

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron de Laune, was one of those men of France who, in the doom-presaged hour before the storm of the Revolution broke, sought to ward off the ruin which they saw waiting to ravage and desolate the Nation. He was unfortunate in his failure to conciliate the various parties, and was perhaps too much of a theorist for the terrible exigencies of the time. Authorities hold of him diverse views. Oncken, for example, considers him to have





AMERICAN SOLDIERS GUARDING THE DU PONT POWDER WORKS DURING THE WAR OF 1812

DU PONT'S  
**GUNPOWDER**  
 SUPERFINE - CROMWELLS  
 AND  
 ALL OTHER KINDS  
 (EAGLE GUNPOWDER)  
 The best, for shooting the heaviest, general purpose  
 and the heaviest size, Coarse grain, especially the  
 Rifle and Shooting in Coopers, 45 and 28 lb Kegs.  
**GUNPOWDER OF SUPERIOR QUALITY**  
 F. B. and H. closed and packed in 25 lb and 50 lb Kegs  
**GUNPOWDER FOR ORDNANCE**  
 and Military Service; Cannon, Musket, Firing and  
 Rifle, in 25 lb Kegs and 25 pound tins.  
 (GUNPOWDER FOR BLASTING & MINING)  
 in 25 lb Kegs and 25 pound tins.  
 All kinds of **GUNPOWDER** of superior quality  
 MANUFACTURED BY  
**E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & CO.**  
 Wilmington Delaware

AN OLD ADVERTISEMENT OF DU PONT GUNPOWDER







THE DU PONT WAGON CARRYING POWDER TO PERRY IN 1813.  
With this powder Commodore Perry won the great victory on Lake Erie, which made the Middle West part of the United States instead of British territory, or an Indian buffer state. From the painting by Howard Pyle, done in Florence in 1911



AN OLD DU PONT POWDER WAGON  
It was in use until 1889.

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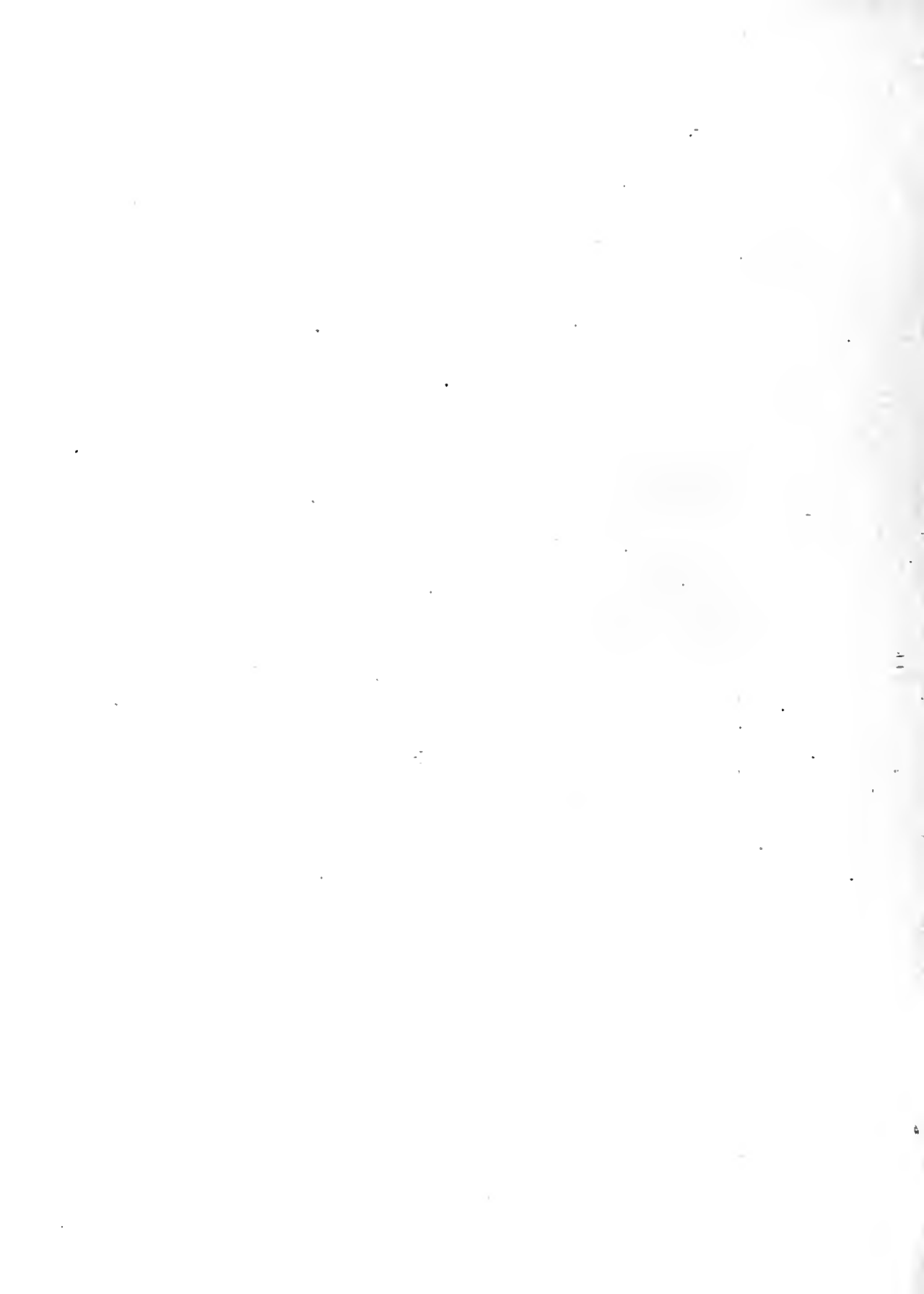


