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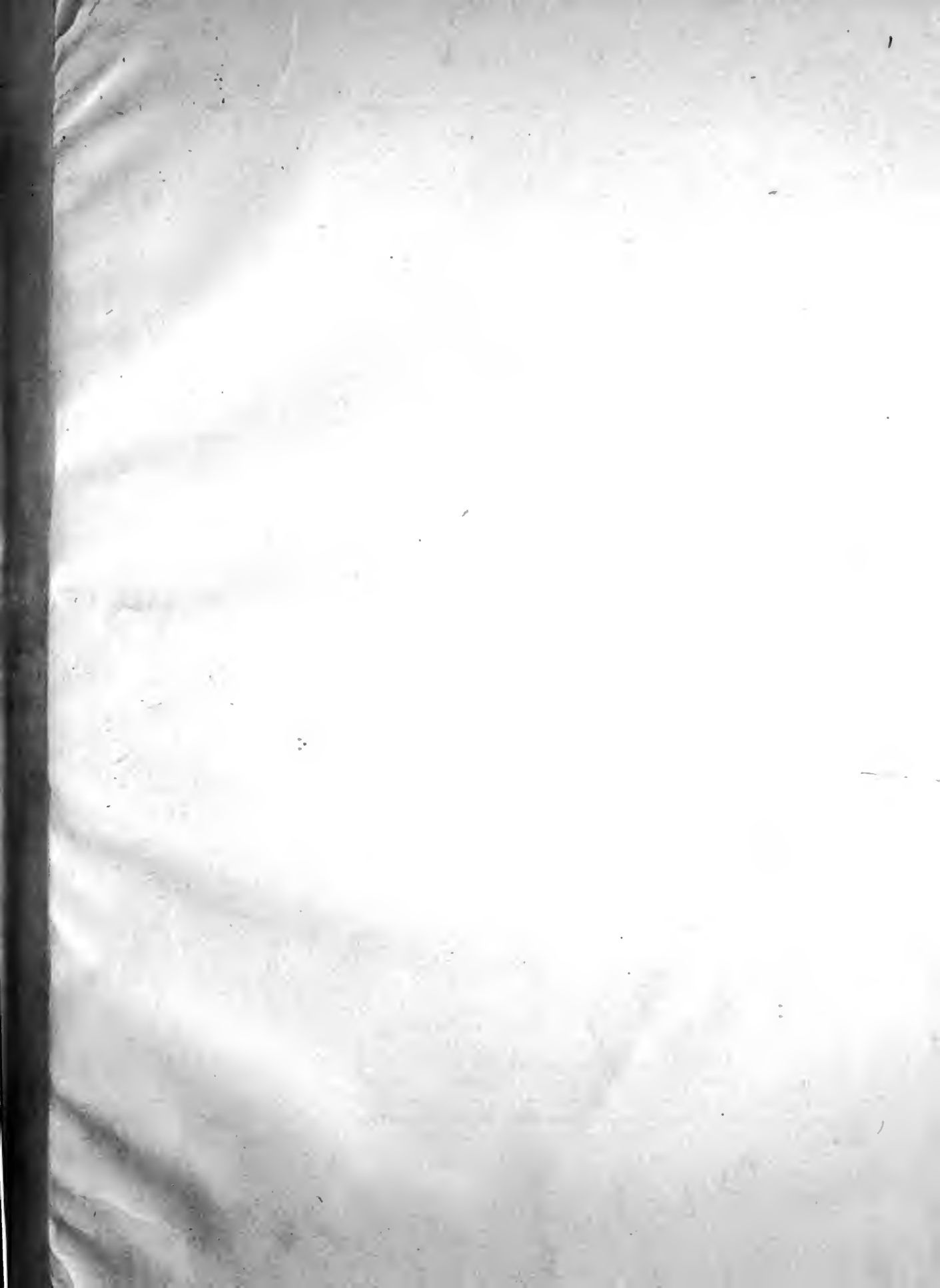
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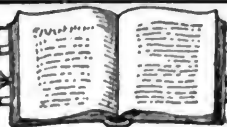


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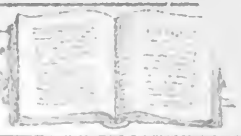
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GEORGE VANCOUVER, BRITISH NAVIGATOR AND EXPLORER OF
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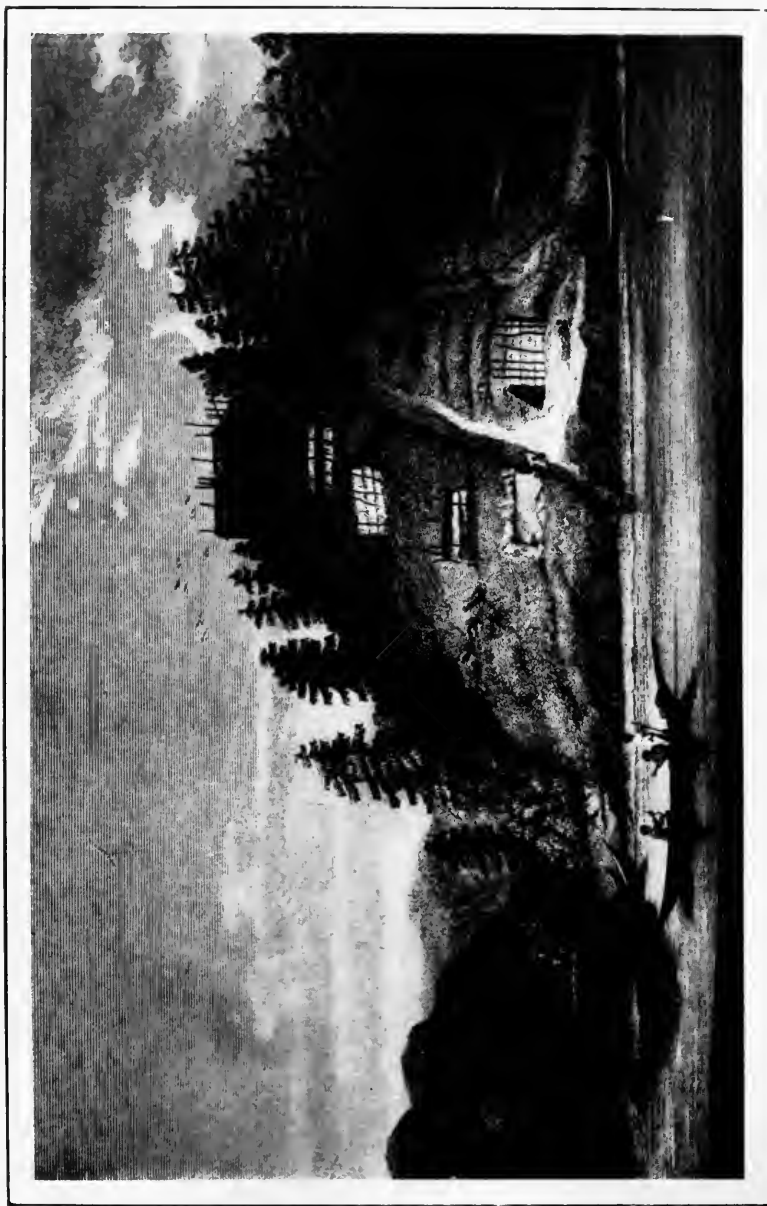


CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, EXPLORER, AND DISCOVERER OF THE SANDWICH (HAWAIIAN) ISLANDS, 1778.



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GOVERNOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Born in Scotland in 1792, he came to America and became an able administrator
in the Canadian northwest.

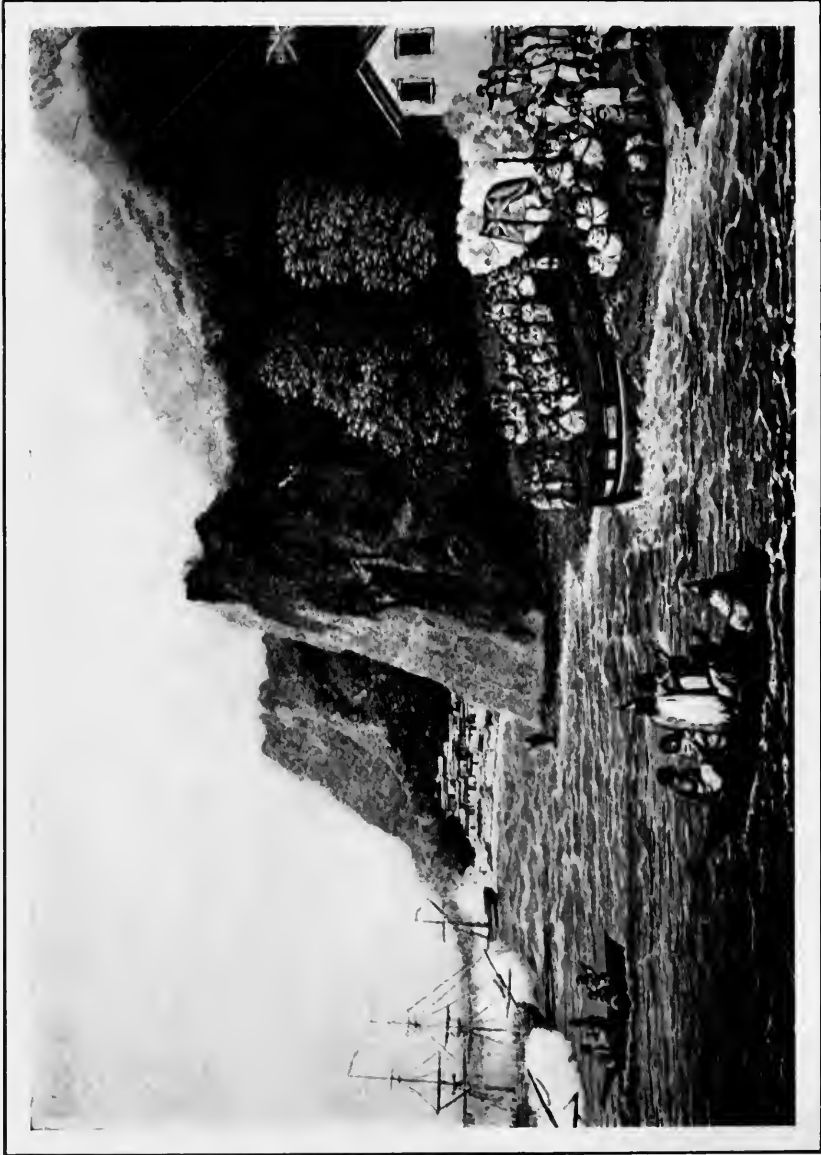


INDIAN VILLAGE, NORTH PACIFIC COAST
From a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver,"



CHESLAKE VILLAGE, NORTH PACIFIC COAST

An Indian village that stood on the shore of Johnstone's Strait. The illustration is from "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver."



LAUNCHING THE "NORTHWEST AMERICA"

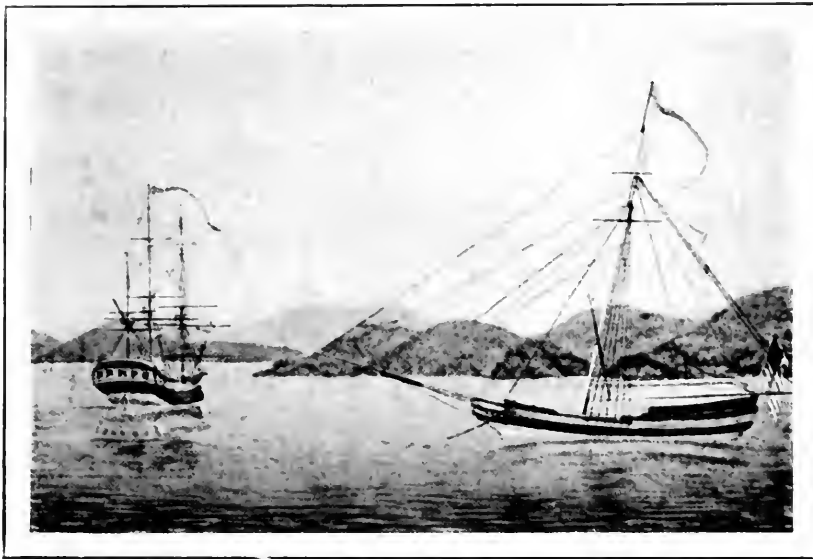
This vessel, built by Captain John Meares at Nootka Sound in the summer of 1788, was the first ship constructed on the north Pacific coast.



MOUNT RAINIER. THE HIGHEST PEAK IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON
After a print in "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver."

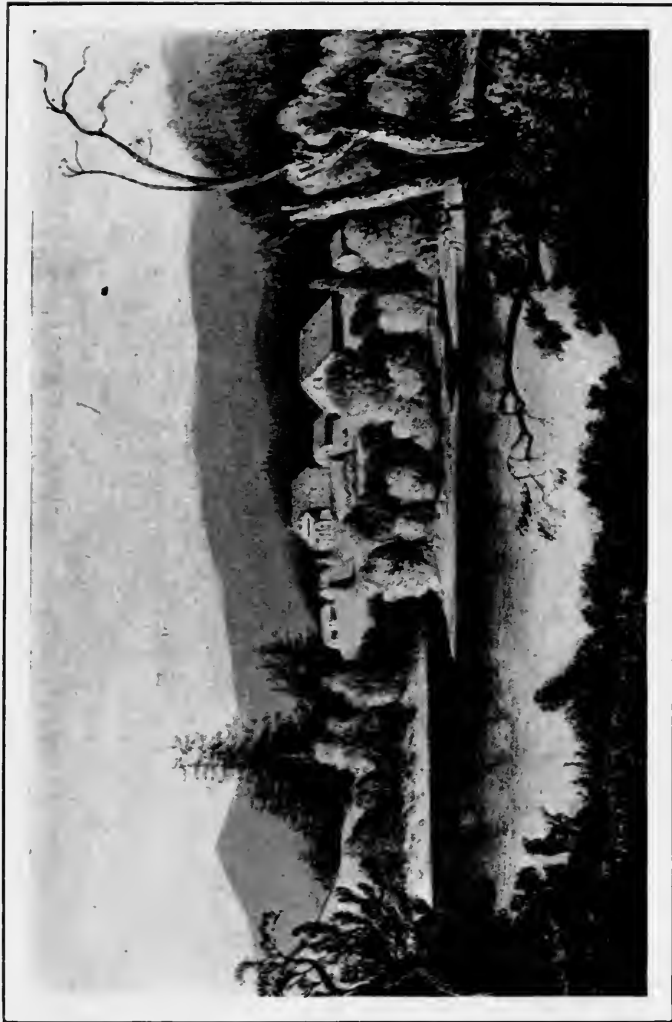


MOUNT HOOD, OREGON
From a copyrighted photograph by H. A. Hale, Portland, Oregon.



THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" AND THE SLOOP "WASHINGTON"

These American vessels, the former commanded by Captain John Kendrick and the latter by Captain Robert Gray, made a famous expedition to the Pacific, resulting in the discovery of the Columbia River by Gray, 1792.



THE COEUR D'ALENE MISSION
Celebrated in the early settlement of the Oregon Country.



FORT BOISE, IDAHO

A station built by the Hudson's Bay Company on the Boise River, a short distance above its junction with the Snake River. It was the third resting place of the emigrants on their long journey to the Oregon Country.



SEATTLE, THE INDIAN CHIEF FOR WHOM THE CITY
OF SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, WAS NAMED



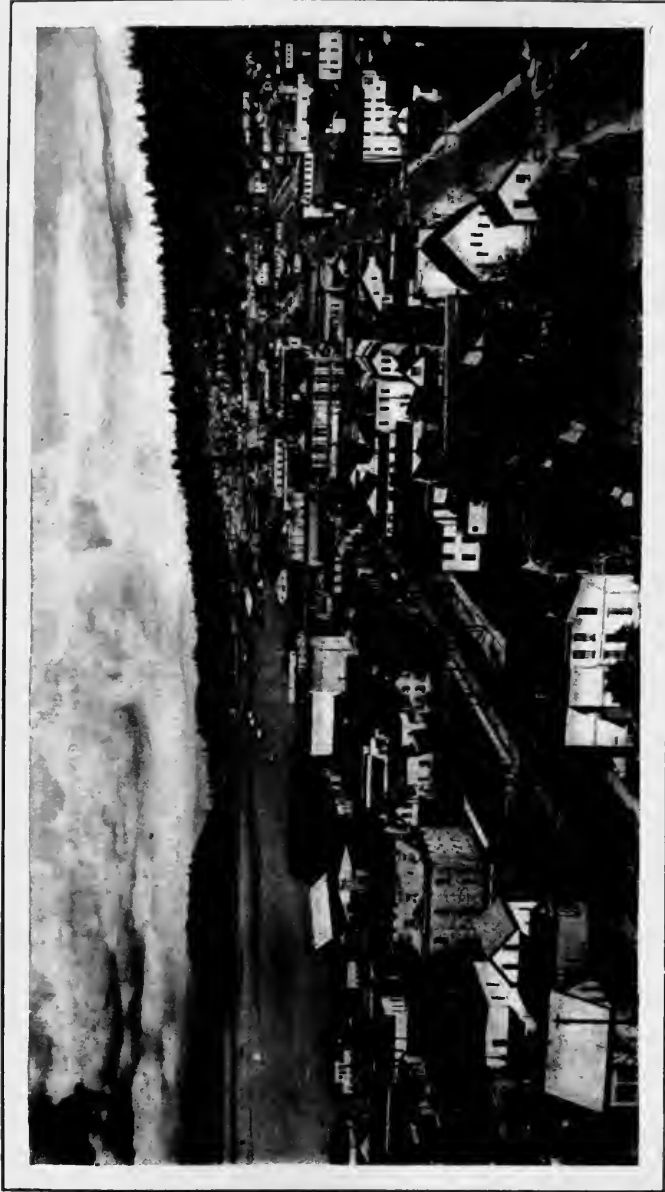
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, IN 1864



THE FIRST POST OFFICE IN TACOMA, WASHINGTON
The house was the dwelling of Job Carr at Old Town, and was the first built on the townsite. The post office was established in it.



ASTORIA, OREGON, IN 1856.
After a painting by Dr. C. B. Estes.



ASTORIA, OREGON, IN 1900
Named for John Jacob Astor, by whom it was founded as a fur-trading station in 1811.

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The Old Days of the Washington Navy Yard

BY

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THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD dates back to January 25, 1799, when the sum of one million dollars was appropriated by congress for building six of the largest ships of war, to prepare for what was deemed a national exigency, as a result of French aggressions. A portion of this appropriation was used for the purchase and improvement of selected ground for six navy yards, namely: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Norfolk, and Washington. At the last mentioned place thirty-seven acres were purchased for four thousand dollars, on the eastern branch of the Potomac River and adjoining what appears to have been a government reservation, a combination with which formed the original navy yard.

The first business transacted was the purchase of one hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars' worth of material for a seventy-four gun ship. This material was bought by Mr. William Marbury, of An-

napolis, Maryland, who had been appointed naval agent for the District of Columbia, which position must, in those days, have been considered lucrative, for his orders read: "Your duty will be to contract for all the materials for this ship, and you will be allowed two per cent. commission on all moneys expended by you."

On January 22, 1800, the first superintendent of the yard, Captain Thomas Tingey, was appointed. He must have been a most remarkable man, for he was continued in this duty for twenty-nine years, and many of them fell upon trying and stirring times. The very next year following his appointment, upon the election of Jefferson as president, the new secretary, with the evident intention of curtailing expenses, or in disapproval of the method of purchase on a commission basis, abolished the office of naval agent and included its duties in those of the superintendent. But it does not appear that Captain Tingey's pay was commensurately increased, since we find that he received the full pay without rations of a captain, commanding a ship of thirty-two guns and upwards, or one hundred dollars per month.

The activities of the yard were practically brought to a halt the year after its establishment, when congress passed an "Act providing for a peace establishment." This was inspired and instigated by Mr. Jefferson himself, as he held that war was unnecessary and that a powerful navy was a continual challenge to war. The "Act" above referred to "Authorized the sale of all the ships and vessels belonging to the navy except thirteen frigates, and of the frigates, six only should be kept in commission, and the remaining seven should be dismantled and laid up in 'ordinary.'"

To still further carry out this policy, it is noted that in November, 1803, Jefferson ordered one hundred gun carriages taken from our ships lying at the navy yard and shipped on the schooner *Citizen* to "His Serene Highness," the emperor of Morocco, the idea evidently being that this equipment was only suited to an uncivilized nation.

In December, 1805, upon Mr. Jefferson's recommendation, congress appropriated two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to build gunboats, not exceeding fifty, for the better protection of harbors, coast, and commerce of the United States. The following novel provision was included: "That these gunboats were to be housed in sheds or dry docks in peace, and in war to be manned by the seamen or the militia who would volunteer and who belonged to the town or locality adjacent thereto." The reliability of this scheme could better be determined later, when there was occasion to call for volunteers.

THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD

The period from 1800 to 1812 was not marked by any great development of the yard, and the impetus given the yard practically died at its birth. The only incidents which happily enliven these times are revealed by the occasional mention of ships or men that afterward took a prominent part in our second war with Great Britain.

The *Constitution*, which, under Captain Isaac Hull, afterward captured and burned the *Guerricre*, was repaired and equipped in 1806, as was the *Essex*, which, under Captain David Porter, did great damage to the British trade in the Pacific, until his capture off Valparaiso, in 1814. The *Chesapeake* was prepared and put in readiness for her victorious combat with the *Shannon* in 1813.

Captain Decatur stepped upon the scene in 1809, and, much to the chagrin of the officers in command of the other ships at the yard, appropriated all the skylights on hand for his ship, the *United States*, with which, in 1812, he captured the *Macedonian*.

In December, 1807, Robert Fulton, of steamboat fame, appeared at the yard with authority from the secretary of the navy to test, by experiment, the value of a submarine invention, by which Mr. Fulton proposed to defend our harbors; but in the absence of any appropriations this distinguished inventor failed to receive the encouragement and support that were necessary. We can readily picture Mr. Fulton's discouragement and chagrin, and would feel a keener sympathy toward him, except that we find that the same experience was met by many other inventors, as will be shown later.

The chronicles of the Washington Navy Yard record the most trivial happenings. For instance, on August 6, 1812, Mr. John Eliason, of Georgetown, sold to the yard for navy use, one hundred and twenty barrels of "Good Whiskey" at fifty-two cents a gallon, so the naval establishment at that time seems to have been pretty well supplied. A practice had grown up among the civilian mechanics and laborers of the yard to send out daily men or boys to bring in liquor for their use. The commandant, however, objected to this practice, considering that such errands interfered with the work, causing loss to the government of the men's time. The blacksmiths of the yard, therefore, sent in a formal complaint to the secretary of the navy, "That they are not allowed refreshments while engaged on heavy work." The commandant then compromised by issuing an order that, if such an indulgence were necessary, the liquor might be brought into the yard at bell-ringing.

And now we come to the stirring times following the declaration

of war on June 18, 1812. There had been no provision made for the defense of Washington, since it was expected that the British would select Baltimore as their objective, and it was not until July, 1813, that we find any effort made, so far as the navy yard was concerned, for defense. Then it was that the commandant, with the assistance of the mechanics who were left in the yard, attempted to prepare for the British forces. Complaint was made to the department that the militia officers had been sending in files and taking out their absentees to attend muster, showing the absolute helplessness of the authorities at this time.