**THE FIRST DU PONT POWDER MILL**  
Built in 1802, in Delaware, on the Brandywine





THE SECOND DU PONT POWDER MILL  
Built early in the Nineteenth Century





Dear Sir

Monticello Apr. 24. 11.

We are, four of us, sportsmen, in my family, amusing ourselves much with our guns. but the powder sold here is wretched, carrying the index of the French eprouvette (such as you furnished Gen<sup>e</sup> Dearborne) to 9. 10. or 11. only. While the casketer of your powder, received from you 2. or 3. years ago, carried it to considerably upwards of 20. I have persuaded a merchant in this neighborhood to get his supply from you which he has promised to do, and I am in hopes the difference which will be found between that & what has been usually bought will induce our other merchants to do the same. I promised Mr Lietch, the merchant alluded to, a letter to you when he should go on. This will serve instead of it. but he does not go on till autumn. in the mean time I am engaged in works which require a good deal of rock to be removed with gunpowder, in doing which with the miserable stuff we have here, we make little way: will you be so good as to send me a quarter of a hundred lbs of yours, addressed to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Gilson & Jefferson of Richmond, who will forward it to me. the cost shall be remitted you as soon as made known. very press from Philadelphia to Richmond almost daily, & the sooner I receive it, the sooner I shall make effectual progress in my works. Accept the assurances of my great esteem & respect.

M<sup>rs</sup>. E. Dupont de Nemours

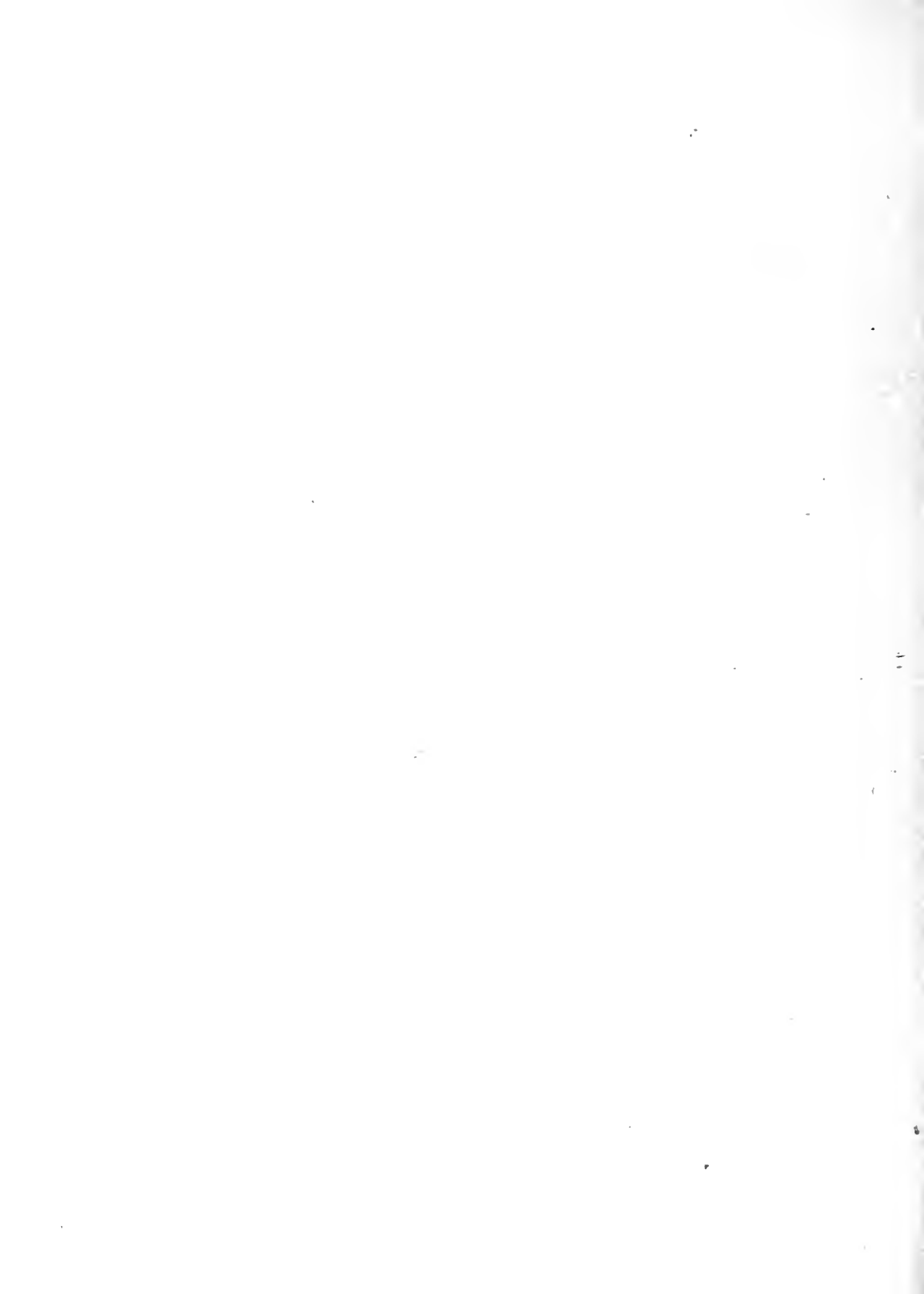
Th: Jefferson

gentlemen, Boston 5. Hancock

The Express has arrived  
and deliver'd the order on  
good order - price asked 75¢  
which I expect to obtain, as the  
quality is excellent I want  
some of the Eagle  
Respectfully Yours also  
J. Hancock

1810  
5 March  
J. Hancock  
for the company you  
big paper  
Wilmington  
Delaware  
Wm. Davenport & Co.  
D. O.

A LETTER WRITTEN IN 1810 BY JOHN HANCOCK TO THE DU PONT COMPANY







THE OLD CHAIR OF ELEUTHERE IRÉNÉE DU PONT DE  
NEMOURS, FOUNDER OF THE COMPANY  
It is still used in the office of the Company's President.



## THE DU PONT POWDER WAGON AND PERRY'S VICTORY

been a confused thinker, while Léon Say says that, "though he failed in the Eighteenth Century, he triumphed in the Nineteenth."

The cause of his fall from power is not clearly known, but his serious differences with other advisors of Louis XVI brought about, in 1776, a demand for his resignation. He retired from public life and died in 1781.

With the retirement from active official life of Turgot, came that of Pierre Samuel du Pont, who had been in full sympathy with his friend, and had co-operated with him in his earnest efforts to find a practical solution for the economic problems of France that might preserve her from the threatening evil of Revolution.

He became absorbed in a life of study and literary work at Gatinais, in the neighborhood of Nemours, an ancient town whose beginnings had been a Roman lumber camp. During this period he translated (1781) the writings of Ariosto, the Italian poet of the Renaissance, and wrote his *Memoires sur la Vie de Turgot* (1782).

In the latter year de Vergennes, who was then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, persuaded du Pont to resume his public career, and placed in his hands the negotiations, in 1782, which France conducted with the English Commissioner, Doctor James Hutton, for the recognition of the independence of the United States. In 1786 he again fulfilled an important diplomatic service in the preparation of a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.

When Charles Alexandre de Calonne, in November, 1783, was summoned to take general control of affairs, this meant further political advancement for du Pont. The ideas of de Calonne as to extending taxation to the then privileged classes were those of Turgot, and it was natural that he should seek to further the interests of Pierre Samuel du Pont, for this reason, and also because de Vergennes, through whom de Calonne had won his high office, had trusted and honored du Pont. The latter, under the *regime* of de Calonne, became Councillor of State and Commissary-General of Commerce.

When the storm of the French Revolution broke, du Pont advocated a constitutional monarchy, and he was elected as Deputy from Nemours to the States General, and later to the Constituent Assembly, of which he became the President, 16 October, 1790. But the Revolutionists soon became far too extreme, too maddened against all Governmental control, to have part with a man who dreamed of liberty, but not license, of a free France, but not an anarchy.

On 10 August, 1792, when the Revolutionists captured the royal palace, and the Legislative Assembly declared the royal government to be suspended until the meeting of the National Assembly in Septem-

ber, du Pont sided with the King. He was forced to seek concealment from the Revolutionists and remained for some time hidden in the Observatory of the Mazarin College. Later, he escaped to the country, but was at last discovered and imprisoned, in 1794, in *La Force*. It was while he remained in hiding that he wrote his *Philosophie de l'Univers*.

Du Pont in some way, however, escaped the guillotine, and, in the same year of his imprisonment, upon the fall of Robespierre, he, with many others, was released. He became a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and carried on a steady policy of resistance to the Jacobins, who were as steadily gaining supreme power, to the woe of France. When their ascendancy became certain, in 1797, du Pont's house was attacked by the mob, and he barely escaped a sentence of transportation to Cayenne.

In 1799, convinced that France, for the time, at least, could not serve as a safe or happy home, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, with his two sons, and their families, emigrated to the United States.

The high opinion held of the elder du Pont by Thomas Jefferson is evidenced by the fact that the President chose him to perform an exceedingly delicate diplomatic mission. This was the conveyance, but unofficially, to Napoleon of the protest and the warning of the United States Government against the French occupation of Louisiana. Before this, Jefferson had requested du Pont to prepare a system of national education. This plan was published in 1800, under the title, *Sur l'Education Nationale dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*. This system was not adopted in this country, but in part has been incorporated in the French method of national education.