The British fleet had already appeared on the Potomac and Patuxent, but it was not until August 14, 1814, that a few thousand British, under General Ross and Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, landed on the Patuxent and advanced by way of Bladenburgh, reaching Washington on the evening of August 24, holding the city until the evening of the following day, and retiring to their ships August 29. It developed afterward that the intention of this expedition was simply to destroy buildings, shipping, and more specially the navy yard.

Captain Tingey displayed military foresight and anticipated their purpose when, with the approval of the secretary of the navy, and after our army had retreated and the enemy were already advanced into the city, he set fire to the buildings containing material or property that would have been of value to the British forces, and sailed in his own boat to Alexandria. He had no sooner gone than the British arrived and completed the destruction.

The character of the inhabitants who lived adjacent to the yard may be discovered from the facts that, on the commandant's return, he found that not a movable article from the cellar to the garret had been left in his quarters, and that he learned that they had been taken by plunderers in the neighborhood. The provisions, which had been loaded on an old gunboat, had also fallen into the hands of our esteemed neighbors, who were required to deliver them up. This was done, except that several barrels were unaccounted for, probably some of those purchased from John Eliason at fifty-two cents per gallon.

The shipyard must have been in a pitiable plight. With the buildings burned and the supplies ransacked and the shipping ravaged, there was very little military or industrial activity, except to render what assistance was possible to our vessels on the Potomac. Even this must have been slight, for on September 5, 1814, Captain David Porter urged Captain Tingey to "Send him with all speed thirty or forty car-

THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD

penters with tools," and further stated "That if he received this help he surely could secure the enemy in the river," the British having dropped down to Mount Vernon with twelve prizes laden with booty. But the commandant was compelled to inform Captain Porter that there were no carpenters available. Whether or not the capture of the British could have been accomplished by this means will never be known, for the enemy sailed securely away.

In September, our old friend Robert Fulton reappeared among the charred ruins in an effort to test at the yard what is mentioned as an ingenious invention, corresponding with a modern torpedo boat, but was again met with the same discouraging lack of co-operation and told that no assistance could be rendered him.

After the war, the work of rebuilding the yard was taken up, and we find quite an increased activity and relatively large expenditures made for the building of ships. A few instances will be given to give an idea of the cost of the ships in those days.

A ship of the line, *Columbus*, was commenced May, 1816, and launched March, 1819, at a cost of \$426,931.11. This was considered excessive and the exceptional cost was explained by the fact that it was necessary to use miscellaneous material purchased for other purposes. Then, again, in August, 1819, the frigate *Potomac* was commenced, and launched in 1822, at a cost of \$178,320.09. The frigate *Brandywine* was commenced in September, 1821, and launched in June, 1825, at a cost of \$261,876.26.

In 1829 Captain Tingey died in office at the advanced age of seventy-eight years. It is stated on the chaplain's authority that, up to the very last, he directed and controlled the work of the yard, and that up to the time of his death he wrote all the official letters in his own handwriting. He was followed by Commodore Isaac Hull, who had made a long cruise in the Pacific, and while on leave had made official application for the position.

Little of interest was recorded for the next decade or so, as the yard was gradually supplanted in the work of repairing and building ships by New York and Norfolk. It was not until 1853 that we find, as a result of the genius and personality of one man, that the yard revived and gained importance in a new direction, namely, the manufacture of ordnance material for the fleet. In 1847, Lieutenant John A. Dahlgren was ordered to ordnance and equipment duty at the Washington Navy Yard, and in a short time gained such an extensive knowl-

edge of all branches of ordnance, that he became an authority on these subjects, and, by his persistence and executive ability, developed the facilities of the yard along these lines.

He superintended, in 1849, the test of an invention of Mr. John Prentis, of an elongated shot and shell, which was made to take the rifle motion from smooth bore cannon and to keep the front end in its proper position. We find him again in 1853 experimenting with the ranges of the different kinds of guns used in the navy, and, in the same year, testing an invention of Major Laidly, of the army, which he claimed would make shells burst at the moment of striking. In fact, he was the first officer who gave intelligent encouragement, within the assistance made possible by the department's authority, to those inventions which led up to modern ordnance.

Prior to Lieutenant Dahlgren's appearance at the yard there had been several inventors who had endeavored to develop new ideas but with very little success. There was Mr. Samuel Colt, who, in 1844, engaged on the Potomac River in making experiments with a submarine invention, and even as early as that succeeded in blowing the bottom out of an old ship's hull and sinking it in the river. Again, in 1847, Mr. Uriah Brown attempted to prove the practicability of the use of liquid fire and also the feasibility of a shotproof steamship. These instances are mentioned to show how early the so-called modern methods of warfare were thought of by men who, unfortunately, were ahead of their time and who failed to receive the encouragement that they deserved.

But even Commander Dahlgren was unable for a time to entirely overcome the apathy of the higher officials, for he later complained to the department that its policy was shortsighted, and that he had been overridden in all the suggestions that he had made. He mentioned more particularly the experiments on armor for ships, in 1852, and rifled cannon, in 1856.

Like the times just preceding the War of 1812, there was little to relieve the monotony of the commonplace routine of the yard, and mention is only made of minor occurrences. But, to preserve the continuity, a few will be noted. On February 25, 1857, by order of the department, the navy yard supplied the District Democratic committee with a howitzer and a hundred rounds of condemned powder to pay appropriate honors to Mr. James Buchanan, the president-elect. It is not to be understood that there was anything invidious in the selection of the powder by the outgoing administration. In the same

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year, the U. S. S. *Plymouth*, which had previously been authorized to "Be used exclusively for gunnery practice," under the supervision of Commander Dahlgren, made a successful cruise, during which the nine and eleven-inch Dahlgren guns were proven to be as manageable and effective in rough seas as ordnance of less weight.

In January, 1861, as a result of rumors that a mob was to prevent the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, and was going to take possession of the yard to secure arms and ammunition, the following order was issued by the commandant: "This yard shall not be surrendered to any person or persons except by an order of the Honorable secretary of the navy, and in the event of an attack, I shall require all the officers and others under my command to defend it to the last extremity, and, if we be overpowered by numbers, the armory and magazine must be blown up." Twelve-pounder howitzers were stationed at each gate, at the main buildings, and at the water front. This shows the restless and riotous state of mind of the inhabitants of the capital and was a prelude to the more stirring events which immediately followed.

In April, 1861, Secretary Gideon Welles ordered the steamers *Baltimore*, *Mount Vernon*, *Philadelphia*, and *Powhattan*, which had been seized by order of the secretary of war and turned over to the navy, equipped for war service. This was too much for the then commandant, Captain Buchanan, a southerner, who resigned his commission and threw in his lot with the Confederacy.

Commander Dahlgren was then called upon in April, 1861, to take command of the yard, and it is quite refreshing to know that the department appreciated this officer's ability by ordering one of his rank to take command of the navy yard. And, even more, he was the only medium of communication between the navy department and the army and navy in the Potomac, and was frequently called on to render them assistance. The first step taken may be of timely interest. This was the fitting out of the *Mount Vernon* to make a reconnoissance of the river. There being no commissioned officer to spare, Boatswain Wilmuth was ordered to command. There was difficulty in obtaining a sufficient crew, as the captain of the volunteer company of Washington infantry declined to detail any of his men, and some of the men refused to volunteer for any duty outside of the District. However, finally, four marines and ten men from the ordnance department were detailed and this vessel proceeded down the river, and, after other adventures, and making observations of the enemy, "Per-

ceived a steamer manoeuvring in a suspicious manner, steamed alongside and hailed her, but having lady passengers aboard, allowed her to proceed." The boatswain's sense of the military proprieties does not entirely jibe with later day contentions on the subject.

To show the department's anxiety as to the loyalty of the employees at the yard, on June 4, 1861, the commandant was directed, through a civil magistrate, to administer the oath of allegiance to the employees. Four hundred and five held up their hands and took the oath, while thirty-seven refused and were dismissed.

An additional burden was imposed upon the authorities at the yard when, in August, 1861, they were instructed to take charge of mutineers from the army. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward came to the yard in person late in the evening of August 15, and gave a verbal order to the commandant to take charge of a party of mutineers from the Seventy-ninth New York regiment. These men, having arrived about midnight in the custody of a detachment of cavalry, were transferred to the *Powhattan*, lying off shore. This was just a beginning. The next day twenty-seven more were received from the Thirteenth New York regiment, while on August 20, twenty more arrived. This seems to have been all that could be conveniently guarded, for the commandant complained upon the receipt of another lot that he must have the assistance of the escort that brought them, and that the escort must remain as a guard. But this was not all. A large and increasing number of persons of color, evidently runaway slaves from the lower Potomac and Virginia, had been corralled and fed at the navy yard and on the ships. This latter problem was solved by the department authorizing their enlistment, but at no higher rating than "Boys," at three dollars per month and one ration.

To add to these trying burdens, the commandant was frequently called upon to make military preparations for the defense of the city, and to co-operate with the fleet down the river. On March 9, 1862, eight canal boats were loaded with stone to be sent down to the flotilla and used to block the channel, while guns were sent to be used along the shore.

The activities of the yard itself had been cared for, and, as an instance of the necessity for industrial preparedness, a report was made on May 9, 1862, that it was impossible to obtain plating at the yard, as the manufacturèrs were busily engaged on similar work for the vessels then building, under the direction of Ericsson, and therefore could not respond to the government's call.

THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD

These were some of the many burdens imposed upon the authorities of the yard at this time. But the real task and the one which seriously threatened the existence of the yard did not occur until 1864, when General Early was sent to invade Maryland, to relieve the pressure of Grant's army against Richmond. On July 11 his forces appeared immediately outside of the capital. This created naturally a stir in official circles, and the commandant the next day received a frantic inquiry, "How many men can you spare from the yard to go to the trenches?" The commandant's reply discloses the deficiency and the totally inadequate force available, for he was only able to report, "If all the workmen return to the yard after dinner, I think I can muster about 800 men for the trenches." He simultaneously complained that the calling out of the militia of the District would take many valuable workmen from the yard, and he requested that such be excused from service in the field. The department insisted, however, that only urgent work on ships and materials of war be continued and that all employees not so engaged be armed for the defense of the yard and manning of the trenches. It is stated that these men went to Fort Lincoln, north of the city, and probably would have rendered valuable assistance at this critical time, had not General Early decided to withdraw his forces.

After this the yard settled down into its usual routine, until nine months later, when it was interrupted by the most tragic event in our history. President Lincoln was assassinated on the evening of April 14, 1865. Again the department was naturally stirred and sent urgent orders to the commandant that "If the military authorities arrest the murderer of the president and take him to the navy yard, put him in a monitor, and anchor out in the stream with strong guard on vessel, wharf, and in navy yard. Call upon commandant of marine corps for guard. Have vessel immediately prepared, ready to receive the criminal at any hour, day or night. He will be heavily ironed and so guarded as to prevent escape or injury to himself."

From then on for the next two weeks, prisoners implicated in the assassination were delivered from time to time to the yard. On April 18, Michael O'Flaherty and Lewis Paine were delivered; on April 19, Samuel Arnold; April 21, James A. Atzerott and Ernest Hartman Ritchie; April 24, Ned Sparkler; April 27, David C. Harrold, and this same day the remains of Wilkes Booth. In the meantime, specific instructions were received to "separate" Atzerott from his brother-in-law, Ritchie, and that "a ball and chain be put on each ankle

of Payne." But, not satisfied with these precautions, the following day, by orders from the secretary of war, the commandant directed that, for the better security against conversation, the prisoners should have a canvas bag put over the head of each and tied around the neck, with a hole for proper breathing and eating, but not seeing. Upon reporting of the receipt of the body of Wilkes Booth, a board of officers was appointed to make an autopsy and it was finally turned over to the army.

Upon the close of this momentous event, and with the termination of the war, the yard simply reflects the universal distress experienced by the whole country. This is graphically shown in the effect of the depreciation of the currency, just after the war, as indicated in certain reports, which the commandant and officers were required to make as to their expenses. An acting ensign boldly remarked that "The place in which I live which is not worthy of the name of 'a house,' costs fifteen dollars per month, exclusive of light and fuel"; while a paymaster went so far as to say that his salary did not justify his renting a house, that he occupied a very small room without gas, in an ordinary boarding-house, for which he paid fifty-five dollars per month, and he gratuitously informed the department that a house could not be rented for less than eight hundred dollars. It would have been interesting to have seen the fifteen-dollar "house" in which the acting ensign lived. The assistant-surgeon's predicament was even more lamentable, for, upon being ordered to the yard, he had left his wife at home with her mother and was occupying a room in the hospital on account of his inadequate salary.

Immediately following the war, the yard evidently felt the effects of government retrenchment and simply kept up the routine repair work on ships, etc. A rather amusing occurrence is noted in 1867, when, in September, the *Maumee* was ordered to be prepared for a two years' cruise in the East Indies, and Lieutenant-Commander William B. Cushing was assigned to the command. The commandant reported to the department the continued absence of Mr. Cushing, although his leave of absence had expired several days, and, in addition stated: "He sent me a telegram that he had been detained, but would be here this morning, but as yet he has not reported." The secretary of the navy, without requiring any further explanation of the famous Cushing, simply instructed the commandant to "Call Cushing's attention to this when he comes back and tell him not to let it occur again."

It might be of contemporaneous interest that we find in 1877 the

THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD

hours of labor at navy yards given as follows: March 21 to September 21, from 7 A. M. to 6 P. M., and September 22 to March 20, 7:40 A. M. to 4:30 P. M., with the usual hour for dinner. It was not until 1880 that telephones were installed, but this was only on trial, and it required several years to convince the authorities that they were necessary. Nor was it until 1889 that a railroad track was run into the yard. Prior to that, transportation of heavy material depended almost entirely upon oxen.

The yard had been gradually declining in importance as a shipyard, but, largely owing to the impetus given it originally by Dahlgren, the ordnance department had held its own and at intervals made rapid progress. In April, 1883, by an act of congress, a gun foundry board was appointed by the president, and, after visiting Great Britain and the continent, recommended two government gun factories, one for the army and one for the navy, the one for the navy to be at Washington. Finally, on August 14, 1886, by order of Secretary Whitney, the yard was turned over for ordnance purposes. That brings us down to the beginning of the development of the Washington Gun Factory.



A Young Lady's Sprightly Account of Washington's Visit to Lexington in 1789

CONTRIBUTED BY WRIGHT TARBELL



HIS letter was written by Sarah Monroe, daughter of Colonel William Monroe, and tells of Washington's visit to Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1789, and of his dinner at the Monroe tavern, where so many celebrities were entertained during the Revolutionary days. The letter was found in the garret of the old Mason house only a few years ago, bears date November 7, 1789, and is indorsed in a fine hand, "Miss Sarah Monroe, Lexington to Miss Mary Mason, New York." Sarah Monroe was the second daughter of Colonel William Monroe, the other children being William, Anna, Jonas, Lucinda, and Edmond. Mary Mason was the only daughter of Joseph Mason, a famous pedagogue and for many years, including 1789, town clerk of Lexington. Of the reason of Miss Mason's sojourn in New York we are not informed.

My ever dear Mary:—

I crave your patience in this epistle, as I must finish it to go by the Sunday coach, and therefore indight it by a bed candle, dip'd I warrant by Brother Jonas, who is ever slack in all except his play. We have had great doings here. Our Loved President has journed here to Lex. and has took dinner at our very house. I suppose you, in the Great City of New York can have little interest in the small haps of a country Town, but remember that it is the birthplace of you, and of American Freedom.

I suppose by this time The Boston News have reached you, with the relation of the Journey of Mr. Washington to Boston and of his re-seption therein, how he stood many hours in the piercing wind, waiting for an end of the dikkerings of the Honorable Selectmen, and how thereby, he incurd a most vile Grippe wh his loyal subjects thereupon took to themselves, being only too Happy, so they declare, to share even the infloowenza with the Noble Washington.

WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO LEXINGTON

But know you what the News letters have doubtless not reconnt'd that this very infloowenza has been to my Respected Step-mother the cause of much destress. For you must know that our reverened Parson having gone to Town of a friday to see the grate President and to ask the health of his Cous'n, the Worshipfull Gov. Hancock, wch is sorely plagued with the Govt, comes back with the tydings that Mr. Washington With Gen'l Lincoln and many others with him was Minded to come to Lexington of the Monday, following being the 20th of the last Mo. And thereupon did the Parson make on the Sabbath 3 most eddyfing discourses tending to prepair our Hearts for the Visit, (they of course, Decent and touching upon Worndly things only so far as might be Seemly.) Now after 2d meeting My respected Step-Mother had much ado wether or no she could put the pyes and pudings w'ch we with the aid of Mistress Downing and your Worthy Mother, had prepar'd on the Saturday, into the Oven on a Sabbath afternoon afore the Sun setting.

Hapily the afternoon was over-cast and the hour of setting come early. Then did we all except the children, who have little care in these maters, but to require to be constant Chid, Set up the whole night to watch the oven, lest some misschance befall the contents. You may judge we looked befrowzeled come Morning, but soon after cock-crow came a messenjer rid out at the Command of the Sec'y of the worshipfull Gov'r to tell us that Mr. Washington was to sick, the infloowenza having seized his left Eye, to attend us, the way being Row and blusterry. Then such a borling as was heard from the children, especially Lucindy, who is ever forward in the making of joyse, and my Step-Mother was like to say hard wards dispite the Parson his so recent eddyfing discourse.

Now was great Questioning if his Highness (for so I like to call him) Wd come to our town at all, till at last was roomered that having great desire to see the field of Lexington, therefore he wd turn his road to this direction on his coming back from the State of New Hampshire.

Mother, thereupon, bad Lucindy who still borled lustyly, to make her respects to naybors Mulliken and Dowing (and I warrant you, Naybor Mason were not forgot) and to ast them come eat the President his Feast. They all came in good time and my honnered Father sat out to make them Merry, but 'twas easy seen that he tho't naybor Downing but a sorry make-shift for his expected guest. Your good parents be, of a course always Wellcome.

But you must be uneasy to hear tell of Mr. Washington his real Visit. Twas on Thursday last, and Wednesday, you may be bound, was a bussy day, what with Baking and Mixing and the Brewing of a fresh lot of beer for the Flip. Then to, had all the plate to be scour'd and the brases rubbed and the Floors new sanded (tis a shame to a shame to my thinking, that we shd have no carpet when even the Taylor, Master Bond hath one) and my ribbands and gowns to be furnish'd for 'twas decided that none but Lucindy shd have a new frock, so I had to go without, while she purt minx, had a most lovely Gown of Green callimanco, with Plumes to her hat. I wore my old tammis which is to thin for the seeson, and has more-by token been turn'd.

We were not this time so Forward in setting up the Night, as we were mightily tyred you may believe. Come Morning twas clear, tho' somewhat Frosty, and my good Anna minding to stay home and help Step-Mother lay the table, Jonas and Edmond and I and the pest Lucindy, who is truly a great cross to me, set out for the Green. 'Twas thot that Mr. Washington wo'd come by ten of the clock but twas full noon ere he came. As he must enter by the Parson's, I was for walking out to meet him, but Jonas would not, wether from Sloth or from fear, I know not.

Betime Mr. Washington appeared, bestridding a most handsome white horse. He wore a millitary Habit, much like that of my Worthy Father, only gayer and with fine things. I mind not what they call 'em, on the shoulders. His hat he wore under his arm, and he bent himself to the one side and the other as he passed. I promise you we huzzared stoutly, but he bowed not only leaned, as one shd say, toward us. Beside him rode the Hon'ble Mr. Phillips, the Worshippful President of the Sennate. Behind came the two Secrtors, Mayor (or Col) Jackson and Tobbias Lear, and ahind all guned a black man. Over against the Meeting House stood to meet Mr. Washington all the great men of the Town (excepting my Father who could not be spar'd from the House) and them that was in the fight. There was the Selectman Masters Hammond Reed, John Chandler, Amos Marrett and Joseph Smith, there was old Mr. Bridge and May, John Bridge, Sargent Brown with his cheek all scared, Nath Farmer with his arm in a Sling, tho' twas well years agone. Well favorred Master Chandler who has gone and marryed, more's the pity, and is to be a Cap'n in the Milisha. Many Harringtons and Smiths and Sundry others, not forgetting Price Estabrook the Blackman who was being made ackwainted, tho' stiffly, with Mr. Washington his servents, who had come up with his Coach.

WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO LEXINGTON

And then in the Front was your Father and the parson. Your dad wd have held the Prest. his stirrup but he w'd not permit of it and threw himself from the sadle with a Jump, for tis said he is wonderus strong, tho so old. Then was there some fighting, none knowing what twas fitting to do. But Mr. Washington let them not stand long abbashed, for he said "Where is Leftenant Todd who was next to Capn Parker?" And when they put Master Todd forward, the President gave him a fine grasp of the hand, saying naught however. Then took he respectfully the Parson his Hand saying, "Our distinguished and dear Friend the Hon'ble Governor has told me much of his fearless Kinsman Parson Clark." Then followed some Speech which I heard not, daring to venture no nearer than I was, being that I had an old Frock and compeled to hold back Lucindy.

Soon the whole Troupes betook themselves to the Spot where the Blood was spilled. Mr. Washington seemed somthing sollem at first, but soon waxed livelyer and asked many Questions, they told me, of the fight. He would moreover, see the Houses round about, and when he entered Mr. Buckman his Tavern, I was in great figget till he came out, fearing less Mr. Merriam who is but just approbbated as a taverner and knows nought about the Business, might entreat him into eating there. At last, it being close onto two of the clock, the hour set for the dining, we set out, the Pres' and the rest riding and walking at the head, and the Coach and the Townsfolks taging after, huzzaring and waving kerchefs. Twas a pitty we gave him no set speach as 'twas did in many Towns no bigger than ours, and your Father could have writ it exselent.

When we came to the house there stood my Father and Step-mother at the tap room Door, Anna and the naybors skulking in the parlour. My Father looked grandly in his regimentals and proud in deed was I of him as he led the way to the Dinner room prepared for Mr. Washington in the upper room, looking towards your House. 'Twas arranged that my Step-Mother dish the vittles in the kitchen, yourn should bring them to the stares (the short way, thou know'st thro' the shop and the tap room) and then my father sho'd serve them to the guest. 'Twas permitted me to stand in the corner betwixt the windows, to give what help was needed. We had a right fine feast, I can tell you and much of it, rosted Beef, a showlder of Pork, Chicken pyes, Puddings, Syilly-bubs and the best of all some fine young pigens sent in by the Widow Mulliken. Mr. Washington would have none but plane things, However saying, as my Father handed the others to

him, This is to good for me. When the pigens of which there was but a few, were served, the Prest. said, are all these fine Kickshores for my servents to? My Father stamering that he had not tho't to give them such, his Highness bade the dish of Squabs be divided in half that his Black men, forsooth, might have the same as him. During the dinner he talked of little other than the Vilenes of the Roads, calling them as Blind and Ignorent as the directions of the Inhabittents. He had more to say than was seemly, to my thinging, of the Ladyes, how handsom he found them, their black Hair being to his liking. He was exceeding Frugale in his drinking as well as in his Feeding, for he took but one mug of beer and two glasses of wine during the whole meal.

After the second Glass he related sundry Aneckdotes, but with such gravyty and slowness that none durst smile. He told us that Mr. Franklin having been much Vexed in England by the British complaneing that the Yankees, as they term us, took a wrong advantage on the 19th of April, in firing from behind Stone-walls, the great philosofer had retorted, "Were there not two sides to the walls?" The only other Storey I mind his telling is of his having come to a Tavern where the Host was away, and where they had to arowse the Mistress, she being in bed. On hearing that the Presedent was below asking shelter, she would have nought to do with him, believing him to be but the President of the little Yale Colledge in Connt.

A most diverting thing took place after this: Mr. Washington, you must know, is much bestirred over Farming matters and had much to ask of the crops et cetra, and so talking, he turned to Mr. Merrett and asked if he tho't not that the hogs should be impownded and more by token, he will soon be named for Hog-sease himself, being about to marry. The mirth at this might have prov'd Unbecoming, had not just then arose a great cracking and howling. We rushed to the window and there in the butt'n wood Tree was Jonas, clinging to the fril of Lucindy' skirt, and she dangling in mid-air. Before we could get out of the Room, one of the Black-men had climed the tree and cought Lucindy by the neck like a cat, and carryed her down. The cilly child had led Jonas into climing the Tree with her to look in at the dinner-room window, and a limb having snappdd she wo'd but for Jonas, have broken her neck. Her new frock was quite spoyled. After the meal my father shew the comp'y the Massonic Hall over the shopp for Mr. Washington is a Mason, but says my Father, a very luke-warm one thro' Pollicy. The forward Lucindy had meanwhile been put into



THOMAS JEFFERSON



SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

From a portrait owned by the Provincial Government of British Columbia
Born in Scotland, he entered the service of the Northwest Fur Company in 1779, and in 1789 led an exploring expedition to the northwest, in which he discovered the Mackenzie River. He made other explorations, and was the first white man to cross the continent north of Mexico.



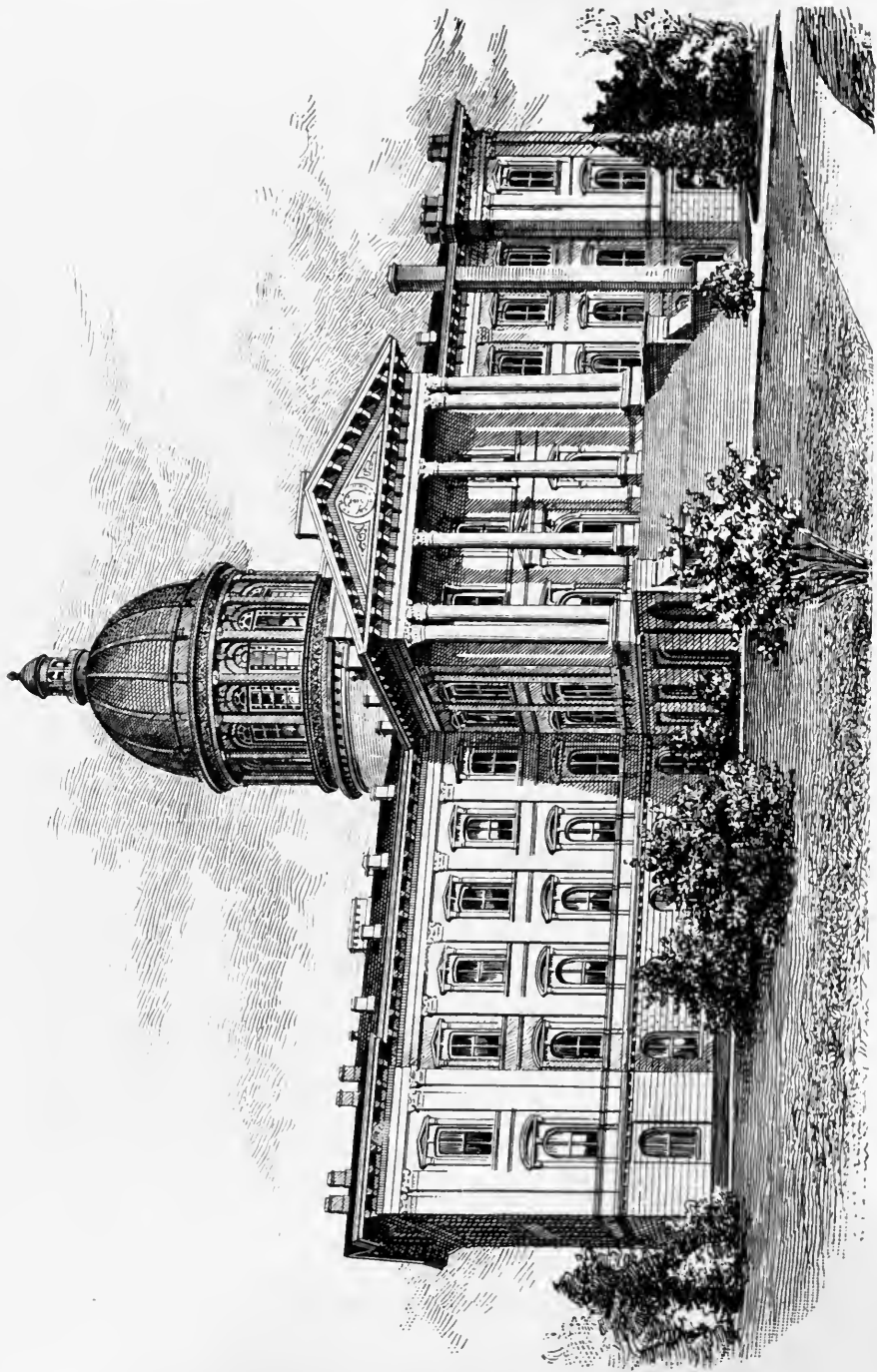
SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE
Another portrait



UNION SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO



THE CAPITOL OF CALIFORNIA AT SACRAMENTO



THE STATE CAPITOL, SALEM, OREGON



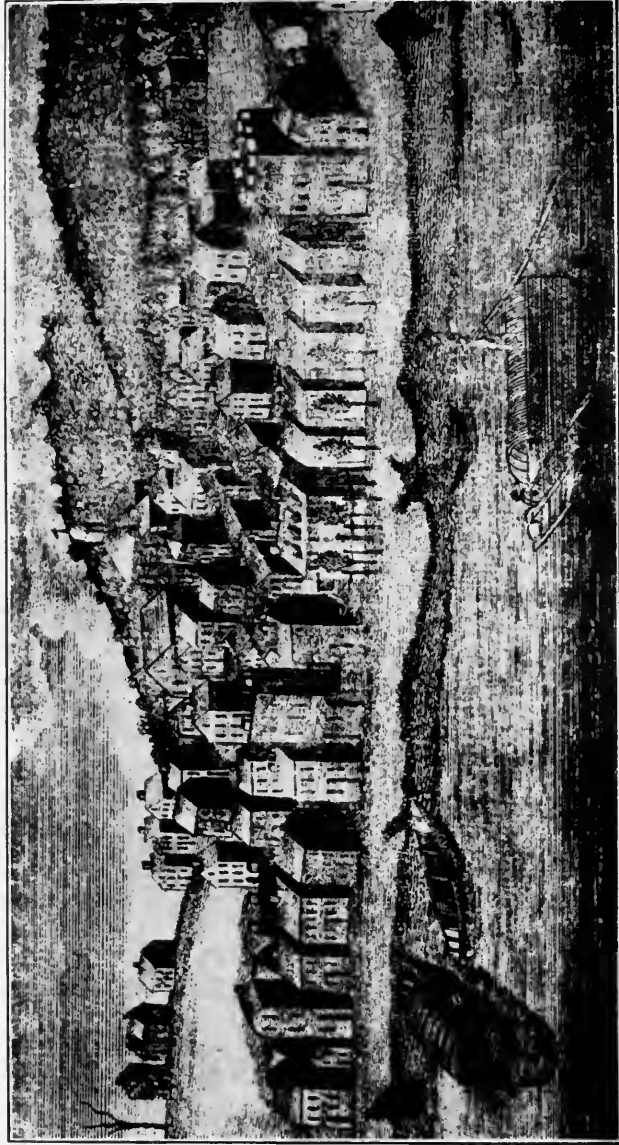
TRANSPORTATION BY REINDEER IN ALASKA



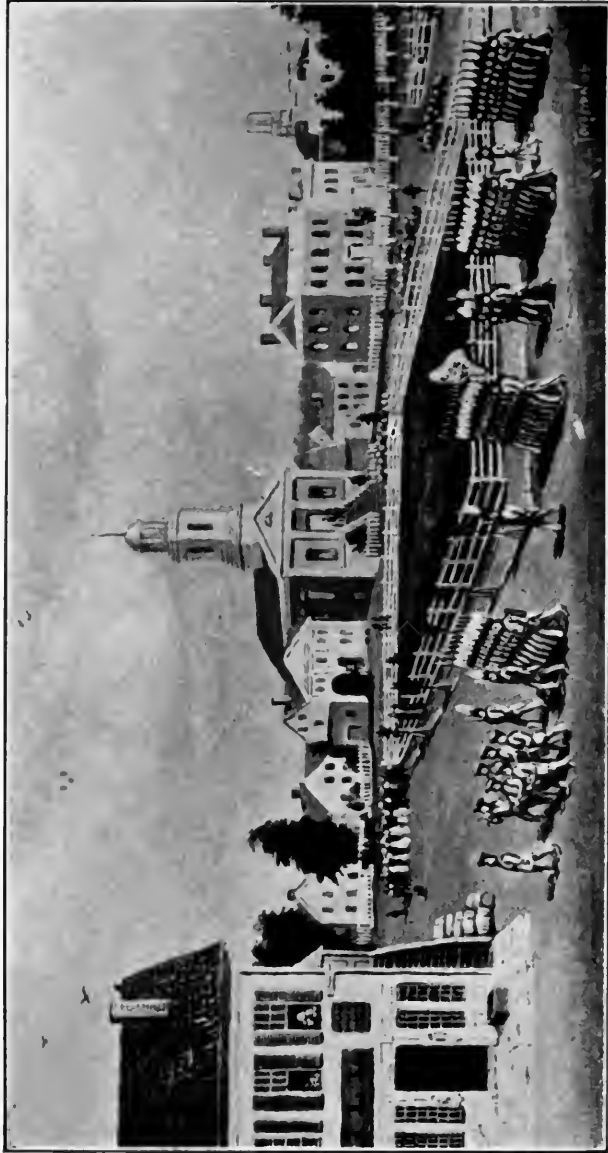
PORTRAIT OF THE GREAT AMERICAN NOVELIST WHOSE TALES DEPICT
THE CONQUEST OF THE WILDERNESS BY THE WHITE MAN, AND THE
LIFE OF THE AMERICAN PIONEER



BUFFALO, NEW YORK, IN 1813



AN OLD VIEW OF CINCINNATI, OHIO



THE PUBLIC SQUARE, CLEVELAND, OHIO, IN 1839

I found that Mr. Midoff was your instructor
for many years which I have since had
an opportunity of sending towards S. Haven
I want much to receive a letter from
you and a full history of the transactions
of the writer, I have heard many flying
reports, but know not what to conclude
as to the truth of them. Upon the whole
I take it for certain, that the Revolution
will have been successful, but in what
manner I have not been sufficiently
informed. From what I can collect, I think
probable you have had some high things
this winter, but ~~that~~ expect a more
full account of these matters in your next

I am at present in a school in
New London. I think my education
somewhat preferable to what it was last
winter. My school is by no means dis-
cult to take care of. It consists of a great
number of scholars; ten of whom are Latinists
and all but six of the rest are writers.

I have a very convenient school house, and the
people are kind and sociable. — I pro-
mise myself some more satisfaction in writing
and receiving than I have done before
you. I wish I have as good. I know of no
state communication, but without any
doubt, opportunities will be much more
frequent, than what I was at Madras. —
For the greater part of the last year, we were good
neighbors, and always thought very good
friends. I rarely jogged on my part, that
it would be matter of real grief to me, should
our friendship ~~be~~ ^{be} broken.
I beg, — The only means for maintain-
ing it is constant writing, in the prac-
tice of which, I am very much desirous to
concur with you, and do hope we shall re-
main, as at present,
New London, Mass. Yours Friend and
Constant Well-wisher
Nathan Hale
M. H. A.



FRONTISPIECE OF A RARE BROCHURE WHEREIN IS DESCRIBED WHAT WAS PROBABLY THE FIRST THEATRICAL TOUR IN THE PRESENT UNITED STATES

Anthony Aston, under the pseudonym of "Mat. Medley," wrote an account, published in London in 1731, of his career as an actor in Great Britain and the American colonies, this narrative occupying eight pages of a brochure entitled "The Fool's Opera; or, The Taste of the Age, written by Mat. Medley, and Performed by His Company."



BATTLE OF THE "MERRIMACK" AND "MONITOR," HAMPTON ROADS, 1862



GENERAL GEORGE E. PICKETT
A leader of the Confederate forces in the Civil War.

WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO LEXINGTON

an apron to hyde the Rents in her frock, and now she pushed herself into the Presidents his presence. He noticed her perforce, and the minx was thereat Bold enough to intreat him to go with her to get Pares from the old button pare tree in the Hollow. He indulgently consented and she led him thither. He raised her in his arms that she might reach the Pares and on letting her down, I cannot swear to it, but I firmly believe that he gave her a smack. She is quite to old, to my thinking, for such foldyrol. His highness then stood for a while afore the house admiring at the trees, himself the center of all eyes. Spying something white behind the wall opposite, he queried what it might be, at which we well might burst larfing, for in truth twas your granney herself, who had craled up with much ado, and was now peeping her cap all awry to see the Pres. The sun being now, Mr. Washington entered his carriaged, and started off towards Watertown, having denied a Mug of Flip which my father with much pains had prepared. Messiers Tobyas Lear and Jackson the Black men did not say nay tho I warrant you. I have burned 3 dips, which is sinfull and have set up long beyoond Bell ringing to send you this, so must I stop. Your ever affectionate,
SALLY.

Post scriptum The President payed no Heed to me wch in deed, I would not have allowed, as did Lucindy.

Post scriptum 2 If tho have a new shallon for Madam Washington's Friday roule do not akwaint me of it lest I die with coveting.



Florida Under the English Flag, 1763--1783

BY

HELEN ELOISE BOOR TINGLEY, B. S., M. A.

Vice-President of the National Historical Society



FOR two centuries Spain relaxed her hold on that part of the New World first acquired, and Florida thereby fell under the tutelage of England. Vignoles remarks: "The peace of 1763 gave the Floridas to Great Britain and for the subsequent twenty years St. Augustine appears to have been greatly improved. In June, 1784, when it again reverted to Spain, it was a prosperous town. Neglect and consequent decay attended this town during its occupancy by the Spaniards. . . . The prosperity of Pensacola and decay seem to have been somewhat similar to its sister city."

Florida had been a Spanish possession till 1763, when, by the Treaty of Paris, this province was ceded to England by the Spanish crown as recompense for Havana, captured by the English in 1762.

England and Spain had been contending for Florida for some time. In 1740, Governor Oglethorpe, of Georgia, encouraged by George II, determined to drive the Spanish from Florida, and made St. Augustine his objective point. The boundary question had previously been the subject for negotiations. Oglethorpe had wished to restrain the Spanish to the St. John's as a northern boundary. The Spaniards had endeavored to arouse the sympathy of the Indians and to stir up an insurrection of Carolina negroes. The Spanish governor urged that the malcontents join his standard, with the promise of the same pay as was given to the Spanish troops.

Oglethorpe's attack upon St. Augustine failed. The Spaniards were too strong; the volunteers from Carolina, who had come to assist him, deserted; the weather was against him; and he made the fatal mistake of establishing his artillery on Anastasia Island. But, though the attempt failed, it impressed the Spaniards with the desire of the English for Florida.

FLORIDA UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG

In 1748 a treaty was signed which temporarily ended hostilities. But the flames were only smothered: the fire was not extinguished. In 1755, the hostile feeling again came into evidence in marauding expeditions. The Spanish court, represented by its ambassador, took up the matter at the court of St. James, and was given an order requiring the English to withdraw from Florida. Thereupon the new Spanish governor, Don Alonzo Fernandez de Herreda, took the permitted means for the expulsion of the English. He sent a company of dragoons to execute his orders. The English, upon summons, agreed to retire, but they never kept their agreement, and in 1763 Florida was ceded to Great Britain.

While this activity was in evidence in the eastern part of Florida, an equally promising interest centered in the western part of the colony. In 1717 a Scotchman, John Law by name, was very active in creating an interest in this part of the colony. But his scheme was founded on a paper system which brought on its failure, for English financiers were all too familiar with such schemes. But the greed of England for Florida did not diminish, and was never satisfied till the Treaty of Paris gave her the object of her desire. By this treaty, which closed the Seven Years' War, England was constituted the world's colonial power. By it, she lost little and gained everything for which she could have hoped.

In this article we are concerned with only part of the treaty. Great Britain ceded to France the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and retained Cape Breton and Canada. For her fishermen, France was guaranteed her rights under the Treaty of Utrecht, and accorded the circumscribed right of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The neutral islands were thus divided: St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago were given to the full power of Great Britain, and St. Lucia to France. Great Britain gave up claim to Martinique and Guadaloupe for possession of Grenada and the Grenadines, to the island of Goree for the Senegal protectorate, and to Belle Isle for Minorca. To Spain, Great Britain surrendered Havana in exchange for Florida. The Mississippi, from the source to the mouth, save for New Orleans, was named as the western boundary. France had ceded the New Orleans territory to Spain by special concession.

The treaty was concluded November 3, 1762, and ratified February 10, 1763, but it was so broad in its scope that it was some time before its injunctions could be effected. On October 7, the king took the first decisive action in regard to the new territory. In consideration of the value and extent of this acquisition, there was a procla-

mation issued, emanating from his majesty, that, with the advice of his privy council, he had granted "Letters patent under the Great Seal to erect, within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada."

Only the Apalachicola and its tributary, the Chattahoochee, partitioned the two Florida provinces geographically. East Florida was that territory bounded on the west by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; north by a line drawn from that part of the Apalachicola where lies the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee, to the source of the St. Mary's, and along the course of that river to the Atlantic, and on the east and south by the Gulf of Mexico. It included all islands within six leagues of the coast.

West Florida was bounded on the west by Lake Pontchartrain, Lake Maurepas, and the Mississippi; on the north by a line running from the Mississippi at 31 degrees north latitude to the Chattahoochee; and, on the south, by the Gulf of Mexico. This province also included all islands within six leagues of the coast, from the Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain.

While England busied herself expanding colonially along the whole Atlantic seaboard, save that portion occupied by Florida, Spain had extended her territory little in the one hundred and ninety years of occupation. Little either had been done in the way of colonization. In 1763 the population scarcely exceeded six or seven thousand. The wild interior was as much of a wilderness as it was two centuries before. St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile represented the sole town life of the colony and there were a few outposts in the northwest and some settlements. Of these small settlements, the most interesting, perhaps, is that said to be the third settlement in the State, Volusia Landing, on Lake George, formerly known as Volusia. It was established by and named for Jere Volusia.

There was scarcely any agricultural element among the colonists, the citizens depending almost entirely on employment in a civil or military capacity. Bartram attributes this tendency to indolence and fear of the Indians. While the Spanish flag floated over the Floridas, her colonies were not treated as being capable of self-government, and the interest in them rested not in the material advancement of the colonies themselves, but in the support they might render the mother country.

Assuming a different attitude, the English provided the first representative government in this territory. We will see that the plan

of the British government was to colonize the territory as rapidly as possible and, as a preliminary step, offered many inducements to settlers. Alluring descriptions of the new land were published, first by Roberts, and afterward works by Bartram, Stork, and Romans. Although there were some discrepancies in their respective descriptions, in general they tally.

Roberts's work appeared in 1763. He pictures St. Augustine, at that time the center of Spanish colonial life, as a city running along the shore at the foot of a pleasant, wooded hill. The city was symmetrically oblong in contour, and cut by four regular streets, crossing at right angles. The north of the town, the best built part, led to St. John's Fort, the Castle. It is pictured as being a square, casemated building, constructed of soft stone, and fortified unusually well, with whole bastions, having a rampart twenty feet high, with a parapet nine feet high. To the south of the town, by the seaside, stood the church and monastery of St. Augustine. Indian villages appear in the picture: one on a point south of the city, at the powder house, and the other north of the city. The northern village had a church. A negro fort is shown about a mile to the north. Oglethorpe's landing place was on Anastasia Island, and a small fort on the mainland, south of the city.

To get a more complete picture of St. Augustine at the time the English first took up occupation, we must look at the homes left by the Spaniards. "The houses are built of free-stone, commonly two stories high, two rooms upon a floor, with large windows and balconies. Before the entry of most of the houses runs a portico of stone arches. The roofs are commonly flat. The Spaniards consulted convenience more than taste in their buildings. The number of houses within the town lines when the Spaniards left it was almost nine hundred." Vignoles observes that at the time the Spaniards abandoned the city, there was at least one house remaining bearing the date 1571, and that all were without windows or chimneys. All the gardens had a plentiful supply of such fruit-bearing trees as the lime, citron, pomegranate, guava, Seville and China oranges, bergamot, lemon, and plantain.

In a proclamation, issued in October, 1767, by General James Grant, he especially refers to the salubrity of the country and the climatic advantages for the production of fruits and indigo. An extract from this proclamation reads as follows: "And whereas, it may greatly contribute to the speedy settlement of his majesty's province to inform all persons of the healthiness, soil, and productions thereof, I do in this proclamation further publish and make known, that the

former inhabitants lived to great ages. His majesty's troops, since their taking possession of it, have enjoyed an uninterrupted state of good health. Fevers, which are so common in the autumn in other parts of America, are unknown here. The winter is so remarkably temperate, that vegetables of all kinds are raised during that season without any art. The soil on the coast is in general sandy, but productive with proper cultivation. The lands are rich and fertile in the interior part of the province and on the sides of the rivers, which are numerous. Fruits and grains may be raised with little labor; the late inhabitants had often two crops of Indian corn in one year, and the breeder here will be under no necessity of laying up fodder for the winter, for there is at all times sufficient pasture to maintain his cattle. The indigo plant remains unhurt for several years and may be cut four times in a season. Wild indigo is found here in great abundance, which with proper cultivation is esteemed in the French islands to be the best. From the great luxuriance of all the West India weeds found in the southern part of this province, it is not to be doubted but that all the fruits and productions of the West Indies may be raised here. Oranges, limes, lemons, and other fruits grow spontaneously over the country. This province abounds in mahogany, and all kinds of lumber for transportation or ship-building, and the conveyance of the commodities will be attended with little expense, as there is water carriage everywhere."

A short history of the fort at St. Augustine may serve to designate what a formidable structure it was for the times. On September 6, 1565, three companies of Menendez' soldiers, with two captains, landed at St. Augustine to select a site for a fort. The lines were traced in the shape of an octagon. It was erected and christened San Juan de Pinas. In 1640 the Spaniards captured the Appalachian Indians and brought them to St. Augustine, where they were required to labor on the fort. At this time it was constructed of logs and earth. Captain Davis made an attack on the city in 1665, when the governor, realizing the necessity of its being stronger and more enduring, ordered the use of coquina rock for its reconstruction, and the shape was changed to a trapezium. By 1702 it was nearly completed, and withstood without material damage the siege of Governor Moore; and in 1744 Oglethorpe in vain tried to injure it by firing from his position on Anastasia Island. In 1703 and 1740 it was case-mated and further improved.