In 1802 Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours returned to France. He refused to accept any office under Napoleon, and absorbed himself in literary work. He was elected a member of the *Institut*. But when Napoleon fell, in 1814, du Pont became Secretary to the Provisional Government, and on the Restoration, he was made Councillor of State.

Napoleon returned to brief power in 1815, and du Pont decided to leave France for a second time. He returned to America, and remained until his death, 7 August, 1817, with his son, Eleuthère Irénée, who had established his home and his great industry on the banks of the Brandywine River.

Eleuthère Irénée du Pont de Nemours was born June 24, 1772, in France. While very young he had been placed by his father in charge of the printing works which Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours had established in Nemours, for the purpose of spreading

abroad the ideas of progress which he held, and which he desired to teach to all his countrymen. During the French Revolution this establishment, together with the family home, was wrecked by the mob. Eleuthère fled to Ensonne. There the Government's powder factory was located. The young man had inherited his father's love of study, but his intellectual desires tended to the physical sciences, rather than to the theories and problems of public affairs, which had been his father's life-work.

He ardently threw himself into the study of chemistry, and became a pupil of the famous Lavoisier. When the office of superintendent of the Government powder works became vacant, it was Lavoisier who recommended his brilliant pupil for the position. He now devoted himself to a study, both minute and profound, of the manufacture of explosives.

The history of gun-powder is wrapped more or less in mystery. It is claimed by some students that the ancients know of its composition, and it may be that some of the peoples of antiquity had a knowledge of explosives. Records of the employment of some substance, similar, at least, to gun-powder have been found in Egypt. It was used long ago in China, but may have been introduced there by Europeans. This holds good also of its use in India. The "Greek Fire," used at the time of the Crusades, has been thought to have been of the nature of gun-powder.

In the National Library at Paris is a manuscript, *Liber Ignium*, ascribed to one Marcus Graecus. This writer evidently had some knowledge of an incendiary composition. But many have believed that no such person as Marcus Graecus ever existed, and that the manuscript bearing his name as author was really a collection of writings of a later period than that claimed for him.

But it is clear that there has existed in the world for hundreds, and possibly thousands, of years, some knowledge of incendiary compositions. These, however, were in ancient times projected or blown by engines, and not of themselves.

The actual discovery of gun-powder, however, belongs to Roger Bacon; Franciscan Friar, scientist, and thinker far beyond the age in which he lived. In his *De mirabili potestate artis et naturae*, written in 1242, he mentions an explosive composition, which, he states, was known before his day, and which was used for "diversion, producing a noise like thunder and flashes like lightning." He speaks of saltpetre as an explosive, but appears to have known that it was not self-explosive, unless mixed with other substances. In his *De secretis operibus artis et naturae*, he says: "From saltpetre and other ingre-

dients we are able to make a fire that shall burn at any distance we please."

Bacon wrote in cipher a recipe for gun-powder, which is essentially that of its modern manufacture: saltpetre, 41.2; charcoal, 29.4; sulphur, 29.4. But, as this was written in anagram, it was long before it was comprehended.

Berthold Schwartz, a German monk, is held by some to have been the discoverer of gun-powder, but their claim does not seem to hold weight, in comparison with our actual knowledge of Bacon's words.

The use of gun-powder in Europe certainly existed in the early part of the Fourteenth Century. In a manuscript at Oxford University, *De officiis regum*, dated 1325, is an illustration of a gun. According to Oscar Guttman (*Monumenta pulveris pyrii*), we know also that guns were used in Florence in 1326, and in France in 1336.

J. A. Conde (*Historia de la Dominicion de los Arabes en Espana*) says that the Moorish King of Granada, Ismail ben Firaz, in 1325, when he besieged Boza, had among his machines "some that cast globes of fire," and it has been thought that these were guns.

From the beginning of the use of gun-powder in Europe its manufacture has been regarded as a public trust. Indeed, the earliest positively authentic document regarding it gives authority to the Council of Twelve of Florence to appoint superintendents for the manufacture of cannons of brass and iron balls for the defence of the Republic. This document was dated at Florence 11 February, 1326, and is still in existence. In 1346 Edward III of England decreed that all saltpetre and sulphur (two of the ingredients of gun-powder) should be bought up for sole royal ownership. So also Henry V of England forbade the exportation of gun-powder, without license from the Crown.

And so, although without royal decree or legislative enactment, but through their spirit of public responsibility, has been the manufacture of gun-powder in America by the du Ponts de Nemours. Their scientific knowledge has increased with the progress in the world of chemical science; their practical efficiency has developed with the stimulus of their intellectual growth; and always their work has been immediately and ardently at the service of their Country.

In the War of 1812, when, as we have seen, the du Ponts sent "powder for Perry," in the Mexican War, the Civil War, and our War with Spain, the du Ponts have, with their ability, their energy, and their generosity, given of themselves for the Nation's weal as truly as have the men who fought bodily under the Flag.