Three churches are designated in Stork's description of the city in 1763. One was on the public square at its south corner, another on

FLORIDA UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG

St. George Street on the lot on the west side, south of Green Lane, and a Dutch church was near where the Roman Catholic cemetery now exists. The present United States government building was the governor's official residence and is represented as having attached to it a beautiful garden. Stork adds that the apartments were spacious and "suited to the climate, with high windows, a balcony in front and galleries on both sides. To the back of the house is joined a tower, called in America a lookout, from which there is an interesting prospect toward the sea as well as inland." Since Florida has become part of the United States, this building has been so altered as to retain little of its old appearance, which is said to have been a fine specimen of Doric style. The Franciscan Convent, which was converted into a barracks for the garrison, is shown where the barracks are now, but different in form of the buildings.

Pensacola, the next most important town in the life of the Spanish colonists, was established in 1619, but was taken from the French in the same year by Riola, and was held by the Spaniards till 1719. In 1699, however, there was an unsuccessful attempt by Iberville, in behalf of the French, to capture the town. But their failure never daunted them, and, in 1719 it was lost and taken twice by the Spaniards, and a third time lost to the French, who retained it till 1722, when it was returned to Spain. On August 7, 1763, Spain was again obliged to give up her claim, and turned Pensacola over to the British, represented by Captain Wells. Hamilton observes that in Pensacola at this time there were only forty thatched huts and one barracks. There was a large stone edifice, surmounted with a tower, which building was later used by Governor Chester as a palace. A large fortress (a tetragon) was the city's defense.

To govern this territory King George sent James Grant, who had been high in command at the capture of Havana, and George Johnstone. The letters patent, constituting the governments, granted power and gave directions to the respective Governors, that, so soon as the colonies had reached a state that would warrant such action, with the advice and consent of the members of the councils, they should summon a general assembly within the respective governments, in the same manner as followed in the other colonies of America under the immediate power of the king. The governors, with the consent of the councils and representatives, were also endowed with the power "to make laws for the public peace, welfare and good government as nearly as might be agreeable to the laws of England and under such regulations and restrictions as were used in other colonies; and until such assemblies could be called, the governors

with the assent of their councils were authorized to establish courts of judicature in their respective colonies." West Florida was governed by Johnstone from Pensacola; and East Florida had St. Augustine for its capital with Grant as its ruling factor.

Major Oglivie received St. Augustine from the Spaniards, but he was impolitic and untactful, and became so offensive to the Spanish inhabitants that they moved almost as one body to Havana, most of them receiving from the Spanish treasury indemnity for their losses. It was said that not more than five consented to remain, and it was only by the efforts of the commandant that the departing Spaniards were prevented from destroying every house and building in the town. Both provincial governments made determined efforts to induce new colonists to hazard the fortunes of the new colony. The problems of both were stupendous but dissimilar. Johnstone's was a problem of peace or war; and Grant's of colonization.

Governor Grant's proclamation of October 7, 1763, was intended to offer a means of conciliation to the remaining Spaniards, of recalling those who had withdrawn, as well as to encourage those in the homeland to remove to Florida. East Florida had been the seat of war between the Indians, the Spanish, and the British of Georgia. Grant inherited this turmoil of the Spanish occupancy. But Grant was a peace-maker as well as a fighter, and it is said of him that he brought together at his table many between whom there rested a misunderstanding or avowed enmity, and, before allowing them to take their departure, a reconciliation was brought about. His was a successful administration, lasting till 1771, when his health, broken by his indefatigable efforts to promote the welfare of the province, forced him to return to England.

His proclamation resulted in the immigration of some English planters from Carolina. Among this number came Major Moultrie, elder brother to William Moultrie (builder of Fort Moultrie), and William Drayton. At approximately the same time some English noblemen became grantees to large tracts of land in Florida and, desirous of improving them, sent out agents for the purpose. Among these noblemen were Lords Hawke, Egmont, Greenville, and Hillsborough.

Other grantees were Sir William Duncan, Dennys Rolle, Richard Oswald, and Dr. Turnbull. Oswald's plantation was on the Halifax, at a place still known as Mt. Oswald. Dennys Rolle was grantee to a forty thousand acre plantation. In 1765 he set sail from England with about one thousand families, with whom he expected to settle in the middle of Florida. But, in stress of circumstances and driven by

bad weather to enter the St. John's River, they decided to remain where fortune had placed them. They selected a spot on the east bank of the St. John's, two or three miles above Palatka, and named the place Charlotta, after Queen Charlotte. It is now known by the name of the leader, as Rollstown. But this settlement incurred such a great expense that it was obliged to break up, and the settlers went to Carolina.

Lord Beresford established a large plantation on the upper St. John's, at a place which still bears his name. At Spring Garden another plantation was established. In 1766 about forty families emigrated from Bermuda to Mosquito to engage in ship-building. The groves of live oak afforded them plenty of material for the purpose.

In 1767 Dr. Nicolas Turnbull, Sir William Duncan, and other notable Englishmen formed a colony of immigrants to be settled in the East Province. We noted that the treaty of 1763 gave Minorca to England in exchange. In this island, and in Corsica and Greece, they heralded the proposition to convey emigrants to America, free of expense of passage, to provide them with clothing and provisions, and, at the end of three years, to grant to each head of a family fifty acres, and to each child twenty-five acres. Fourteen hundred persons responded. The inhabitants of these particular places were selected with the idea that they would make the best settlers because of the similarity of the climate between their native home and the new one. The hardships of the long voyage were gilded with the splendid inducements. However, tired out before the termination of their voyage, when they finally reached their destination, the prospects ceased to look so bright. But a settlement was made at Mosquito and called after the home of Turnbull's Greek wife, New Smyrna (or Smirnea).

Attention is called by John Y. Detwiler to an article entitled "Narrative of a Shipwreck in the Gulph of Florida Showing God's Protective Providence," a narrative by Jonathan Dickenson, one of the persons concerned, which was printed in 1803. This article is filled with historic data, convictive that these were not the first settlements on this spot, but that Europeans made a settlement here before St. Augustine was founded. The results of excavations at New Smyrna would corroborate the statements in this article.

The colony was established at an expense of one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars. All of these settlers came under indenture to Turnbull and Duncan and worked for their masters in the cultivation of indigo, principally. This was a profit-producing labor, for indigo commanded a high price and a bounty from the English gov-

ernment. The first crop netted three thousand dollars. As the labors of the colonists became more valuable, the more wholly in the bonds of servitude did the laborers come to be. In consequence of severe punishments inflicted upon them an insurrection took place. The leaders were tried and condemned to die. But Grant pardoned two of them and promised to pardon the third on condition that he would execute the remaining two. This inclemency is the only thing of account to mar the otherwise splendid career of Grant. The Minorcan colony continued to be treated so shamefully that at the end of nine years their number was reduced by more than half, from fourteen hundred to six hundred. Then, in 1776, Attorney-General Yonge interceded in their behalf and his efforts resulted in the retraction of the contracts with Turnbull and in the released colonists being assigned a certain parcel of land north of St. Augustine which their descendants occupy to this day.

Besides many colonizing adventures projected as a result of Grant's energy, there were many permanent improvements made in the province. The English constructed large barracks of such a stupendous nature that Romans is led to characterize them as being capacious enough to hold five regiments. These barracks were destroyed by fire in 1792.

The light-house on Anastasia Island had been erected of mason work by the Spaniards. In 1769 General Haldimand commanded that it be raised sixty feet higher of frame-work. The house then had two flagstuffs, one to the north and one to the south, on one of which a flag was hoisted for every incoming vessel: on the north flag-pole if the vessel came from the north, and on the south flagstaff if from the south. A cannon placed on the top of the light-house was fired for every outgoing vessel.

The splendid roads known as the "King's Roads," which run from St. Augustine to New Smyrna and from St. Augustine to Jacksonville and on to Coleraine, are to-day a monument to the memory of Grant's administration. In 1765 roads were constructed from Fort Barrington on the St. Mary's to St. Augustine, by the subscription of several gentlemen interested in the public welfare. Of these we find Governor Grant, Moultrie, Forbes, Oswald, Fish, and others. The whole period of Grant's administration was one of general improvement and prosperity. He closed his gubernatorial career leaving the province with every prospect favorable for becoming one of the most productive and valuable of England's American possessions. Rolle calls it "the most precious jewel of his majesty's American dominions."

FLORIDA UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG

Trading and commerce had developed to such extent that in 1770 fifty schooners and several square-rigged vessels in trade to London and Liverpool entered St. Augustine. In 1771 five vessels arrived from London, seven from New York, and eleven from Charleston. One thousand negroes were imported, of whom one hundred and nineteen came directly from Africa.

The number of inhabitants in East Florida from 1763 to 1771, besides Turnbull's colony, are recorded as two hundred and eighty-eight householders and women, one hundred and forty-four of these householders being married. Among this number we find that there are thirty-one store-keepers, three haberdashers, fifteen inn-keepers, forty-five artificers and mechanics, one hundred and ten planters, eleven overseers, twelve draftsmen in the employ of the government, six cow-keepers, and four hunters. Fifty-eight left the province and twenty-eight died during this time.

Among the names of those residing in East Florida during this period we find Bernard Romans, a draftsman; William Bartram, a botanist and planter; Rev. N. Fraser, parson at Mosquito; Rev. John Forbes, parson and judge of admiralty and councillor; James Moultrie, Esq.; Hon. John Moultrie, planter and lieutenant-governor of the province; William Stork, Esq., the historian; Andrew Turnbull; William Drayton, planter and chief-justice; Sir Charles Burdett; and the governor, James Grant.

While continued prosperity pervaded the eastern province, Johnstone was battling with serious problems in West Florida. His administration was unpopular. Upon his arrival in Pensacola he took up his abode at the fort. The attitude he assumed while there, Halde-mand remarks, was that he owned the whole fort, too. The people often did not know whether to obey him or the commander. The climax to his disfavor came with the attitude he took in regard to the Indian policy. Because of his extreme unpopularity he found it necessary to resign in 1766. Like Governor Grant, and for a like purpose, he began his administrative career by issuing in 1764 a proclamation, painting in glowing terms the advantages of Florida. But the advantages of the western province came to be quite overshadowed by its disadvantages. Without considering civil and military quarrels, the history of West Florida is uneventful.

Gage, who had been governor at Montreal, succeeded Amherst as military commander of all America. As such he had military charge of West Florida. However, till the spring of 1767, the military command had been in charge of Colonel Taylor and the Twenty-second and Thirty-fourth regiments were at Mobile as they were October 20,

1763. Up the Alabama, the French had previously kept a fort, to restrain the British and for trading purposes. Now that it was no longer worth while as a check to the British, the fort came to be of little importance. So, before he withdrew to Mobile in 1763, Lanouie threw everything into the river rather than leave anything for the British. Fort Tombecbee was, however, a defense against the warlike Chickasaws and, as General Gage said, it was maintained to encourage the Choctaws and to "assist in Indian quarrels." Mobile continued to be valuable as the control of the Alabama basin, but, in the hands of the British, it acquired a vastly more important position as the controlling point of the Mississippi and the base of supplies and operations for such control. The British also built Fort Panmure at Natchez.

In order to insure communication with the Mississippi, the British aspired to make navigable the Iberville, which separated West Florida from Spanish Louisiana. It proved to be valuable for another purpose. Through this, or through the lower Mississippi, must pass all communications with the upper valley and, particularly, the upper Illinois region, which had been under the French "the granary of Louisiana" and, in part, of Canada. To protect this passage, Johnstone built on the site of the workmen's camp a fort which afterward became known as Fort Bute. The process of making the river navigable was a very great expense to the government.

But the occupation of West Florida meant more than the erection or displacement of forts and other plans for a formidable possession. The change of flag was accomplished with difficulty. It involved three people:—the Indians, the first inhabitants, who had under the French dominion been allowed to remain and had been regarded as native subjects; the French occupants of the territory; and the British, who treated the Indians as a dependent people to be driven back to the interior. The Choctaws and Chickasaws on the Tombecbee River and the Alabamans and allied tribes to the east offered a problem to face. The diplomacy required to meet this situation was not left for Johnstone alone to evince. Johnstone knew nothing about Indians or Indian affairs. John Stewart, who had been appointed in 1762 as superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern Atlantic colonies, was familiar with only the Cherokees; so another was called upon to administer to the Indians and bring about a settlement with them.

The Chevalier de Monberaut was the one designated for this office. He had two homes, one at Mobile and one at New Orleans, and for some time hesitated between remaining in Mobile and there seek-

ing an office in the British government, and going to New Orleans where he might obtain one under the Spanish. Being a Catholic, he would have had difficulty in obtaining one under the English but for his unique fitness for the position to which he was called. The post of deputy superintendent of Indian affairs was not a regular office, so he could with impunity be given such a position. Johnstone and Stewart were desirous of securing his influence with the Indians.

As soon as the agreement in writing was made, he set about his duties. He sumptuously dined the Indians and thereby helped his success. A daily table was set for twenty-five or thirty. This was more expense than either Johnstone or Stewart could or dared bear. Living was high. Flour sold for fourteen dollars a barrel, and General Gage was constantly urging economy.

The first congress, lasting from March 1 to April 26, proved the success of his efforts. A large section of land on the coast and the Tombebee River was granted by the Choctaws, the action of the western districts being confirmed by the eastern two weeks afterward. The negotiations with both the Choctaws of Mobile and the Creeks of Pensacola were entirely successful. Stewart in 1763 had endeavored to execute plans similar to those he had used in the north for obtaining land sessions, suitable to the requirements of the advancement settlers. His first congress was held at Augusta, that being the trading station with the Indians. In this congress were the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and some Choctaws. A treaty, known as the Augusta treaty, was drawn up, which served as a model for the other treaties. The following is Article IV. of this document:

"Whereas, doubts and disputes have frequently happened on account of encroachments or supposed encroachments committed by the English inhabitants of Georgia on the lands or hunting grounds reserved and claimed by the Creek Indians for their own use: Wherefore, to prevent any mistakes, doubts, or disputes for the future and in consideration for the great marks of clemency and friendship extended to us, the said Creek Indians, we, the kings, head men, and warriors of the several nations and towns of both Upper and Lower Creeks by virtue and in pursuance of the full right and power we now have and are possessed of, have consented and agreed that for the future, the boundary between the English settlements and our land and hunting grounds shall be known by a line extending up Savannah River to Little River and back to the fork of south branch of Briar Creek and down that branch to the Lower Creek path, and along Lower Creek path to the main stream of Ogeechee River and down the main stream

of that river just below the path leading from Mount Pleasant, and from thence in a straight line across to Sancta Seville on the Altamaha River and from thence southward as far as Georgia extends or may be extended, to remain to be regulated agreeable to former treaties and his majesty's royal instruction, a copy of which was lately sent to you."

The Mobile treaty made West Florida available for settlement. At the congress in Mobile, not only Choctaws, but some Chickasaws, were present, supposedly to insure title to territory which was in dispute between the two tribes. Article V of this treaty follows:

"And to prevent all disputes on account of encroachments or supposed encroachments, committed by the English inhabitants of this or any of his majesty's provinces, on the lands or huntings grounds reserved and claimed by the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, and that no mistakes, doubts, or disputes may for the future arise thereupon in consideration of the great marks of friendship, benevolence and clemency extended to us, the said Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, by his majesty, King George the Third, we the chiefs and head warriors, distinguished by great and small medals and gorgets, and bearing his majesty's commissions as chiefs and leaders of our respective nations, by virtue and in pursuance of the full right and power which we now have and are possessed of, have agreed and we do hereby agree that for the future, the boundary be settled by a line extended from Grosse Point in the Island of Mt. Louis, by the course of the western coast of Mobile Bay, to the mouth of the eastern branch of Tombecbee River, and north by the course of the said river to the confluence of the Alibamont and Tombecbee rivers and afterwards along the western bank of Alibamont River to the mouth of Chicianoce River and from the confluence of Chicianoce and Alibamont rivers, a straight line to the confluence of Bance and Tombecbee rivers, from whence by a line along the western bank of Bance River till its confluence with the Talatukpe River; from thence by a straight line to Tombecbee River, opposite to Atchalipke; and from Atchalipke by a straight line to the most northerly part of Buckatanne River and down the course of Buckatanne River to its confluence with the river Pascagoula within twelve leagues of the seacoast; and thence by a due west line as far as the Choctaw nation might have a right to grant.

"And the said chiefs, for themselves and their nations, give and confirm the property of all the lands contained between the above described lines and the sea, to his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and his successors, reserving to themselves full right and property in

all the land to the northward of said lines now possessed by them; and none of his majesty's white subjects shall be permitted to settle on Tombebee River to the northward of the rivulet called Centebonk."

The following is Article V of the Pensacola treaty:

"And to prevent all disputes on account of encroachments or supposed encroachments committed by the English inhabitants of this or any other of his majesty's provinces on the lands or hunting grounds reserved and claimed by the Upper and Lower Creek Nations Indians, and that no mistakes, doubts, or disputes may for the future arise thereupon, in consideration of the great marks of friendship, benevolence and clemency extended to us, the said Indians, of the Upper and Lower Creek Nations, by his majesty, King George the Third, We, the said chiefs and head warriors, leaders of our respective nations by virtue and in pursuance of the full right and power we have and are possessed of, have agreed and do hereby agree that for the future the boundary be at the dividing paths going to the nation and Mobile where is a creek, that it shall run along the side of that creek until its confluence with the river, which falls into the bay, then to run round the bay, and take in all plantations which formerly belonged to the Yammassee Indians; that no notice is to be taken of such cattle or horses as shall pass the line; that from the said dividing paths toward the west the boundary is run along the paths leading to Mobile to the creek called Cassabae, and from thence, still in a straight line, to another creek or great branch within forty miles of the ferry, and so to go up to the head of that creek, and from thence turn round towards the river, so as to include all the old French settlements at Tassa; the eastern line to be determined by the flowing of the sea in the bays as was settled at Augusta¹; and we do hereby grant and confirm unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all the land contained between the said lines and the seacoast."

Peace now reigned in the province, so far as the Indians were concerned. The terms of the Mobile treaty were clear; immigration followed. The treaty was confirmed by a subsequent congress in 1772. But the terms of the Pensacola treaty were not so clear. It is certain that peace did not always exist after the treaty had been made. It is certain that the Indians opposed all settlements made on grants given by the council of West Florida on the lower Alabama.

Civil and military affairs, however, kept the province in a constant state of agitation. Johnstone was self-centred, insistent on his

1. Not the Augusta treaty heretofore referred to, but probably one made outside of Augusta.

own rights and on the rights he fancied belonged to him, was easily offended, fell into disputes with the military commanders and every one else who crossed his path. One of his fancied rights was military command of the province as well as supreme civil authority. Colonel Taylor, stationed at Pensacola, was truly commanding military officer of the province and was instructed by Gage to ignore Johnstone's pettishness. Taylor, however, was appointed to a post at St. Augustine and was succeeded by Boquet.

In his absence from his northern home Boquet's *fiancée*, Miss Willing, of Philadelphia, married Mr. Francis, a wealthy Londoner. Boquet grieved himself to death. He was buried in a tomb of English gray brick on the shores of Pensacola Bay; but all traces of it have since been washed away by the waves.

Taylor had not left for St. Augustine before Boquet's successor, Haldimand, arrived, but disorder prevailed in the province. Haldimand set to work bravely and met with wonderful success. He heartily sympathized with the agriculturists and encouraged their trade at every turn. His method of subduing the Natchez and Illinois Indians was to give them plows and oxen instead of establishing military posts, "which the Indian traders wanted for their own nefarious traffic, the excuse of all disorders." He improved the harbor and planned for barracks to be built at Pensacola. Haldimand projected a plan for deepening the Iberville, and connecting it by canal to the Mississippi. The survey he caused to be made of Mobile River and Bay is said by one historian to be the most important accomplishment of the British in Florida. When Haldimand first arrived in Florida, he found the country in a bad state. He wrote of it as a "purgatory where we qualify ourselves for the happiness hereafter; (amongst you, I have patience, wishing it may be soon)."

In a letter to Captain Ross of the Thirty-first regiment, he writes of the progress in improving this so-called purgatory, and shows his improvement in the use of the English language.

"Dear Sir:—I was favor'd with your kind letter of the 24th Mar. and heard with the greatest pleasure of your safe arrival in England where no doubt you will indemnify yourself for what penance you have made here. I am obliged to you for the newspapers you sent to Captain Warlo for the benefit of the garrison, we are in want of everything to comfort and amuse us, altho' our situation is much altered for the better. You may imagine how I was surpris'd at my first entering this place to see the Misery people live in; Being pent within high rotten Palissados, built for Spanish convicts, deprived of air and practically of the Sea Breeze, the only comfort nature seems to intend for the



SIR JOHN HAWKINS, ENGLISH SEA FIGHTER OF "THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF GREAT ELIZABETH"

Born in England, at Plymouth, 1532, he died at sea off Porto Rico, 1595. He fought, as rear admiral, in the Battle of the Armada, for which service he was knighted. Much of his activity was in American waters.



THOMAS CAVENDISH, ENGLISH NAVIGATOR AND FREE-LANCE SEA FIGHTER
AGAINST SPAIN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Many of his raids and battles were off the coasts of South America and Mexico. In 1587-1588 he made the second circumnavigation of the globe.



DAVID PIETERZ DE VRIES

One of the early Dutch patroons, a man of mark and usefulness in the affairs of New Netherland.



BUILDING OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND
Through this great trading organization much of the Dutch colonization of New Netherland
was effected.



CITY HALL OF AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND, BEFORE 1615



WASHINGTON IRVING



DUTCH COURTSHIP

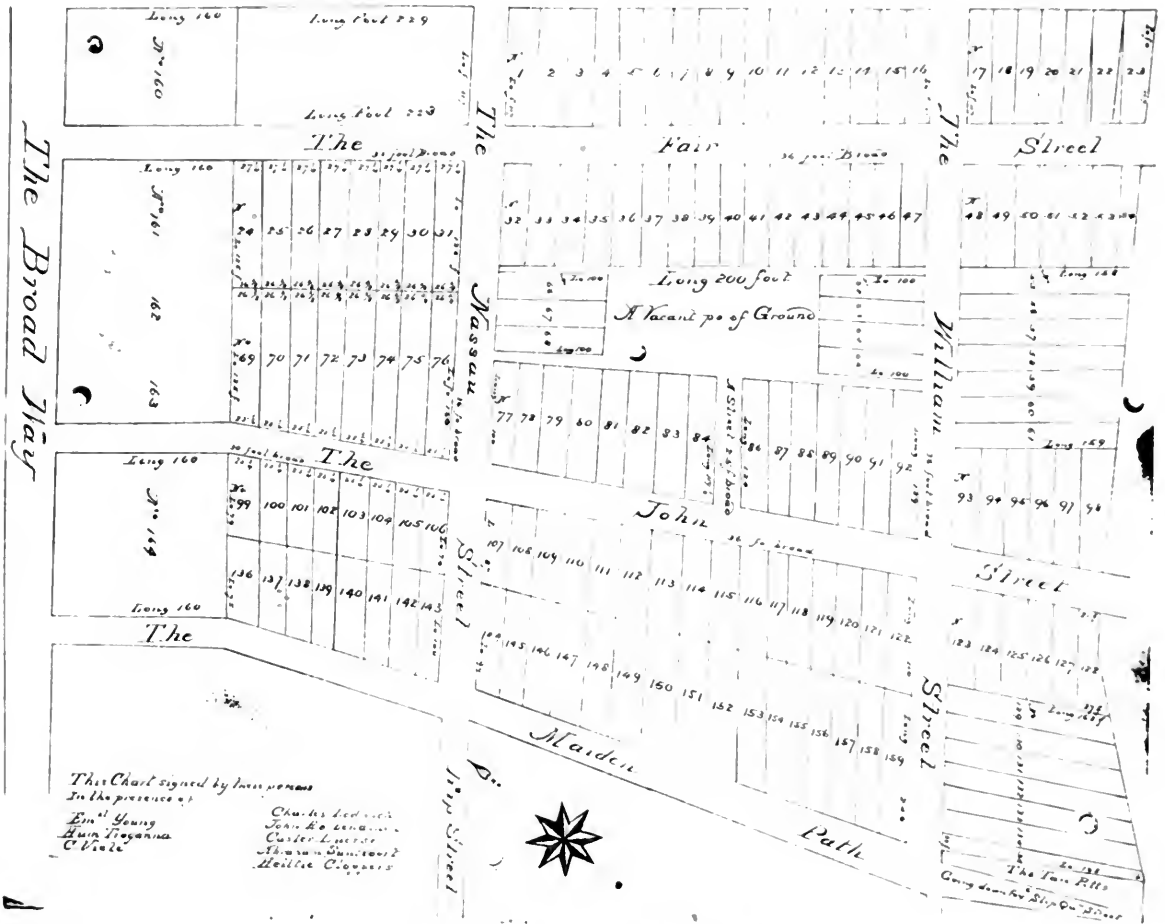
From a painting made by Irving's friend, Charles Robert Leslie, to illustrate "Kulekerbocker's History of New York."



EARLY NEW YORK CITY VIEW

Showing the original City Hall and Great Dock at the head of Coenties Slip, period of the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

A Map or Chart of a certain Tract of Land commonly called the Shoemakers Land

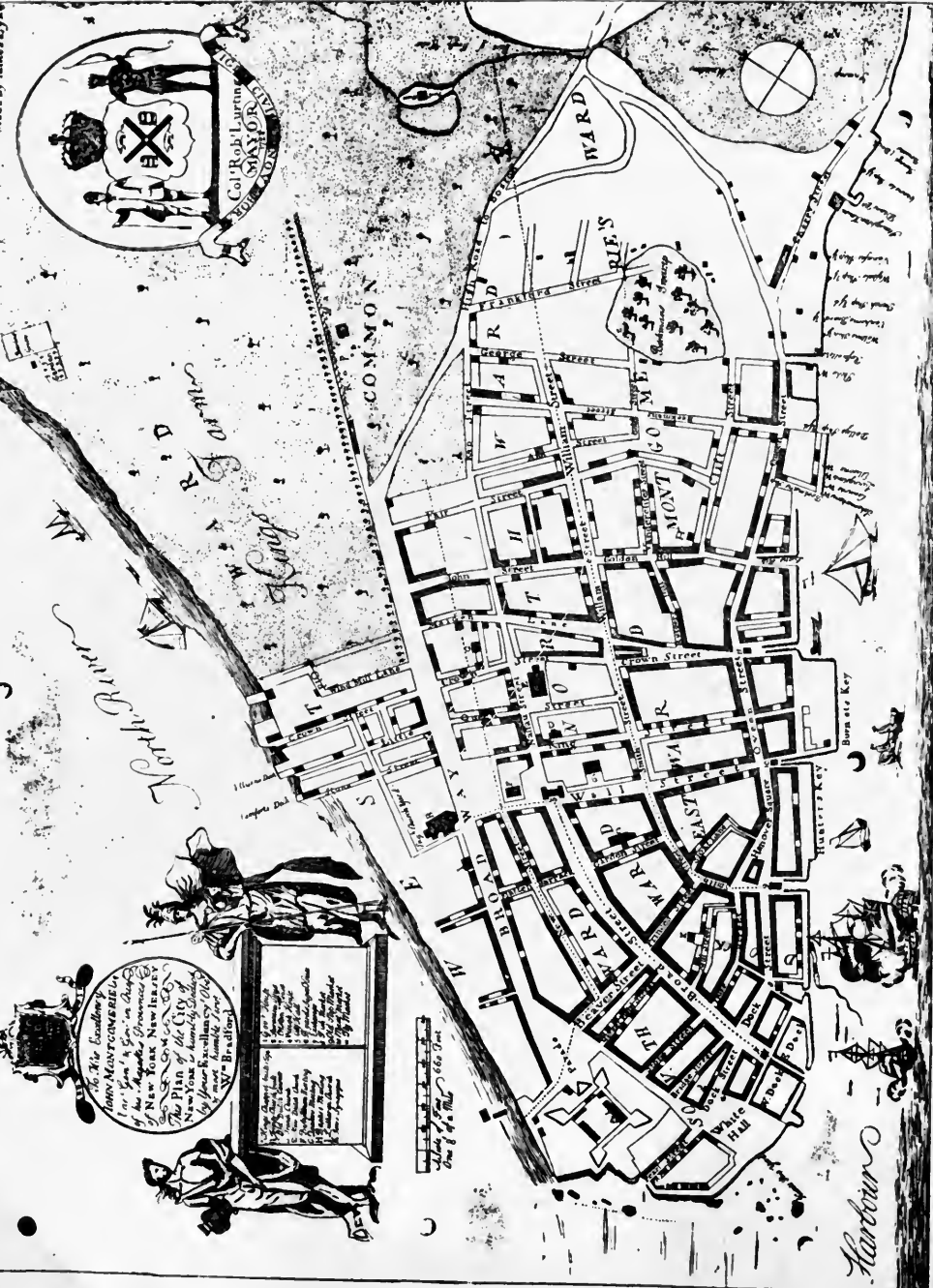


A PORTION OF EARLY NEW YORK

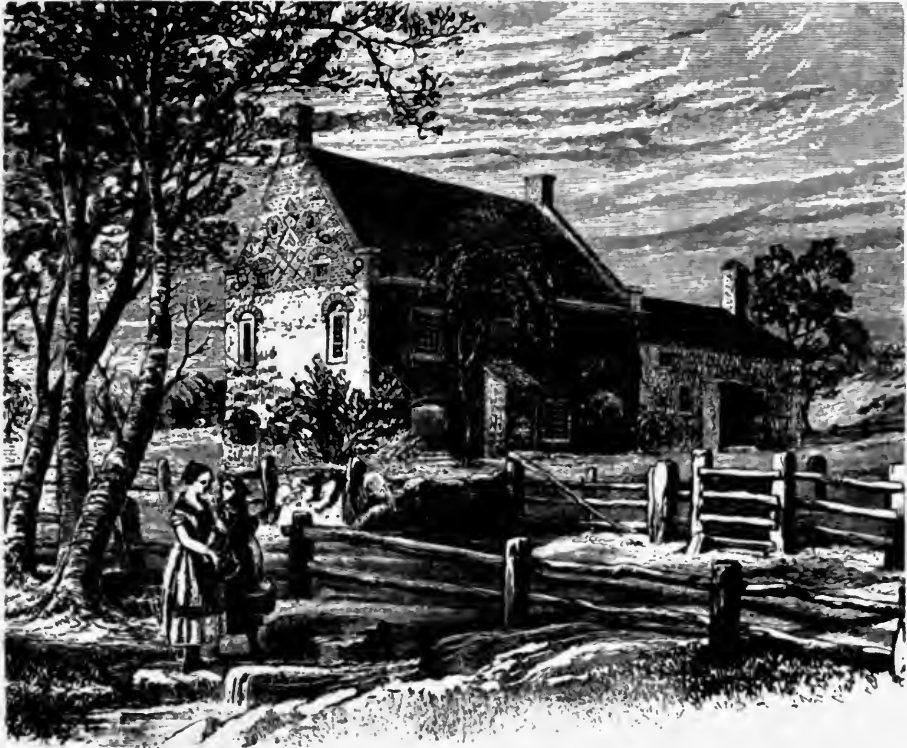
This is known as "The Dongan Map," being a fac-simile of one made by order of Colonel Dongan. The original bore date September 14, 1699.

A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey

Meas'd by James Lyne

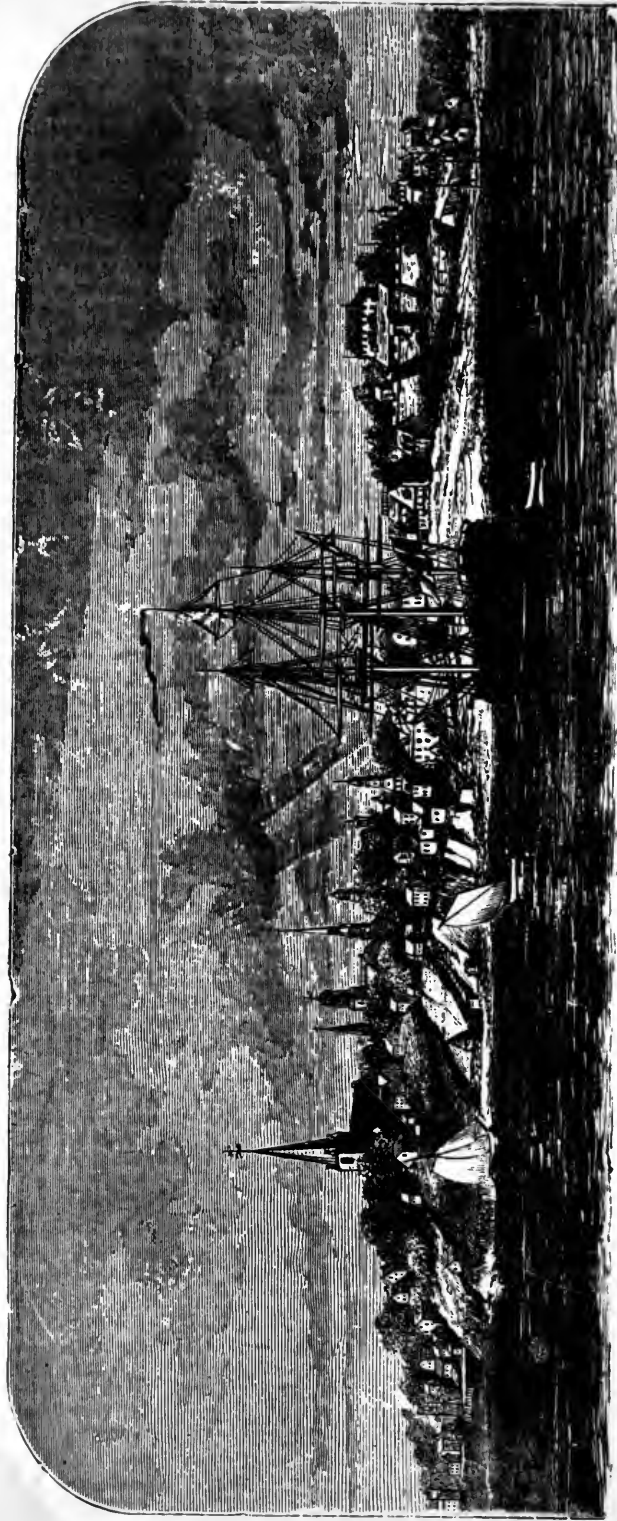


MAP OF NEW YORK CITY TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO
 The original map was 17x22 inches. It was drawn by Surveyor James Lyne and printed by William Bradford in 1723.



THE CORTELYOU HOUSE, 1699

Located at what is now Fifth Avenue and Third Street, Brooklyn, New York.



A VIEW OF NEW YORK CITY FROM THE HUDSON RIVER, 1776



DESTRUCTION OF THE STATUE OF GEORGE III BY NEW YORK PATRIOTS IN 1776

On July 9, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was announced to the continental troops in New York City. That night the king's statue in Bowling Green was demolished, and later its greater portion was melted into bullets for the American army.

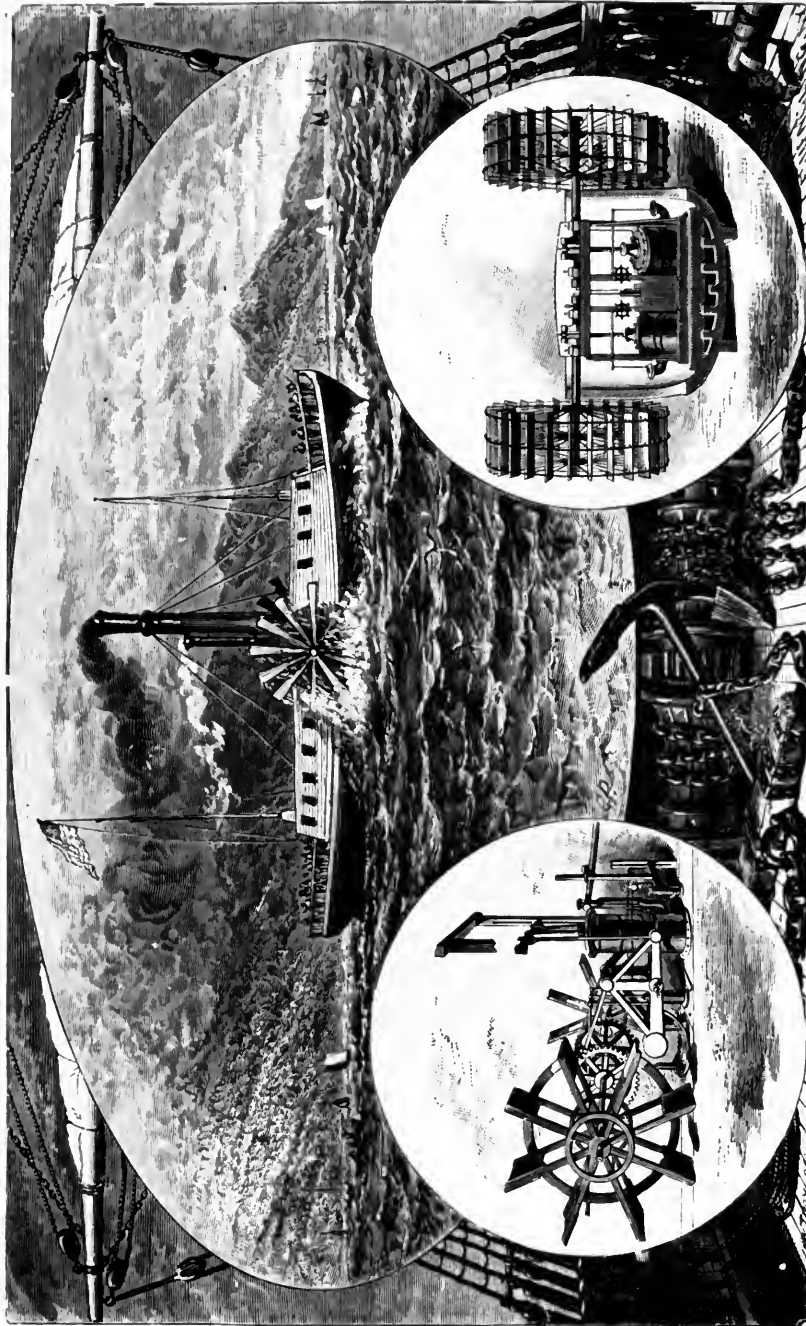


THE GOUVERNEUR MANSION, NEAR NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Built by Nicholas Gouverneur, it was inherited in 1795 by Gouverneur Kemble from his uncle, Isaac Gouverneur. It became thereafter the scene of the most genial associations—the rendezvous of Kemble and his friends, among whom was Washington Irving. He immortalized the place as "Cockloft Hall" in "Salmagundi."



BRIGHTON HEIGHTS, STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK, EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



THE "CLERMONT," FULTON'S FAMOUS STEAMBOAT
Though other claims for the invention have been made, it is generally believed that the little vessel pictured above with part of its machinery was the pioneer steamboat.

place. We have in about two months time removed the Stockade at a great distance, built store-houses, enclosed a large piece of ground for gardens, built an hospital, magazines, Sheds, and begin a ditch to drain the swamps behind the town and bring fresh water into the garrison.

. . . I wish you all joy and happiness but don't forget your friends in distress."

Haldimand spent much of his own money toward the expense of making the required improvements. He mortgaged his house in London for five hundred pounds in order to meet some of the expense. In 1778 there arose a dissatisfaction that a foreigner should have such prominence in dealing with the colonists, so Haldimand resigned and left the province. He was sent to the West Indies and never returned to either Pensacola or Mobile. For ten years he was governor of Canada.

After Johnstone's resignation in 1766 Lieutenant-Governor Browne had charge. In 1767 Governor Elias Durnford, a man of mettle and honor, was associated with Browne, and on May 15, 1767, Elliot was commissioned governor. His commission came in the following form:

"George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to our trusty and well beloved John Elliot, Esquire, greeting.

"Whereas, we did, by our letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster, the twenty-first day of November, in the fourth year of our reign, constitute and appoint George Johnstone, Esq., capt. gen. and governor-in-chief in and over our province of West Florida in America, bounded to the southward by the Gulf of Mexico including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola or Chattahoochee, and to the eastward by the said river. And whereas, by other our letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain dated at Westminster, the sixth day of June in the fourth year of our reign, we thought fit to revoke such part and so much of the said recited letters patent and every clause, article, and thing therein contained which doth in any way relate to our concern the limits and bounds of our said province as above described, and did constitute and appoint the said George Johnstone to be our captain general and governor-in-chief in and over our province of West Florida in America, bounded to the southward by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain, to the westward by the said lake, the Lake Maurepas and the river Mississippi, to the northward by a line drawn from the mouth of the river Yasons (Yazoo) where it united with the Mississippi, due east to the river Apalachicola, during

our will and pleasure. Now know you that we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine both the said recited letters patent and every clause, article, and thing therein contained. And further know you, that we, reposing special trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty, of you the said John Elliot, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere notion have thought fit to constitute and appoint you the said John Elliot to be our captain general and governor-in-chief of our said province of West Florida, comprehended within the limits and bounds above described, in our said last recited letters patent.

"Witness ourself at Westminster the fifteenth day of May, in the seventh year of our reign."

In 1770, in a similarly-worded decree, the king appointed Peter Chester as governor.

The state of politics by this time must have been very discouraging. One of the officers, writing from Pensacola in 1770, says: "Affairs in our unlucky province have, as yet, been upon a very unstable footing. Whether this ill-fate is still doomed to be our lot or whether we are about to emerge from such unhappy circumstances, a little time will discover." "Pensacola has been justly famed for vexatious lawsuits. It is contrived indeed that if a poor man owes but 5£ and has not got so much ready money or . . . or . . . he is sure to be prosecuted and the cost of every suit is about 7£ sterling. I have known this province a little more than four years, yet I could name to you a set of men who could brag to you of one governor resigned, one horse-whipped, and one whom they led by the nose and supported while it suited their purpose and then betrayed him. What the next turn of affairs will be God knows."

In 1775 most of the royal governors of the southern colonies were expelled, but Chester was in no such danger. The province was too weak to evince wrath for such causes as those to which the colonists pointed as the source of trouble. And, furthermore, such causes had not as yet presented any inconvenience to this infant province. The change from Spanish to British rule was too favorable to warrant a revolt so soon.

Chester got along without an assembly for several years. In 1777 he placed Farmer, McGillivray, and Michael Grant in the commission of the peace of Mobile. In 1778 a representative assembly was needed, however, to pass militia and Indian bills. Four representatives each were allowed to Machiac, Mobile, and Natchez; and eight were allowed to Pensacola, which was the capital and the largest town. There were some hundreds of houses in Pensacola at this time. Mobile and

Campbell Town were omitted in the representation, and, when all efforts at home to become reinstated failed, these two towns carried an appeal to the king with an expression of opposition to the administration of Chester. Nothing was done about it, however, for the committee in England went to pieces about this time. Chester continued his administration through the trials of the Revolution till 1781.

In East Florida, while this crisis was being passed, Tonyn was governor. When Grant resigned, he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie. William Drayton, chief-justice of East Florida, refused to pay due respect to Moultrie, and this resulted in a strife which threw the whole province into disorder. Drayton attempted to thwart Moultrie in his official acts. He was charged with being friendly to the colonial cause; so, when his appeal for reinstatement was met by the English parliament, it was refused. Leaving the province, he withdrew to England, but after some time returned to America, where in South Carolina he became conspicuous for his efforts in behalf of the colonists.

Tonyn came in 1774, in the heat of the contention between the colonists and England. He immediately proclaimed protection to the Loyalists of the Thirteen Colonies if they would take up their abode in his dominion. Many availed themselves of the opportunity. By 1778 nearly seven thousand Loyalists moved into Florida. They received pay for their adherence to the British government, and we have a record of Grant's putting in a claim in 1783 for such remuneration.

But there were those within the province who sympathized heartily with the revolting colonists, and some even joined them in war. But upon receipt of the news at St. Augustine of the Declaration of Independence; effigies of Hancock and Adams were burned on the public square.

The capture by an American privateer from Charleston of the British vessel *Betsy*, Captain Lofthouse, with one hundred and eleven barrels of powder, in August, 1775, thoroughly aroused and disgusted the British. At this period St. Augustine came to be important as a *dépôt* and *point d'appui* for the the British forces in their operations against the southern States, and we are told that often a large number of forces assembled there. In 1776 Tonyn ordered out the militia to assist the royalists in opposing the American forces, to prevent others in Florida from expressing sympathy in any way for their neighbors, and to prevent incursions into Florida.

Counter to the proclamation issued by Tonyn, came one from Governor Gwinnett of Georgia offering protection to all who would join in the cause against England. Florida was threatened by Indian tribes

friendly to the American cause; and one invasion of Florida by Georgia patriots was planned, but the plan failed. In 1778 Governor Houston of Georgia, with Howe, planned to make an attack on St. Augustine, but did not carry out the scheme.

However, in Florida action was aroused and a force organized to leave St. Augustine under Captain Mowbray of the navy and Major Graham of the Sixteenth regiment, the whole force being under command of Colonel Fuser. They erected fortifications at St. John's Bluff, but never crossed the river. Indians were encouraged to harass the Americans. Privateers were fitted out at the Florida ports, which severely injured the trade of the southern States.

But Florida was to play another part in the Revolution. After Charleston fell into the hands of the British, the general in command deported to Florida in 1780 about forty men of high standing, who were reputed to be supporters of the American cause. Later others were also sent, among them being Richard Beresford, Alexander Moultrie, John Budd, Edward Blake, General Gadsen, Joseph Bee, Arthur Middleton, Colonel Isaacs, Thomas Singleton, William Massey, and General Rutherford. Governor Tonyn wrote to Lord St. Germain, colonial secretary for America, an office only recently created to assist the board of trade in the administration of colonial affairs, saying: "To prevent these rebel prisoners from poisoning the minds of the people and for their former conduct, they are treated with great contempt and to have any friendly intercourse with them is considered as a mark of disrespect to his majesty and displeasure to me." Rather than accept parole, Gadsen and George Calhoun remained in confinement for over ten months. All were kept in St. Augustine till 1781, when they were returned to Philadelphia to be exchanged at the general exchange of prisoners.