When the terrible conflict between North and South broke out,

## THE DU PONT POWDER WAGON AND PERRY'S VICTORY

the Company was straining every nerve to keep pace with the new discoveries that were being made in the older laboratories of Europe; and, during the War, the work of Alfred Nobel, the great chemist of Sweden, which led to the discovery of nitroglycerine, was becoming famous. It was essential that the American manufacturers should not fall behind in the acquisition of the new attainments of science; yet they put all this aside and devoted all their forces to the manufacture of powder for the National Army, that the Union might be saved.

But it is not only in wartime that the du Ponts have served America. From the foundation of the powder plant on the Brandywine by Eleuthère Irénée du Pont de Nemours, he and his sons and their descendants have sought always to turn their forces and their scientific knowledge to the peaceful uses of explosives.

Always with the magnificent achievements of American engineers has gone the du Pont powder. There have been constructed in the United States more than a quarter of a million miles of railroad, and a large part of them has been laid with the help of the du Pont powder. Over two millions of miles of highways have been built, and for much of this has been required the du Pont powder. In the life-time of the Company, a little over a century, more than four hundred millions of acres of American land have been cleared, and du Pont powder has helped to clear it. The use of the powder in mining is incalculable.

But it is the du Pont service, its more than "policy of patriotism," rather than its scientific or industrial achievements, that it seemed appropriate to comment upon in connection with the Perry's Victory Centennial Celebrations. May they continue to work manfully and loyally for the Common Good!

# Personal Recollections of Dolly Madison and a Plea for National Recognition of Her Services to the Nation in the War of 1812

By a Venerable Descendant of Distinguished Virginia Ancestry, Friend of Many of the "First Ladies of the Land," Who Died in Washington on February 2, 1915, Aged Eighty-Five. She Was the Cousin of Mrs. Madison, and It Was Fair Mistress Dolly Who Introduced Her to Her Future Husband, Captain Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt, of the United States Navy. This Reminiscence Was Dictated by Mrs. Van Zandt, a Few Weeks before Her Death, to Her Daughter, Mrs. Jean Cabell O'Neill.

BY

MRS. JANE HENRY MEREDITH CABELL VAN ZANDT



PATRIOTIC Americans, without sectional distinction, confidently expected that Congress would in fitting manner celebrate the hundred years of peace existing between Great Britain and our own country, secured to us a century ago by the treaty signed at Ghent and ratified in Washington. But the time has passed and war clouds hanging low over many lands make any such celebration seem unwise.

But in war or peace there is one name of undimmed brilliancy, that of Mistress Dolly Madison, whose connection with the stirring events of a century ago deserves more substantial recognition than has yet been accorded. The United States has celebrated the centennial of many men, and of many events but a nation-wide celebration in honor of a woman has not been attempted.

For an hundred years the memory of Mrs. Madison's devotion to her country, in saving the State Papers, including the Declaration of Independence, has remained fresh in the minds of the historians; but few outside of that class associate her patriotism with this great document. And truly she took her life in her hands when she re-

mained in a city filled with an invading force, until our American Magna Charta was secured,—quite as much as did the great signers of the paper themselves.

I knew Mrs. Madison intimately during the last decade of her life,— from my eleventh year until my marriage, which in a measure was of her contriving, for not long before her death, she introduced her young cousin to me, also her cousin.

So modest as to the part she had played in the history-making of our country was Mrs. Madison, that she rarely spoke of those clouded days of the War of 1812, when the British attacked Washington and burned the Capitol; but from Mr. Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt, whose son I wed, and who was present when the preparations for the flight from Washington were being made by Mrs. Madison, I have heard much of her splendid conduct, her high courage and self-forgetting, in the face of the gravest danger than can threaten a woman,—the danger of falling into the hands of an enemy.

It is almost forgotten (except to those who have read Mrs. Madison's letter to her sister, finished just as she was leaving her home, the Executive Mansion), that Mr. Madison was in the field towards Bladensburg with a handful of troops; Washington deserted by all the official family who could get away; the wife of the President with a couple of servants and half a dozen friends packing hastily, but without panic, while the sky was reddening from the burning Capitol not a mile distant.

A large coach waited, while Mrs. Madison saw to the taking-down of the picture of the first President, George Washington, and into that coach was put all the property of value in the way of State and diplomatic papers it would hold. Not one personal belonging of Mrs. Madison's went into it. She loved jewels, but took none with her. Every inch of room in that coach, except that occupied by her own body, a self-appointed guard to National treasures—was saved for documents which could not have been replaced. Hardly had the coach turned west, toward Georgetown, when the forces from the British put the White House to the torch. Mrs. Madison was cool, unhurried, the directing force to whose nerve the country owes a tribute of National recognition.

There are not many of Mrs. Madison's kin remaining, and of her direct descendants not half a score; and, of her personal friends, I am probably the last alive. But all American women should feel akin to this wise and witty lady, who, through a life of unusual vicissitudes, seemed always to do the right thing.