In 1780 Sir Guy Carleton ordered the evacuation of East Florida, but remonstrances were so strong that he was obliged to rescind his order. In this same year the colony otherwise asserted its repugnance to overlordship and became imbued with the desire for a part in the government. It besought the governor for a general assembly. In December, 1780, such a representative gathering was summoned. In 1781 the secretary of state received word from Tonyn that the assembly had met and that the "freeholders had elected the most substantial, sensible, and best affected persons in the province" as their representatives. It enacted laws and organized a militia force.

In West Florida Haldimand and Gage were discussing an invasion of Louisiana at the same time that Governor Galvez was planning an attack on West Florida. Galvez went so far in his scheme as

FLORIDA UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG

to send to Spain a detailed description of the fortifications at Pensacola and Mobile. But no action was immediately taken by Spain. In 1778 General Prevost marched into Georgia from Florida. While making this journey, he left his own province at the mercy of the Spanish neighbors, and in 1779 war was declared between England and Spain.

The Spanish did not formally form an alliance with the thirteen colonies but sent word to General Washington of the plan to invade Florida. Washington had hopes that such an invasion would make Georgia and the Carolinas untenable for the English. The Spanish wished the British conquerors of their southern colonies to be checked by the Americans.

On August 19, 1779, American independence was recognized by the Spanish authorities of New Orleans. Hostilities were opened between the Spanish of Louisiana and the English of Florida. In September, 1779, Governor Galvez attacked the Mississippi forts and captured them. Fort Bute was easily taken, and Baton Rouge and Fort Panmure at Natchez surrendered. The news was carried to Campbell at Pensacola, but he believed it a ruse to draw him from his post, and would not go to their relief.

On February 5, the following year, Galvez made another attempt to gain West Florida. He sailed for Mobile and was successful in landing in Mobile Bay. Confusion in the town ensued, and there was a rush for the fort. Galvez, thinking victory would be as easy as it had been over the Mississippi forts the preceding year, asked for a surrender. Durnford sent him the following reply.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellencies' Summons to surrender immediately the Fort to Your Excellencies' Superior Forces.

"The difference in number, I am convinced are greatly in your favor, Sir, but mine are much beyond your Excellencies' conception, and was I to give up this Fort on your demand, I should be regarded as a traitor to my king and country. My love for both and my own honor direct my heart to refuse surrendering this Fort until I am under conviction that resistance is in vain. . . ."

Pensacola sent aid to Mobile, but to no avail; the town was forced to capitulate and the resistance offered by Pensacola acted as a boomerang, for Mobile became for the Spaniards the base of operations against Pensacola. A whole year was spent in preparation for the attack. Admiral Solana assisted with a naval force. Galvez was well prepared. Campbell's force at Pensacola was no match. His garrison, numbering one thousand men, bravely attempted to defend the

town behind two strong forts, St. Michael and St. Bernard. The bravery of Campbell's men offset the inequality in the strength of the two sides, and the Spaniards were making no impression until by chance a shell entered the magazine of Fort Michael at the very moment it was opened to take out ammunition. This destroyed the main redoubt. Fort Michael fell into the hands of the Spanish. Seeing the position in which he was placed, and knowing that engagements in the American Revolution would prevent other English generals from rendering him aid, and realizing that this same drawback would make it folly to recapture the fort, he surrendered to Galvez in March, 1781, and West Florida belonged to the Spanish domain once more. The English felt the defeat keenly, but it was the colonial Revolution that prevented success.

The English were gratified about this time, however, over the victory of Captain Devereaux, who had set out from St. Augustine, which success added the Bahamas to the British dominion. When England found that she had lost the colonies, her idea of owning the whole Atlantic seaboard being hopelessly condemned, she found the Floridas of little use, and, as they were a great expense, she was ready to cede them to Spain in order to settle trouble with that country. During the last three years of English occupation four hundred and five thousand pounds were spent on West Florida, and during the same length of time East Florida had been a burden of one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds to England. To the Spanish king before 1763, Florida had been an expense of about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds annually.

In June, 1783, after twenty years of occupation, the British by treaty ceded the Floridas to Spain, and Governor Zespedez took formal possession. The English, in general, left, going to the Bahamas, the United States, or the Jamaicas. A few English and all Minorcans, whose life and manner were similar to the Spanish, remained.

Only twenty years of possession, but England had made much of her opportunity, so that when she turned her possession over to Spain it was not the same Florida that Spain had given her twenty years before.

On the other hand, Florida as an English colony proved a menace to those colonies upon which the tyranny of England was bearing oppressively. However, as it did not prevent the freedom of the colonies, and in years later became part of the United States, it may be counted a blessing both to Florida and to the United States, of which it now forms a part, that it had twenty years of English schooling.

Was Adrian Scrope, the Regicide, Ancestor of the American Throop Family?

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN

Genealogical Editor of The Journal of American History.



HERE has always existed a tradition in all branches of the descendants of William Throop, of Barnstable, Massachusetts, and Bristol, Rhode Island, that he was connected in some way with Adrian Scrope, or Scroope, who was one of the signers of the death-warrant of King Charles I of England. This connection has never been verified, but there exists some very suggestive material on which to base the tradition.

In 1665 and 1667 two deeds were signed in Hartford, Connecticut, by "Adrian Scroope." These are the only traces found in this country of the regicide's own name, and it is a question of much interest as to the reason of the total disappearance of so significant a name from our early records.

William Throop, or Throope, was born about 1638, as we learn from his will, made on June 12, 1704, which begins: "In the name and fear of God, Amen. I, William Throope, in Ye County of Bristol, yeoman, in the sixty-seventh year of my age and being under some indisposition of body."

The earliest record found of him here is his marriage in Barnstable, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1666. His wife was Mary, the daughter of Ralph Chapman of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and of the latter's wife, Lydia (Willis) Chapman. Mary (Chapman) Throop was born October 31, 1643. She was the executrix of her husband's will, and died in Bristol, Rhode Island, in June, 1732.

William Throop served on the grand jury at Barnstable in 1680, and that same year removed to Bristol, Rhode Island, of which place he was an original proprietor. He was surveyor of highways at Bristol in 1683, selectman in 1689, grand juror in 1690, and representative in the general court in 1691. He died in Bristol, December 4, 1704.

There has existed in the past a belief, for which the foundation would be difficult to discover, that the Adrian Scrope who signed the deeds, as mentioned above, in Hartford, in 1665 and 1667, was the regicide himself. This is manifestly impossible, as the latter was executed in England in 1660 upon the restoration of Charles II to the throne—unless a legend be invented and accepted that this alleged execution did not take place, thus linking Scrope with Marshal Ney and several other historical characters who have been officially recorded as executed, but popularly believed to have escaped and continued existence under altered names.

The signer of the Connecticut deeds, however, might have been a son of the regicide, or a near kinsman. Adrian was a commonly given name in the Scrope family, and there were several bearing the name, any one of whom, chronologically considered, might have been the signer of the Hartford deeds.

The facts that this "Adrian Scroope" disappears completely from history after signing the deeds and that we have no knowledge of William Throope until his marriage, except a vague tradition that he was brought over by his father in 1640 from Leyden to the vicinity of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the strong belief, which has existed from very early times in the American Throop family, of a relationship to the regicide, are, of course, of significance, even if they do not establish the connection.

From 1859 to 1869 a suit was before the house of lords in England regarding the claim of Simon Thomas Scrope, Esq., of Danby, to the earldom of Wiltshire. During the progress of this suit, which was unsuccessful, it was stated that a branch of the family had in the past emigrated to America.

The regicide is known to have had three sons and five daughters. There is only very meager information concerning two of the sons, Robert and Edmund. Of Thomas, the third son, we know enough to eliminate his name from those members of the Scrope family who might have been in Hartford at the time of the signing of the deeds. This Thomas Scrope, baptized in 1634, was a merchant of Bristol, England. His wife's name is unknown, but he had a son, John, and two daughters.

Foster's "Yorkshire Pedigrees" gives but four daughters to the regicide, but the epitaph at Youghal, Ireland, of a fifth daughter, Elizabeth, who married Jonathan Blagrove, D. D., of Longworth, Buckinghamshire, is mentioned in Nicholl's "Topographer and Genealo-

gist," Volume III. It is significant that Daniel Blagrove was one of the regicides, and that Nathaniel Blagrove was, with William Throope, an early settler of Bristol, Rhode Island.

As the name of one of the regicide's daughters was omitted from some of the family records, it is possible that he had also another son, alike unrecorded. The omission of such record would appear the more comprehensible if such a son bore the name of Adrian, since his having such a then notorious name as Adrian Scrope, added to the fact of his sonship to the regicide, would have made him an object of suspicion, and would probably have been a source of danger to him. It is certainly easily conceivable that a son or kinsman of the regicide, especially if he bore the name of Adrian Scrope, should have changed it for the sake of safety. In order, however, to render his identification less difficult, should this become advisable, for reasons of property, for instance, he might have chosen a name like Throope, resembling his own.

It is perhaps of importance to note that William Throope of New England did not sign his will, and that his wife and children petitioned to have it admitted to probate, being convinced that it expressed his wishes when made five months before his death.

If we grant his change of name, we might suppose that he omitted his signature as William Throope, fearing some question might arise as to the legality of his children's inheritance should it ever become known that this was not his true name.

Another item of interest, although it may very easily have been merely coincidence, was the naming of Bristol in Rhode Island, in which William Throope, as an original proprietor, may have had part; for Thomas Scrope, son of the regicide, became a merchant of Bristol, England, and Adrian Scrope himself was governor of Bristol Castle in 1649, the year of the execution of Charles I.

The Scrope family is of ancient distinction in England. The direct lineage of Adrian Scrope, the regicide, is as follows:

John Scrope of Spennithorne, Yorkshire, and of Hambleden, Buckinghamshire, made his will in 1544, and it was proven in 1547. His wife was Phyllis, daughter of Ralph Rokeby of Mostham, Yorkshire. This John Scrope was the son of Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton, and of the latter's wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, fourth earl of Northumberland. Through the earls of Northumberland are traced various royal descents, and there are many noble and ancient houses connected by marriage with the Scopes of Bolton. This an-

cestry belongs to the American Throope family if William Throope was son or kinsman of Adrian Scrope.

The fourth and fifth sons of the aforesaid John and Phyllis (Rokeby) Scrope were Ralph and Adrian. The signer of King Charles's death-warrant was descended from this Adrian, but the pedigrees from both Ralph and Adrian are here stated, in order that the reader may see the prevalence of the name Adrian and the possibilities of identifying members of the family with William Throope of New England.

For the sake of clearness we will give designating numerals to these ancestors and kinsfolk of the regicide (and perhaps of the American Throops), regarding as No. 1, Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton; as No. 2, John Scrope of Spennithorne; and as Nos. 3 and 4, respectively, Ralph and Adrian Scrope, sons of John of Spennithorne.

3. Ralph Scrope, fourth son of John and Phyllis Scrope, was of Hambleton. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Windsor. They had three children: 5. Sir Adrian, of whom below; Richard, who died without issue; and 6. Ralph, of whom below.

5. Sir Adrian Scrope, son of Ralph Scrope of Hambleton, died December 10, 1623. He married Ursula, daughter of Sir John Clifton. They had issue: John; Robert; a daughter; Sir Gervase, whose son, Sir Adrian, was buried September 5, 1667; William, whose son Gervase was born in 1639 and died in 1705, this William also having sons William and Adrian, and two daughters; Edwin, slain in Sweden, who had sons Adrian and John, and a daughter; and Adrian, steward of the duke of Lennox in 1634, who had sons Adrian, James, and John, and two daughters.

6. Ralph Scrope, son of Ralph Scrope of Hambleton, was living in 1601. He had issue: Adrian, who died in 1634; Richard, a captain in the low countries in 1634; Ralph; and Henry, who was living in 1634 and who had a son John, two years old in 1634, also a son Ralph, and two daughters.

4. Adrian Scrope, brother of Ralph Scrope of Hambleton, and son of John Scrope of Spennithorne, died January 20, 1577. He and his wife Ursula, daughter of George Ludlow, were ancestors of the regicide. They had issue: George; four daughters; and

7. Robert Scrope of Wormsley, who was baptized 1569. He married Margaret, daughter of Richard Cornwall. They had issue: Robert; eight daughters; and

ADRIAN SCROPE, AND THE THROOP FAMILY

8. Adrian Scrope, who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. He was baptized in 1601 and is officially recorded as executed in 1660. His wife was Mary, daughter of Robert Waller. Their children were: Edmund; Robert; five daughters, one of whom, as stated above, was Elizabeth, who became the wife of Jonathan Blagrove, D. D.; and

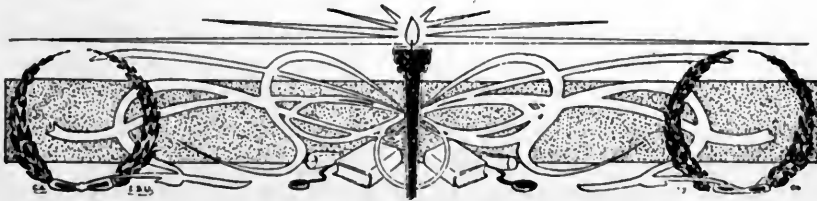
9. Thomas Scrope, a merchant of Bristol, England, who was baptized in 1634 and who had a son John and two daughters.

It may be of interest to give the names of the children of William Throope of Barnstable, Massachusetts, and Bristol, Rhode Island, who may have been the son of Adrian Scrope. They were: Mary, born at Barnstable, April 6, 1667, who married John Barney at Bristol, November 4, 1686; Dan, born in 1670; Elizabeth, born at Barnstable about 1670, perhaps a twin of Dan, baptized at Bristol, June 5, 1687, married Jonathan Peck, March 31, 1695, at Bristol, and who died June 14, 1729; William, born in 1678-79; Thomas, the youngest son, born in 1681 and baptized at Bristol, September 16, 1683; Mary, living, unmarried, in 1704; Lydia, born at Bristol, July 15, 1686, baptized there on June 5, 1687, and living, unmarried, in 1704; Martha; and John Throope, born about 1676, who was a deacon for fifty-seven years, who died at Bristol, January 25, 1772, and whose wife was Susanna Taylor, born about 1683, who died at Bristol, October 13, 1768.

The arms of Henry, sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton, ancestor, as shown, of Adrian Scrope the regicide, are blazoned Azure, a bend or.

The coat armor blazoned for Adrian Scrope, direct ancestor of the regicide, and designated as No. 4 in the foregoing pedigree, is as follows: Arms, azure, a bend or. Crest, a plume of feathers argent.

If William Throope was a son of Adrian the regicide, the latter coat of arms would be rightfully borne by his descendants, the Throop family of America.



The Declaration of Independence, Its Principle and Its Power

Address Delivered Before the Society of the Cincinnati
in the State of Rhode Island on the One Hundred and
Thirty-Ninth Anniversary of American Independence,
July 5, 1915

BY

THE HONORABLE L. BRADFORD PRINCE

President of New Mexico Historical Society and
of the Society for the Preservation of Spanish
Antiquities; Vice-President of The National His-
torical Society

Our National Holiday



THE SOCIETY of the Cincinnati, at its original organization, designated as the time of the annual meetings of its members in the various States, the day which is universally recognized as the American national holiday—the Fourth of July,—the birthday of the independence of our country. Among its fundamental regulations is found the following, “The Societies of the States shall meet on the 4th day of July annually”; and in the proposed amended version the same rule is contained with no change but of language, “The State meetings shall be on the anniversary of independence.”

And this is right and proper.

Every people with a semblance of organized nationality and a spark of patriotic feeling, celebrates some day as a national holiday, when thought is concentrated on the glory and welfare of the nation, and memory is carried back to the great events in its history, to its day of trial and of triumph, and the illustrious deeds of its heroes.

THE DECLARATION, ITS PRINCIPLE AND POWER

The universality of the custom both as to extent and time, shows that it represents the innate sentiment in human nature; and that it has the sanction of high heaven is shown by the institution of the great commemorative festival of God's ancient people, and its explanation as a memorial. There it is explicitly directed that when, in generations to come, "your children shall say unto you, 'What mean ye by this service?' Then shall ye say, 'It is the Lord's Passover,' and narrate to them the mighty deliverance of Israel."

All institutions are liable to abuse and perversion, and so we find that in lands where monarchy prevails, the day designated to be observed as a national holiday is generally the anniversary of the birth or coronation of the sovereign, so that in case of an unworthy or tyrannical king, the day which has brought nothing but unmitigated evil and suffering to the people is that which they must celebrate with acclamations and processions and all outward signs of rejoicing.

But with us there is no such risk and no possible occasion for like hypocrisy, for while we honor the memory of the heroic dead, and bear in mind their virtues on their natal days, for her great annual holiday America celebrates the nativity of her national life, the birthday of her independence and the freedom of her people. Our holiday is the birthday of the nation, so that all may join in its celebration, no matter how divergent their ideas as to details of government.

And it is far more than that, for it is the birthday of successful freedom throughout the world; the birthday of the reign of equal rights and free institutions of all mankind!

The Declaration of Independence

What was the great event, which raises the Fourth of July high above all other days, and causes its universal celebration now, not only in America but in all parts of the world?

We all know that on this day, in 1776, the continental congress, composed of representatives from the thirteen English colonies stretching from New Hampshire to Georgia, adopted by a unanimous vote the Declaration of Independence, which dissolved their connection with Great Britain and declared them to be free and independent States. It was a momentous act, fraught with the most far-reaching consequences for our people and for mankind.

When we think of the history of the intervening period—less than a century and a half,—and observe what has been the result of

that brave and determined utterance; when we see the three millions of that period transformed into the hundred millions of to-day; the strip of territory along the Atlantic shore extended across the continent and to the islands of the sea; when we think of the vast progress made in every branch of human industry and invention, development and achievement; and remember all that America and American institutions stand for to-day; and when we realize that the greatness and glory of the present are the results of the Declaration made on that Fourth of July in Philadelphia, we begin to appreciate the matchless importance of that remarkable event, even if its influence is to be measured simply as affecting our own people.

Verily, if the men who that day braved the power of Great Britain, had done no more than proclaim our independence and lay the foundations of the Great Republic, they would have immortalized themselves and the day we celebrate.

But they did far more than that!

The document which they unanimously adopted and to whose support they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, was vastly more than a mere declaration of the independence of certain colonies from the sovereignty of Great Britain.

It might easily have been just that and nothing more. The form of the resolution which had been under debate in the congress for weeks was simply, "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States." If that had been all, the Fourth of July would have meant much to us, it would have been our natal day, and the Declaration our birth certificate; but it would have carried no message to the world at large, and meant nothing to humanity.

There was nothing new or startling in a declaration of the independence of some subject people from the control of their old masters. Revolts and rebellions and revolutions are found all along the course of history from its beginning. An aggrieved people, the victims of tyranny and oppression, have risen against their rulers and proclaimed their independence, and fought for it with all the strength that they possessed. Generally they have been overthrown and brought back into more bitter bondage, but in many notable cases they have finally succeeded, and either obtained redress of grievances or have conquered a place in the list of self-governing nations.

The result may have been beneficial or disastrous, its effect may have been lasting or evanescent; but whatever it was, it established no principle and settled no great question for all the world. The rev-

THE DECLARATION, ITS PRINCIPLE AND POWER

olution, if successful, was based on local causes and justified by local reasons; it set no example for the guidance of others and established no principle of government that is common to all. If a manifesto was issued to explain the necessity for revolution, it was simply an enumeration of grievances and an arraignment of the power sought to be overthrown. The American Declaration of Independence might have been like its predecessors, and simply proclaimed the freedom of the colonies, or enumerated the acts of tyranny and oppression which made continued subserviency unendurable.

The Principles of the Declaration

But our forefathers were not men of contracted vision, nor were they so filled with the thoughts of their own circumstances that they gave no heed to matters beyond their own horizon. What they claimed for themselves, they believed to be equally the right of all mankind; and they based their own demands on the fact that they were a part of that common humanity. Fully realizing all the vastness of the principles involved, the patriots of 1776 did not use this solemn occasion to speak simply of themselves and the sparsely settled colonies they represented, but to proclaim in words which will never die the rights of all men, everywhere and always, and the God-given liberty of all human beings by virtue of their common humanity. Thus the declaration which they set forth was broadened into a proclamation of world-wide interest, and its claims were for world-wide welfare; and that which might have been only a statement of the grievances of a provincial people was raised to the immortal dignity of the Magna Charta of mankind.

It is this which makes the Declaration of Independence what it is, and the day of its adoption one of the great landmarks in the history of the race.

It was not a plea of justification, for a special occasion, but it was the proclamation of great truths, unchangeable through all time, sent ringing down the vista of the ages; it was not an argument for a local change in government, but it laid down broad principles, applicable to all continents and all people. It was this which instantly drew to our contest the eyes of liberty-loving men throughout the world, and which raised the Revolution from a mere revolt of a discontented people to the high plane of a holy struggle for the rights of man.

From then until now, the principles of our Declaration of Independence have been the platform of every oppressed people, and the clarion tones of its bold announcement the rallying cry in every battle for free institutions. Every advance of humanity has been based upon its language; every struggle for liberty has been stimulated by its words; every republic which has arisen in this century and a half of progress is founded on the undying principles which it announced.

What are these golden words which thus express the fundamental principles of civilized and Christian government?

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"; and having thus proclaimed these great principles, the Declaration continues, "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Here, in few words, so plainly stated that there can be no mistake and no evasion, were boldly announced the two great principles of free government.

1. *The absolute equality of all men before the law.*

"All men," with no exception, no exemption; and that not by mere human enactment, but by creation, by the hand of God himself. Not by the charter of kings of their good pleasure; but natural, inherent rights, belonging to all men by virtue of their manhood; above all kingly control and by the charter of God alone.

Based on this foundation and on the additional self-evident proposition that "all men are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," comes the second great principle.