Our country has its Moll Pitcher and its Barbara Fritchie, but is

has not a popular heroine of the high social grade of Mrs. Madison. So it would seem to me that, to yield national recognition and honor to this unique personality, even if for only one day, would be of splendid educational value, an incentive to the younger generations, and would mark for all time events connected with a period of which every true citizen should be proud.

Through four Presidential terms, sixteen years in all, Mrs. Madison held the social helm in the Federal city,—a distinction in itself never paralleled in any Republic. First, during the tenure of Mr. Jefferson, who was a widower with children too young to take social part in affairs, Mr. Madison was Secretary of State, and the particular friend of the President and thus his brilliant wife was the logical selection for a social leader of the Administration. Mr. Jefferson's terms were immediately followed by Mr. Madison's election to the Presidency, in which he continued for two terms.

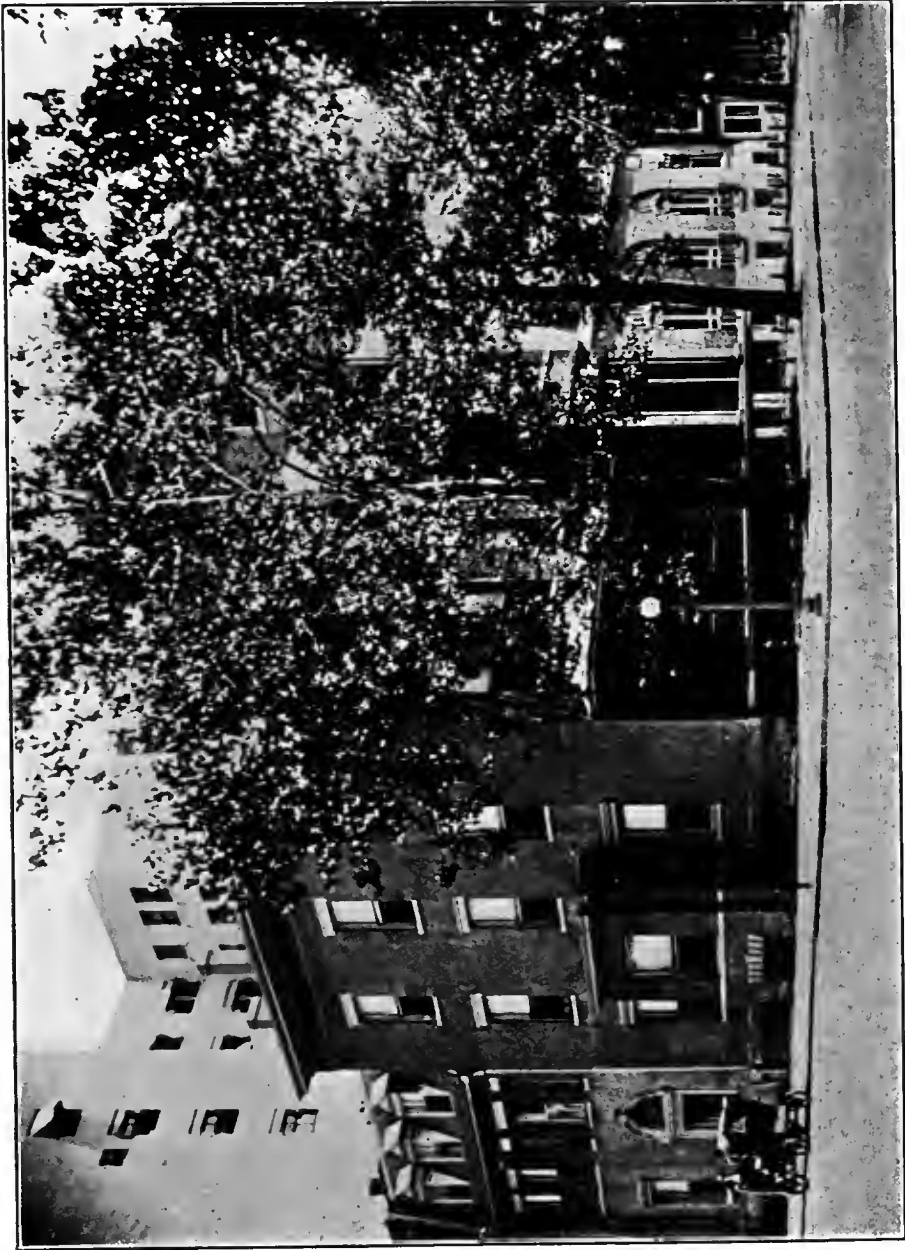
After her widowhood, Mrs. Madison returned to Washington, and this was the period in which I knew her so well. Though poor,—for she had loved too fondly her son, who was a waster, and her fortune was thus dissipated,—and without official position, she still was a leader by the power of her personality, her goodness, and her wit.

In those days the first of January and Independence Day were celebrated by great receptions at the White House, and practically everyone of importance who attended went across La Fayette Square to pay their respects to Mrs. Madison. She was accorded, by vote, a seat on the floor of the Senate Chamber, and Congress granted to her the franking privilege,—no small concession in the days when letters were charged for according to mileage.

I am very glad the Daughters of the Revolution have honored Mrs. Madison by naming a Chapter for her, and the yearly celebration of her natal day is as it should be; for it is doubtful if any woman known to this land had as much to do with forming morals and manners, and with the elevation of the whole tone of society during a period of nearly sixty years, as did this lady, born a Quakeress and gentlewoman, in whose veins ran the best blood of both North and South.

In all that was truly patriotic, that was fine and high, Mrs. Madison easily led. Her influence is potent to-day with all who know of her character and her deeds,—but there are many strangers within our gates, many who will shape their lives in the country of adoption by the ideals we furnish them. Is it not then fitting to give an example, so appealing, so interesting, and so ennobling, as that of the wife of our fourth President, —Mistress Dorothy Madison?"





WHERE MISTRESS DOLLY MADISON DIED—HER WASHINGTON HOME FOR NINE YEARS  
Situatd on the corner of H Street and La Fayette Place, facing the White House,  
it is now occupied by the Cosmos Club.







MISSION CHURCH AT SANTA ANA, NEW MEXICO  
The first Church is believed to have been erected soon after 1598. It was destroyed in 1680 by the Indians and re-built in the last decade of the Seventeenth Century.



#### MISSION CHURCH AT NAMBÉ

One of the earliest of the Franciscan Missions in New Mexico after the country was colonized in 1598 was at Nambé. The Mission Priest, Padre Tomas de Torres, was killed by the savages in 1680, and the Church destroyed. The Church was retored about 1695, and again re-built in 1729 by Don Juan Domingo de Bustamante, Governor and Captain-General of New Mexico. It was destroyed in our own times in a misguided attempt to modernize the ancient edifice.







**CARVED VIGA IN THE  
OLD CHURCH AT SAN  
JUAN, NEW MEXICO**

The Vigas, or cross-timbers of the roof, are characteristic of the Mission Churches of New Mexico

**CHURCH OF SAN FE-  
LIPE, OLD ALBU-  
QUERQUE, NEW  
MEXICO**

Built about 1706. As it  
was before restoration  
and changes about forty  
years ago







**RUINS OF THE MIS-  
SION CHURCH OF  
SANTA CLARA**

The original Church was built by Father Bena-vides in 1629. Destroyed in the 1680 Revolution, it was built anew by Governor de Vargas soon after the re-conquest of New Mexico. During an attempt in recent times to modernize it, the old Mission fell crashing to the ground

**DOOR OF THE OLD CHURCH  
AT SANTA CLARA**

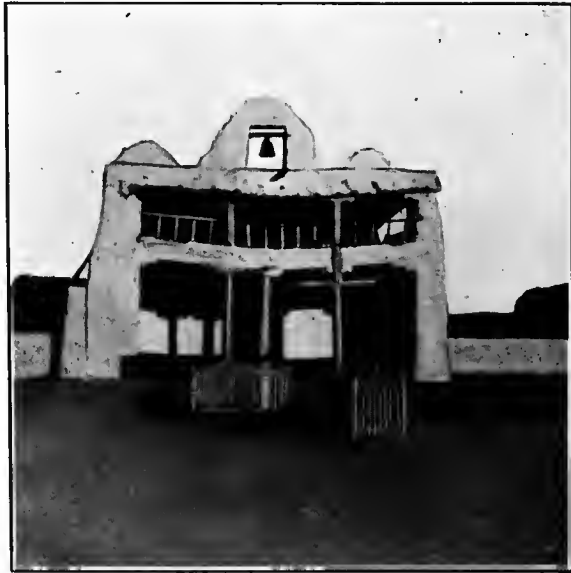








RUINED CHURCH AT ZUNI,  
NEW MEXICO



FRONT VIEW OF THE CHURCH  
AT COCHITI

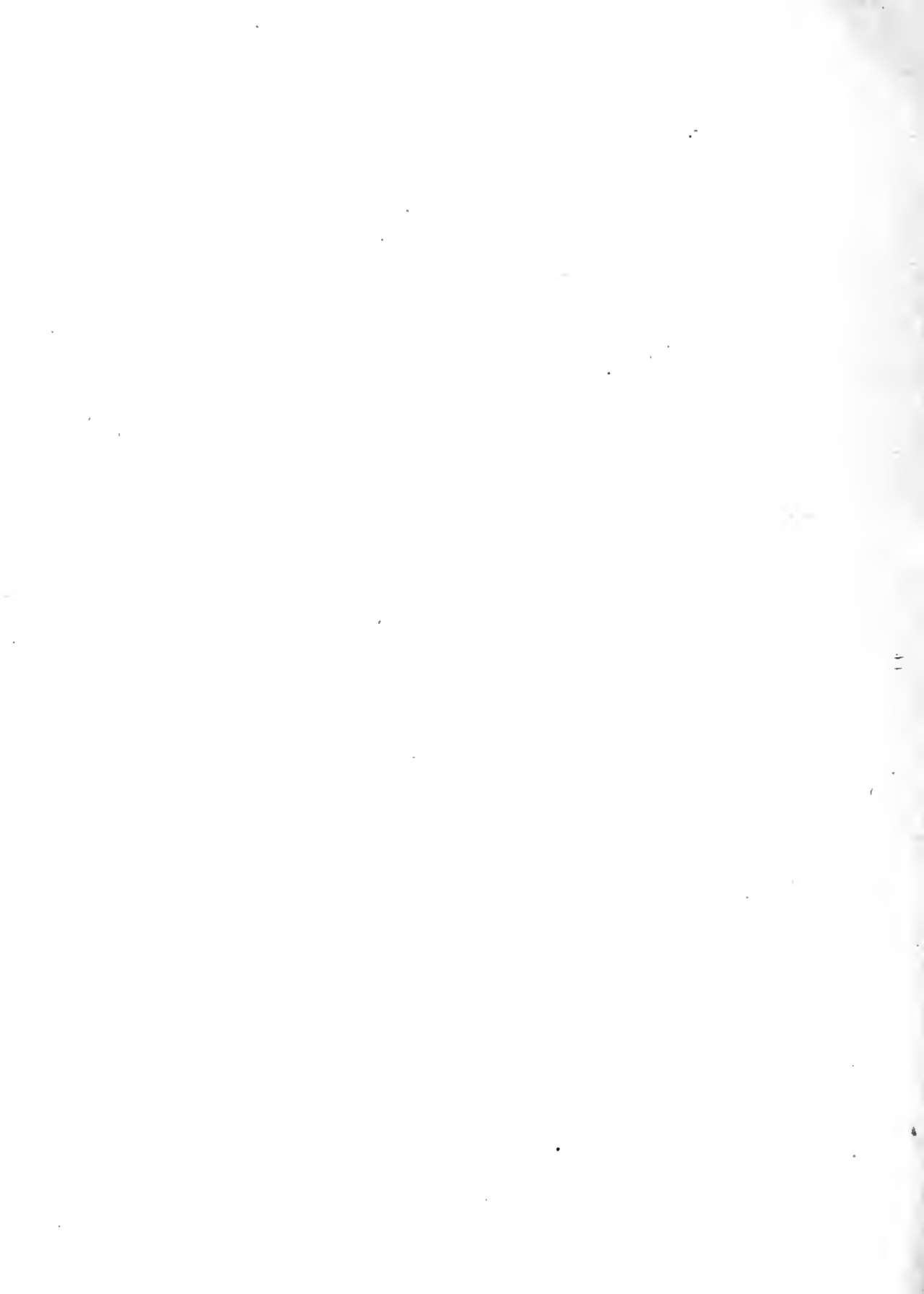


RUINS OF THE CHURCH, TAOS  
PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO

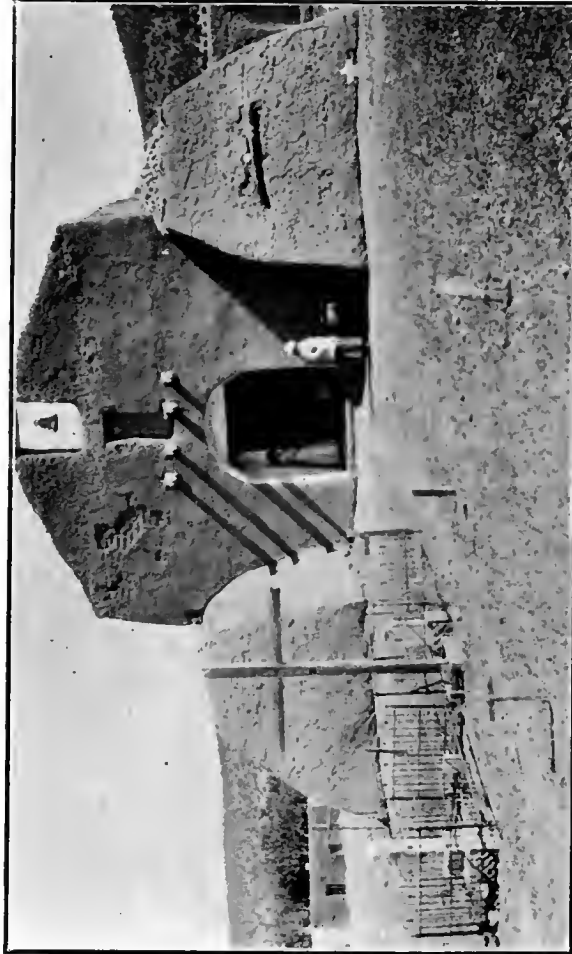
RUINS OF THE MISSION OF  
SAN GREGORIO, AT ABÓ, NEW  
MEXICO

The great Church of Abó was  
built about 1629, by Father Ace-  
vedo. It was destroyed about 1678









**THE CHURCH AT ARROYO HONDO, TAOS COUNTY, NEW MEXICO**

The Mission was founded about 1598. In 1680 the Franciscan Priest in charge and his assistant, a Lay-Brother, were slain by the savages, as were nearly all the Spaniards in the locality. The Church was partly destroyed during our Mexican War. A new Church was erected in 1914 on the site of this ancient structure.



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