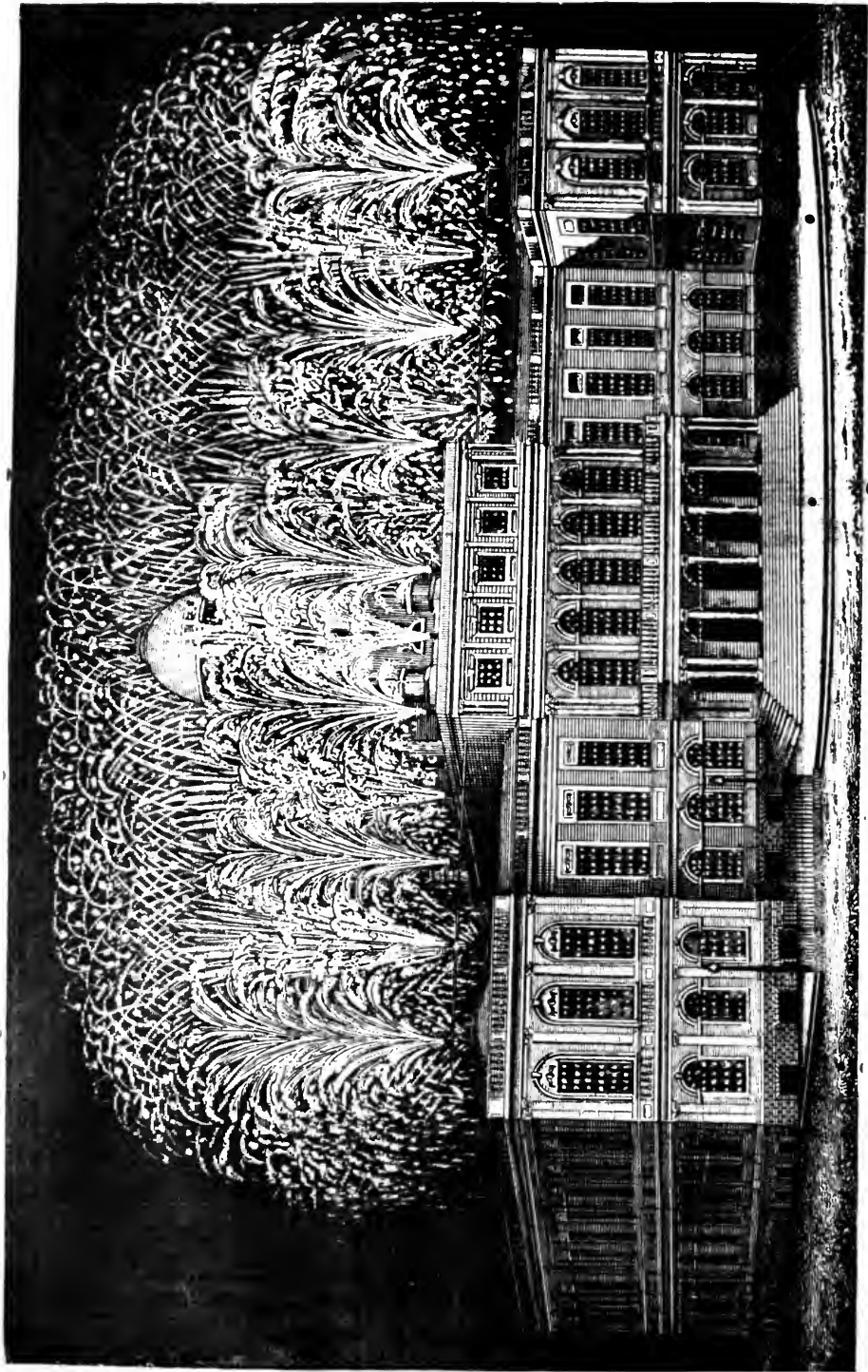
2. *That all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.*

This also was a complete reversal of the prevailing monarchical idea of the king by the grace of God, and subjects born to do his bidding. The old theory and old practice were based on the idea that government came first, and afterward the people who were governed; but the Declaration changed all that in a moment, and, putting the people first, declared that governments were instituted simply



THE NEW YORK CITY HALL

Completed in 1812, during the mayoralty of DeWitt Clinton, at a cost of \$500,000. The picture shows the structure at a period when the surrounding space was still known as "The Park."



THE NEW YORK CITY HALL
ILLUMINATED FOR THE ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION, 1825
The opening of the canal established through water communication from New York to Buffalo, and was signalized
by elaborate ceremonies.



MURRAY STREET, NEW YORK CITY, 1822



BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY, AT ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, 1831

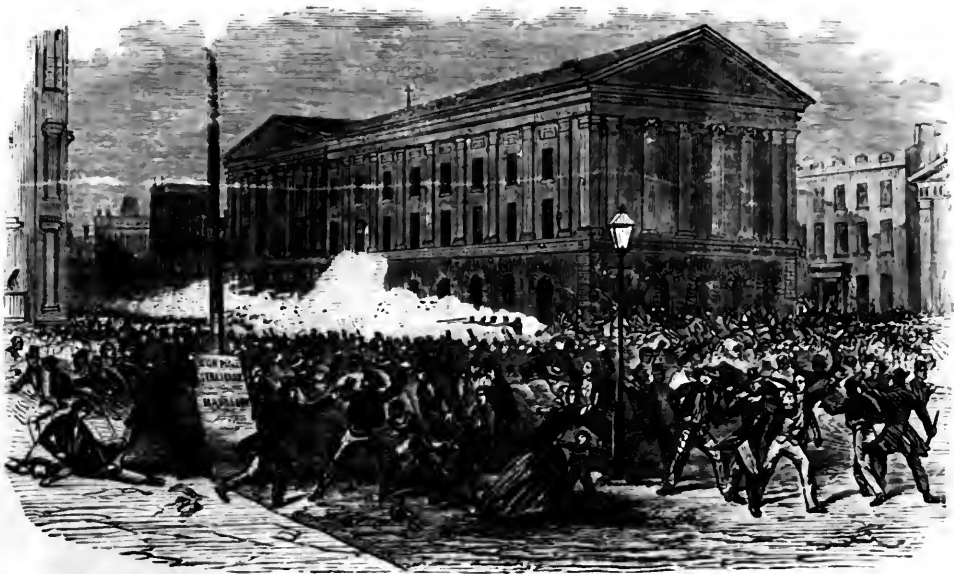


A BROOKLYN-NEW YORK FERRYBOAT OF ABOUT 1820



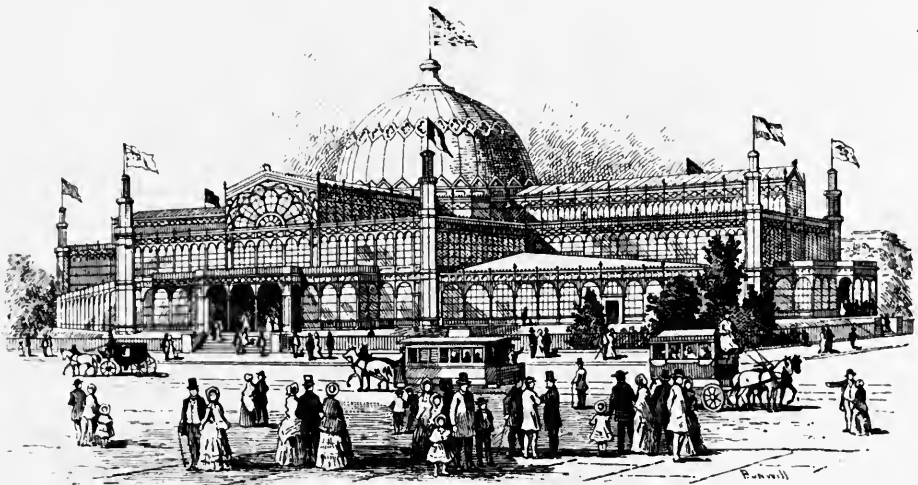
COENTIES SLIP, NEW YORK, IN THE FIRE OF 1835

The great destruction wrought in the historic conflagration of 1835 was attributed to a scarcity of water in the city, which was remedied by the completion of the Croton Aqueduct. The fire reached its farthest extent at Coenties Slip.



THE ASTOR PLACE RIOT, 1849

Representing a famous episode in the history of New York City. The riot was a demonstration against W. C. Macready, the British actor, by native Americans who resented the discourtesy shown Edwin Forrest on a visit to England. Macready was playing in the Astor Place Opera House, shown in the picture.

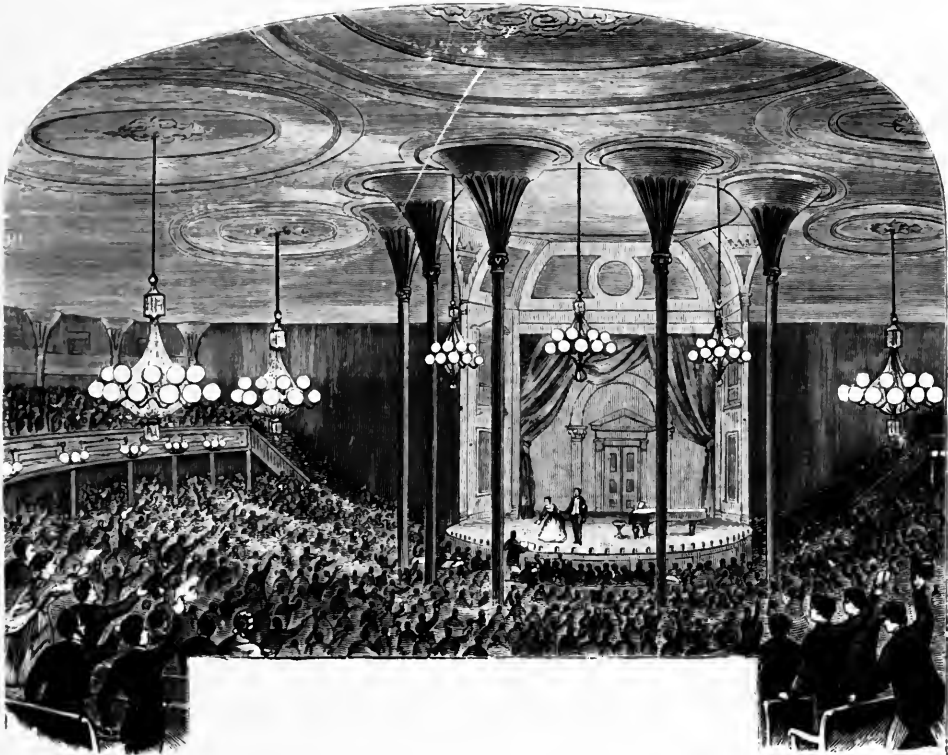


THE CRYSTAL PALACE, NEW YORK

This building, of glass and iron, fronted on Sixth Avenue, extending from Fortieth to Forty-second street. It was completed in 1853 and destroyed by fire five years after.

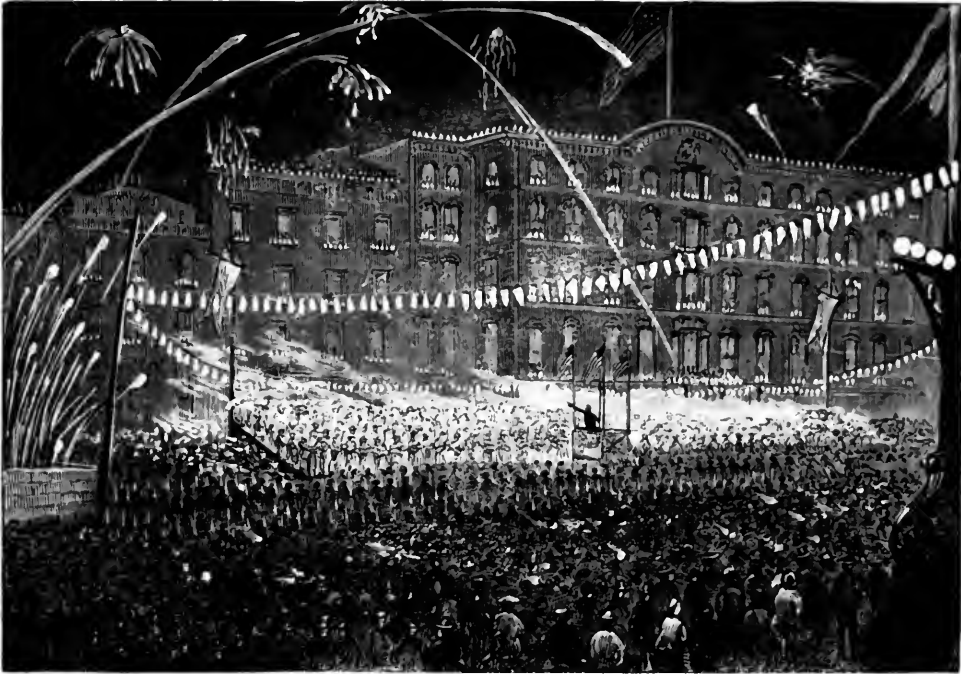


INTERIOR OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE



JENNY LIND AT CASTLE GARDEN, 1850

Castle Garden at the Battery, New York City, was renamed from the old Castle Clinton, which was ceded to the city in 1812, and the place was used for public entertainments, etc., until 1853, when it became an immigrant depot. The site is now occupied by the Aquarium.



UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, ILLUMINATED FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION
IN 1876



THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

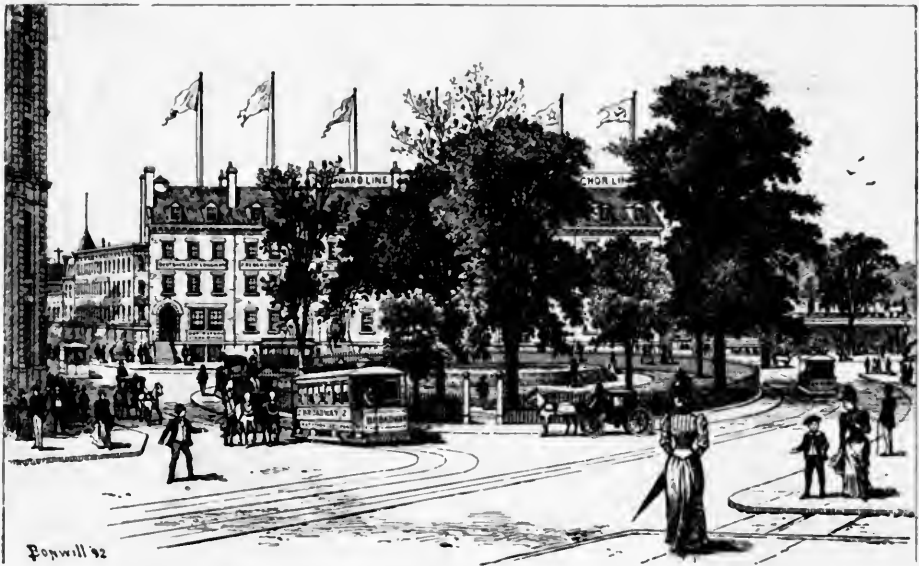
Built at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Destroyed in Havana harbor, February 15, 1898.



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY. NEW YORK HARBOR



LINCOLN'S STATUE, UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK



BOWLING GREEN, NEW YORK CITY, AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



SCENE ON THE BRONX RIVER
This stream flows south through Westchester County, New York, and the Borough of the Bronx, New York City.
It has many historic associations.

to secure the rights of man, and that the consent of the governed was the source of all just official power. In other words, it proclaimed the majesty of manhood, and that those placed in authority were the ministers and servants of humanity.

This statement of the foundation and duty of just government is not made after the assertion of the independence of the colonies, as a reason or justification for that change in condition, but it stands as the primary and fundamental declaration in the great document. The announcement of great principles is the first expressed thought, and takes precedence of everything else; and then, as a necessary consequence of those principles, and their practical operation in our particular case, comes the Declaration of Independence of the American colonies.

These principles themselves were not announced as something specially applicable to the Thirteen Colonies; but they were general, universal, for all time and all mankind.

It is this which makes the Fourth of July and its great Declaration belong, not to us only, but to the world.

This venerable Society, in its very inception, demonstrated in the first of its "immutable principles" that it recognized this comprehensive and world-including idea, as that for which its members had battled, as well as for the independence of the colonies. What words could be stronger or more far-reaching than these in the statement of its first object?

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing."

So much for the principles of the great Declaration.

The Power of the Declaration

Of the power and influence which it has exerted on the minds and actions of men ever since its promulgation, there is little time to speak; nor does it need more than brief mention, for the facts are known and read of all men.

The first effect was to enlist the chivalrous support of liberty-loving men throughout the world in the success of our Revolutionary struggle. They not only recognized the justice of our cause, but they felt that they were fighting for the liberty of mankind. The Declaration had crystalized into a noble form the aspirations of the ages.

It was this that brought to our aid the youthful enthusiasm of Lafayette, the patriotic fervor of Pulaski and Kosciusko, the experienced military genius of Steuben, and the ardent support of scores of others who crossed the ocean to aid in the struggle for freedom.

And when victory was achieved, and the Great Republic started on its career as the shining example of free institutions, it was the power of the principles of the Declaration which gradually permeated the minds of men and led to the almost universal aspiration for freedom.

The result has changed the whole complexion of the world. One after another, the old Spanish provinces of South and Central America threw off the yoke of foreign domination and became republics. Even Brazil, which under an amiable dynasty had long endured as an empire, overthrew its own monarchy and under free institutions is a wonderful example of progress. France, as a republic, is the daughter of our Declaration of Independence. She was an ardent admirer of Franklin, and from his words of wisdom received many a lesson, which even to-day is bearing fruit. England itself, though then the oppressor and still a monarchy, has been practically transformed into a government of the people and has almost become one of the children of the great Declaration which was directed against the tyranny of her administration of 1776.

And most wonderful of all, the most conservative people upon earth, among whom the reign of unchanged ancient custom is counted not by centuries but thousands of years, has felt the influence of the principles of the Declaration; and China has taken her place among the republics of the world.

If there is any disappointment that these wonderful results are not even more general, and that free institutions have not yet become universal, let us remember the long time required even in our own country for the full acceptance of the great principles of the Declaration.

Here in the United States it required almost a century to come up to the full measure of the stature of those great fundamental truths. While held theoretically, it was impossible to give them full practical effect as long as old systems directly antagonistic prevailed. So long as human slavery existed in the land, the first great principle, that "all men are created equal," was practically ignored.

But there stood the Declaration, proclaiming an immutable principle, which it called self-evident, as a constant reminder that what-

THE DECLARATION, ITS PRINCIPLE AND POWER

ever was inconsistent with it was necessarily wrong and temporary, and that the vision of the future and the effort of the present must always be exerted toward the final, practical operation of the principles which everyone theoretically accepted.

It required time, and unfortunately it did not come without a convulsion which shook the nation; but at last it did come, and in 1865 the thirteenth amendment of the national constitution, which declared that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States," brought our institutions into harmony with that fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence. Eighty-nine years had passed before this basal principle of free government was thus formally accepted by our own people and made a living fact in our own land.

It was nearly three years later before the passage of the fourteenth amendment secured to every citizen absolutely equal rights before the law; and almost two additional years were required before the ratification of the fifteenth amendment insured full protection for those equal rights by placing in the hands of every man the ballot.

That final consummation was on March 30, 1870; so that nearly ninety-four years had passed before the full fruition of the glorious Declaration of 1776 and the insertion in the body of the constitution itself of all those rights of man which the Declaration had proclaimed to be God-given and unalienable.

It was a source of high patriotic gratification to those of us who assisted in celebrating the centennial Fourth of July in 1876, that before that time every great principle of the Declaration of Independence was firmly embodied in the constitution.

In recent years there has been a tendency, among some of the newer generation, flippantly to depreciate the wisdom and even deprecate the action of the patriotic men who, after saving the Union from destruction, planted the foundations of the regenerated republic firmly on the solid basis of the principles of the Declaration of Independence by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution.

In Christian charity we may try to excuse such recreancy to the clear-eyed vision of our forefathers, on the ground of ignorance of the conditions existing in the "days that tried men's souls"; but we should none the less be ever ready to meet with prompt reply and righteous indignation such attempts to lower the standard of equal rights for all men.

So, again, professional politicians in several states have attempted

by various ingenious methods of indirection and subterfuge to nullify the plain principles of the Declaration as they are now embodied in the constitution, and with somewhat of temporary success; but we can certainly all rejoice, on this Fourth of July, 1915, that the supreme court of the United States, within the last few weeks, by the unanimous vote of all its members, has swept away all this disguised unconstitutionality and left the rights of man, as protected by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, entirely unimpaired.

As sons of our fathers, glorying in their faith and proud of their achievements, we members of the Cincinnati should ever be ready to stand as the guardians and defenders of the great principles for which they fought, and to frown on every attempt to treat them with disrespect or prevent their practical application.

It is of infinite value to have before us an absolute standard of political righteousness, with which we may compare newly devised theories, specious arguments, or acts of apparent expediency but doubtful justice.

Novel conditions and changing circumstances will constantly present new phases and problems in human government, to the end of time. Some will involve the glamour of national aggrandizement, concealing the selfishness of personal interest; appeals to covetousness and cupidity, to ambition and a falsely styled "national honor"; specious reasons will be presented for class legislation at home, and for interference with independent nations abroad.

Others may be deceived and led away from the standard of right and the rugged honesty of our forefathers. But for the members of the Cincinnati there is always one standard by which any new question can be judged, and that is composed of the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence and the "immutable principles" of our time-honored Society.



Great American Documents -- Treaty between the United States and France, 1778



TREATY OF ALLIANCE between the United States of North America and His Most Christian Majesty, concluded at Paris, February 6, 1778; Ratified by congress May 4, 1778.

The Most Christian King and the United States of North America, to wit: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their subjects and citizens, have thought it necessary to take in consideration the means of strengthening those engagements, and of rendering them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties; particularly in case Great Britain, in resentment of that connection and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty, should break the peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindring her commerce and navigation in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting between the two Crowns. And His Majesty and the said United States, having resolved in that case to join their counsels and efforts against the enterprises of their common enemy, the respective Plenipotentiaries empowered to concert the clauses and conditions proper to fulfill said intentions, have, after the most mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

If war should break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, His Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels and their forces, according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

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ARTICLE II.

The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

ARTICLE III.

The two contracting parties shall each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against their common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

ARTICLE IV.

The contracting parties agree that in case either of them should form any particular enterprise in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, shall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular situation will permit; and in that case, they shall regulate, by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of succour to be furnished, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compensation.

ARTICLE V.

If the United States should think it fit to attempt the reduction of the British power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands, in case of success, shall be confederated with or dependent upon the said United States.

ARTICLE VI.

The Most Christian King renounces forever the possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of North America, which before the treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been under the power of the King and Crown of Great Britain.

ARTICLE VII.

If His Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the power of Great Britain, all the said isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the Crown of France.

TREATY WITH FRANCE, 1778

ARTICLE VIII.

Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they shall mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war.

ARTICLE IX.

The contracting parties declare, that being resolved to fulfil each on its own part the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after claim of compensation on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

ARTICLE X.

The Most Christian King and the United States agree to invite or admit other powers who may have received injuries from England, to make common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to and settled between all the parties.

ARTICLE XI.

The two parties guarantee mutually from the present time and forever against all other powers, to wit: The United States to His Most Christian Majesty, the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace: And His Most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now, or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5th and 6th articles above written, the whole as their possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

ARTICLE XII.

In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England the reciprocal guarantee declared

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in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out; and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantee shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England shall have ascertained their possessions.

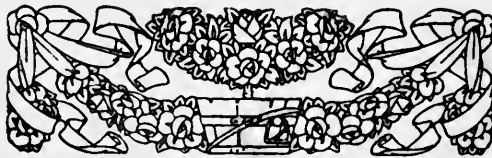
ARTICLE XIII.

The present treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit: On the part of the Most Christian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Strasbourgh, and Secretary of His Majesty's Council of State; and on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, Deputy to the General Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, and President of the Convention of the same State, Silas Deane, heretofore Deputy from the State of Connecticut, and Arthur Lee, Councillor at Law, have signed the above articles both in the French and English languages, declaring, nevertheless, that the present treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French language, and they have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Paris this sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

C. A. GERARD (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN (L. S.)
SILAS DEANE (L. S.)
ARTHUR LEE (L. S.)



Great American Documents--Articles of Confederation between the Thir- teen Original States of the Union, 1778



TO ALL to whom these Presents shall come, we the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our names send greeting.

Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did on the fifteenth day of November in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventyseven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. The stile of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

ARTICLE II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the

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people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall upon demand of the Governor or Executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interest of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI. No State without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the Courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

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ARTICLE VII. When land-forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX. The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree on the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection or hope of reward:" provided also that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time

claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating postoffices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro' the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and the regulation of the said land naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted,—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the same as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared outside of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by

the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE XI. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII. All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union. Know ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.
Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of
July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy
eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

On the part and behalf of the State of New Hampshire
JOSIAH BARTLETT JOHN WENTWORTH, Junr
August 8th, 1778

On the part and behalf of the State of Massachusetts Bay
JOHN HANCOCK FRANCIS DANA
SAMUEL ADAMS JAMES LOVELL
ELBRIDGE GERRY SAMUEL HOLTEN

On the part and behalf of the State of Rhode Island and Provi-
dence Plantations
WILLIAM ELLERY JOHN COLLINS
HEREY MARCHANT

On the part and behalf of the State of Connecticut
ROGER SHERMAN TITUS HOSMER
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON ANDREW ADAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

On the part and behalf of the State of New York
JAS. DUANE WM. DUER
FRA. LEWIS GOUV. MORRIS

On the part and behalf of the State of New Jersey
Novr. 26, 1778
JNO. WITHERSPOON NATHL. SCUDDER

On the part and behalf of the State of Pennsylvania
ROBT. MORRIS WILLIAM CLINGAN
DANIEL ROBERDEAU JOSEPH REED, 22d July, 1778
JNO. BAYARD SMITH

On the part and behalf of the State of Delaware
THOS. M'KEAN, Feby. 12, JOHN DICKINSON, May 5th,
1779 1779
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE

On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland
JOHN HANSON, March 1, DANIEL CARROLL, Mar. 1,
1781 1781

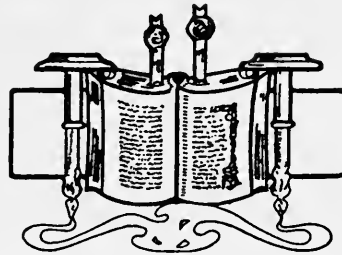
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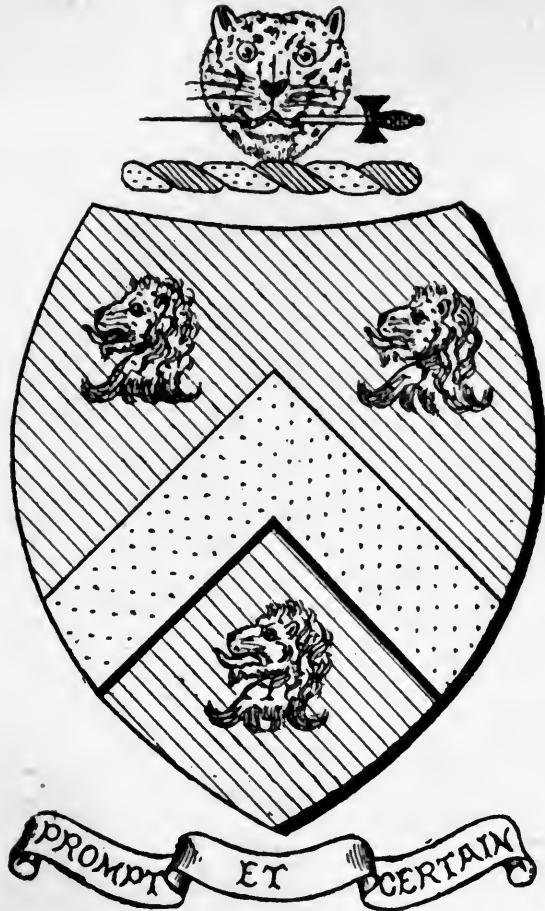
On the part and behalf of the State of Virginia
RICHARD HENRY LEE JNO. HARVIE
JOHN BANISTER FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
THOMAS ADAMS

On the part and behalf of the State of North Carolina
JOHN PENN, July 21, 1778 JNO. WILLIAMS
CORN. HARNETT

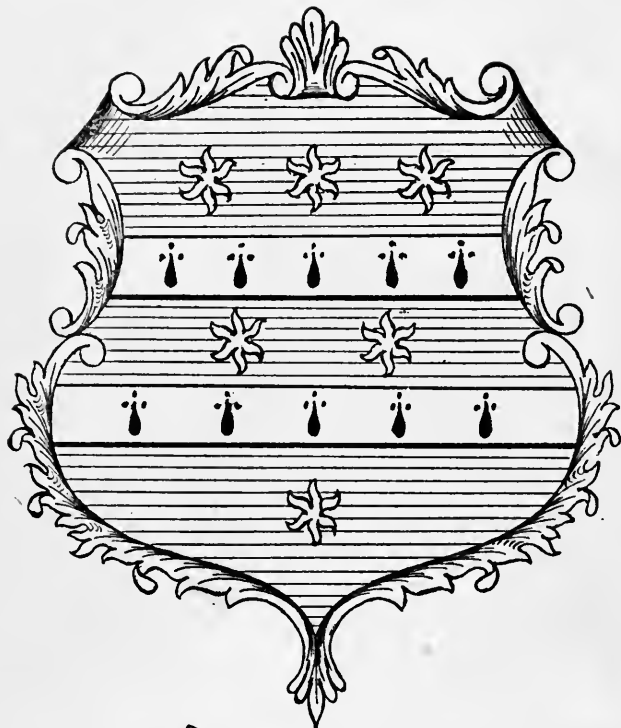
On the part and behalf of the State and South Carolina
HENRY LAURENS JNO. MATTHEWS
WILLIAM HENRY RICHD. HUTSON
DRAYTON THOS. HEYWARD, Junr

On the part and behalf of the State of Georgia
JNO. WALTON, 24th July,
1778 EDWD. TELFAIR
 EDWD. LANGWORTHY





SPES JUVAT
Fitch



Harrison

Service Announcement to Readers of The Journal of American History



IN ACCORDANCE with the objects for which The National Historical Society was incorporated, one of such purposes being "To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to . . . the History of Families," the Editors of The Journal of American History have especially arranged an expert service in genealogical and heraldic research, as outlined forthwith.

The Editors will be glad to confer or correspond with those desiring further details.

Genealogical Research

For the information of the many persons who are interested in a general way in the subject of genealogical research, as well as for those who wish specific information concerning our work in this department, we have prepared the following brief explanation of our methods and the details of the work. Genealogical research may be considered in three divisions: Research made from material already collected by us; from sources to which we have access here, in the form of printed or manuscript material; research made in the localities where the ancestors, about whom further information is desired, lived. This last division may be subdivided into work done in this country and European researches.

1. *Research from material already collected by us.*—In the course of the years in which we have been engaged in genealogical work in its various branches, we have made hundreds of researches, and have gathered together an enormous amount of data on thousands of families. Some of the data is in the form of copies of original documents, as wills, deeds, church and town records, etc. In other cases the material is in genealogies published by us.

2. *Research from sources to which we have access here.*—In addition to the thousands of printed genealogies which are available for our examination, there are extensive collections of vital statistics published by towns, county histories, church records in print, colonial and Revolutionary records published by the several States or by Historical Societies, printed digests of early wills, and family records in manuscript form. All this applies to the tracing of a line in America. The cost of examining these many sources differs somewhat in proportion to the amount of material to be gone through. Where the search is to be made on several families it is more economical to arrange for all the work to be done at one time, especially if they were located in the same general localities. For example, in a research on a number of Pennsylvania families, it takes less time to look for several names at the same time in going through the indices of all the many volumes of Pennsylvania archives and colonial records than to go through these same indices two or three separate times—to say nothing of the time saved in looking for certain names in the many unindexed volumes which relate to early Pennsylvania history.

We have access also to an extensive amount of data on British and continental families. This material includes the Visitations made by the heralds of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, state papers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, dating far back in the Middle Ages, probate and land records of as early a period, abstracts of wills, and many other valuable and rare authorities.

Although the material available for work on a continental family is not so extensive as that for British researches, nevertheless there is a great deal of important data.

3. (a) *Field research in America.*—It frequently happens that a client can inform us as to the places in which his ancestors lived for several generations back. We then send an expert searcher to these localities. The county seat is visited, and a critical and exhaustive examination is made of all documentary references to the family name. The documents to be examined are of many kinds: wills, inventories, intestate estates, Orphans' Court records, deeds, mortgages, tax lists, cemetery inscriptions, church and town records, Bible records, intestate estates, orphans' court records, deeds, mortgages, when found to relate to the client's ancestors and to be of importance in proving the line, are made and sent with our report of the research; in other cases, when they have not so great import, careful abstracts

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are made; and in all cases the name of the record office where the document was found, the title and number of the volume from which it was taken, and the page, are appended to the copy sent to the client.

The expense of a field research differs and the estimate is made in each case with careful regard to the actual expense of time, expert service, and traveling fees which we judge will be involved. Sometimes the client informs us that his ancestors lived in a certain county at a certain period. But the county may have been erected from an earlier county in the same State, and in order to find the documents regarding the family it may be necessary to visit the seat, not only of the county where the family is known to have lived at a certain date, but that also of the county from which a part was cut off to form the new division. Or, it may be known that the ancestors lived at different periods in several counties of the same State or colony, or that they went from one colony to another. For example, many early Marylanders and Virginians were first settled in Pennsylvania; and large numbers of Connecticut people went to New York State after the Revolution to take up bounty lands there.

(b) *Field research in Europe.*—This is made in the same way as a field research in this country. It is somewhat more expensive, but, as our charges are based on actual expenses, which include the service of experts, our fees are in proportion to the value of expert work.

INFORMATION DESIRED BY US IN ORDER TO MAKE OUR ESTIMATE

Beginning with the latest generation, and going back as far as possible, please give so much as you can of the following items, in each generation: Names of ancestors and maiden names of their wives; names of the parents of ancestresses; dates, exact or approximate, of birth, death, and marriage of ancestors and ancestresses; places (and counties, if possible), where these events took place. Please also state any facts or traditions as to the time of coming to this country; place of early settlement; known or traditional coat of arms (if such exists); offices, civil or military, held by ancestors; and any other information which you have regarding your family which you think might be of service to us in doing the work for you.

We offer to our clients the best expert genealogical service. We do not guarantee to find results, as we cannot collect documentary evi-

dence if such proof does not exist; but we do guarantee the most careful and skilled search for such evidence and that we will find it if it exists in the places in which the search is made.

Our reports are sent to clients in typewritten form. If it is desired, we can print the report and bind it in cloth or leather, at moderate cost.

Should you know only a little about your ancestors, do not, we urge, feel that a research would be useless in your case. One of the most successful researches of which we have knowledge was made with so meager an amount of data to start with that the final result—now embodied in a magnificent quarto volume, embellished with many of the ancestral coats of arms in colors, and showing a proven line of descent from the royal Plantagenet dynasty of England,—is almost incredible. A gentleman stated that his only knowledge concerning his ancestry was the names of his parents and the probable place of their marriage. The line has now been traced through twenty-one families of English, German, and Dutch lineage, including a number of arms-bearing and ancient families of England, and, as stated above, a royal descent, which, through the Plantagenets, goes back into practically all of the early dynasties of Europe. And all of this is proven.

We will gladly submit estimates to you and suggest for your consideration the course which, in our judgment, seems wise to pursue if you contemplate a research on your family history. If you entrust such a commission to us, we will faithfully give you the best genealogical service to be obtained at the most economical cost consistent with thorough work—and this we have no hesitancy in claiming.

Heraldic Service

Thousands of American families, whose ancestors came from Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and other European countries, are entitled to bear coat armor.

We have the blazons, or heraldic descriptions from which our artists emblazon the arms, of the ancestral armorial bearings of thousands of Americans.

Exquisite paintings, on vellum or special cardboard, or on other material, may be ordered. The heraldic accuracy of the work, as well as its artistic beauty, is guaranteed.

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A die of arms or crest, engraved on steel, for use on stationery, will be furnished, and letter paper will be illuminated with the device.

Correspondence is invited and estimates will be given on request.

For Covers of Beautiful Books—Vellucent Bindings

The most beautiful bindings of modern times are produced by English artists in the famous Chivers Bindery at Bath, England, and are sold only by us in this country. Vellucent is the natural, unstained skin, the vellum itself, retaining the original transparence and delicate color of the natural skin. Imposed upon the exquisite water-color paintings of the Chivers artists, the effect is marvellously beautiful.

Heraldic designs are especially appropriate for Vellucent bindings. The brilliant colors of a coat of arms show in jewel-like clearness through the translucent cream of the vellum, and may be embellished with mother-of-pearl, or mosaics of opalescent shell, while gold tooling on the surface of the skin adds to the rich effect.

Vellucent panels, displaying arms, a family home, an ancestral portrait, reproduction of a miniature, or other subjects, may be inserted in the cover of a book bound in rare morocco, with superb effect, the blending or contrasting tint of the leather setting forth the delicate beauty of the panel.

Your own library may be made a treasure-house of artistic charm and value by the possession of single volumes or standard sets bound in Vellucent. *The cost of this binding is far less than one would suppose.* We shall be glad to give estimates. A Prayer Book, Bible, book of favorite poems, set of an author's works, a Guest Book—to an especial degree, a family history,—these are some of the volumes for which Vellucent would be particularly and beautifully appropriate.

Journal Numbers Desired

Will those who possess, in perfect condition, the following issues of *The Journal of American History*, and are willing to sell them, please communicate with the Editors?

Volume I, Number 3, 1907; Volume II, Numbers 1 and 3, 1908; Volume III, Number 1, 1909; Volume IV, Number 4, 1910; Volume VI, Number 1, First Section, 1912; Volume VIII, Number 4, 1914; Volume X, Number 2.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Bindings for The Journal

We can furnish binders for volumes of The Journal of American History, and can bind in the volumes, if desired. If you prefer to have your own craftsman do the work, a binder of excellent buckram will cost \$1.25 per volume. A binder which we especially recommend is of buckram combined with genuine niger morocco, and costs \$2.50 per volume. If we do the work of binding, the additional cost, for either of these styles, is \$1.

De luxe binding in levant, Turkey or American morocco, etc., of the most elegant style and workmanship, will be done by special arrangements to suit the individual tastes of patrons. Orders are especially solicited from connoisseurs of fine bindings; we guarantee eminent satisfaction.

The beautiful art covers of the numbers of the magazine should always be preserved on the copies when the volume is bound.

A Practical Aid in Gathering Genealogical Data and Making Genealogical Records

The Allaben-Bayles Perfect Family Record, with unique Chart for recording 424 ancestors and ancestresses in all one's family lines, back to the twelfth generation, is the only satisfactory record book ever published. It is practically useful to professional genealogists, and a boon to those who desire a clear, concise, yet full statement of their ancestry, which can be kept conveniently with them when seeking new information so that the new-found facts may be added in their proper places, and from which they can see at a glance their line of descent from any ancestor.

The Record Chart alone, paper-bound, costs 50 cents. The Chart, bound in a loose-leaf system with 200 sheets of excellent bond paper, for additional manuscript or typewritten matter, the cover of cloth and leather, costs \$3.

"Old Taverns of New York"

By W. Harrison Bayles. 489 pages. Small 16mo. 81 illustrations. Bound in red buckram, uncut edges, gilt top. Price, \$2.50 net; carriage, 15 cents.

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In Mr. Bayles's chronicle not only the history of New York City is shown in the making, but the whole picture of the social life of our colonial, Revolutionary, and early-republican forefathers is spread before us. The story of the taverns is given from the Dutch settlements down to the first decades of the nineteenth century. Governor Kieft in 1641 built a large stone house to accommodate the English traders who came to New Amsterdam, and this building, in 1652, became the City Hall, an event typical of the close connection between the tavern life of free discussions, political lobbying, airing of new ideas, and the resultant principles and movements embodied in the government. For a period of approximately two hundred years the tavern bore a most important and interesting part in the public and general affairs of the community.

More than eighty illustrations—pictures of the taverns, portraits, fac-simile documents, old houses and scenes, picturesque sketches—make vivid the life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New York.

The book is thoroughly indexed and shows evidence of years of exhaustive research, but the author has delightfully avoided the ponderous and gives his readers a charming narrative, as easy to follow as a good novel, while at the same time a valuable work of reference. "Old Taverns of New York" is a book for one's intimate shelf of favorite books, to dispel a traveler's dulness, for serious students of history, and for every library in the land.

"Political and Governmental History of the Empire State"

By Willis Fletcher Johnson, A. M., L. H. D.; Roscoe C. E. Brown, A. M.; Frank Allaben; and eminent specialists. Five volumes, profusely illustrated and beautifully bound. In preparation; published by subscription exclusively.

This work aims to present a comprehensive view of the political and governmental history of the State of New York, from the foundation of the State, amid the storm and stress of the American Revolution, down to the present time. One of the oldest of the North American colonies, and one which conspicuously above all others shared the influences and traditions of two mother countries, New York has had a history in all respects rivalling that of any other in interest and significance; while in its political and governmental features it outranks them all. Surpassed for a short time at the beginning by only Massa-

chusetts and Virginia, New York has for more than a century been indeed the Empire State. Its chief city was the first capital of the United States, and has ever since been the unapproached metropolis of the nation.

Three of these volumes will be devoted to a sustained narrative, relating every important political and governmental performance and incident of the nearly a century and a half of New York's existence as a State, and the doings of the distinguished men who in all these years have served the commonwealth—their triumphs and defeats, their ambitions and their achievements. The fourth volume will be devoted to supplementary essays and sketches, written by eminent specialists, on salient topics in the general narrative, and of famous men who have been associated with the public life of New York. The fifth and concluding volume will contain a complete civil list of all members of the New York State government, from the administration of George Clinton to that of Charles A. Whitman, and also authentic copies of the various constitutions of the State and other historical documents and data. This civil list alone will be of incalculable value, for reference and as a basis for study, since such a compilation is not now elsewhere readily to be found.

The principal author and the Editor of the entire work, Dr. Willis Fletcher Johnson, is a distinguished writer, lecturer, and teacher of history. For many years he has been editorial writer on the staff of the *New York Tribune*; he is Honorary Professor of the History of American Foreign Relations in the New York University; and is author of "A Century of Expansion," "America's Foreign Relations," "Four Centuries of the Panama Canal," "Colonel Henry Ludington," "Life of General W. T. Sherman," etc. Associated with him are Roscoe C. E. Brown, A. M., Associate in Journalism at Columbia University, formerly member of the State Civil Service Commission, etc.; Frank Allaben, Editor of *The Journal of American History* and president of the National Historical Society; and a number of eminent writers and publicists, who will deal with special topics on which they are regarded as experts.



Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness Among Nations."



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and inter-

national, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(*d*) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(*e*) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(*f*) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(*g*) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

The Membership body of The National Historical Society consists of—

(1) Original Founders, contributing five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, thus enrolling as pioneer builders of a great National Institution;

(2) Original State Advisory Board Founders, contributing twenty-five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected the Members of the State Advisory Boards;

(3) Original Life-Member Founders, contributing one hundred dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected for life the members of the Grand Council of the Vice-Presidents;

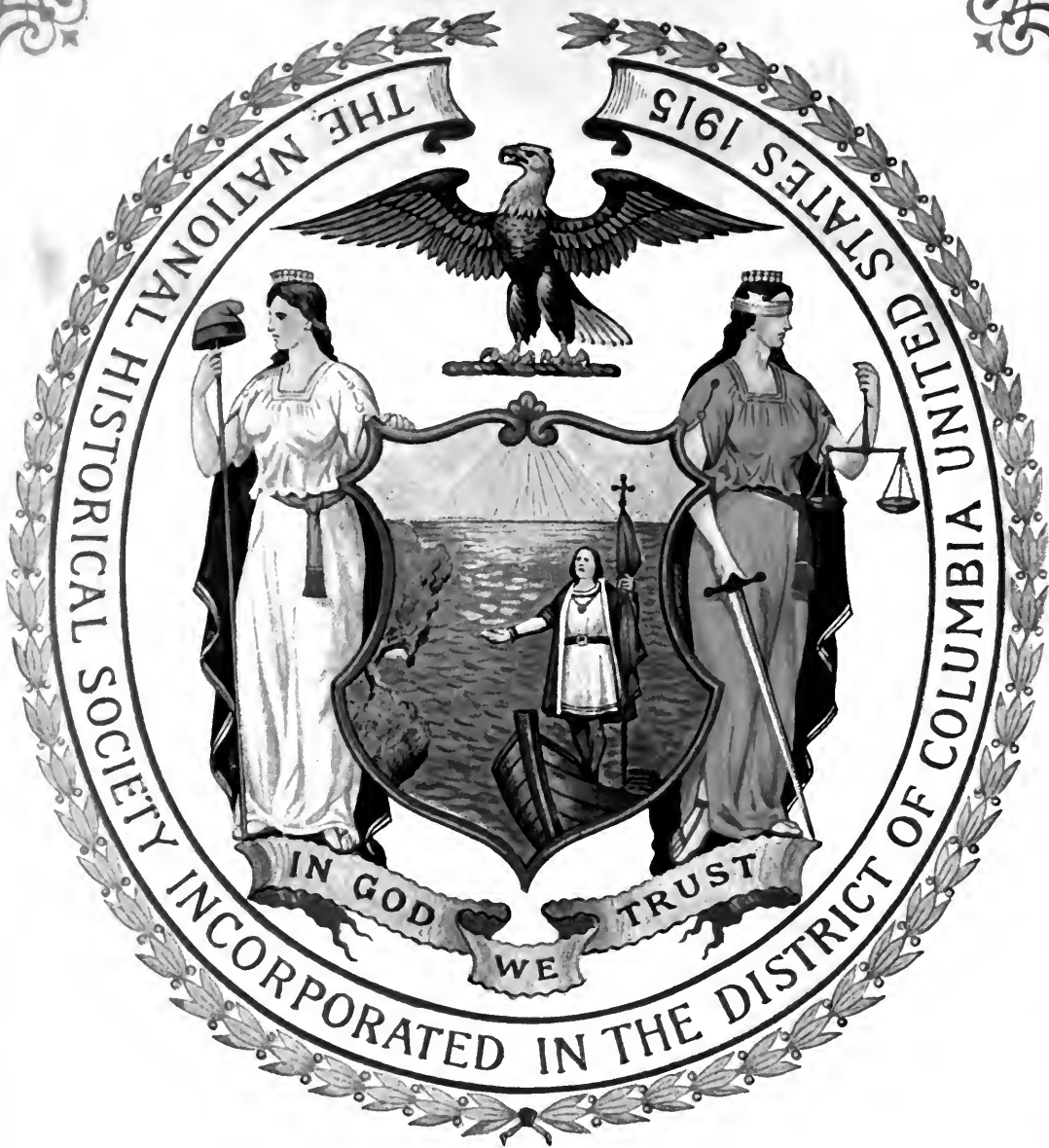
(4) Patrons, who contribute one thousand dollars to further the work of the Society;

(5) Annual Members, who pay two dollars, annual dues, receiving The Journal of American History.

Original Founders receive The Journal of American History for one year, and thereafter for two dollars, annual dues. State Advisory Board Founders receive The Journal for five years, and thereafter for two dollars, annual dues. Life-Member Founders and Patrons receive The Journal for life.







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THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity. The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and inter-

national, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(*d*) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(*e*) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(*f*) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire *The Journal of American History*, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(*g*) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

The Membership body of The National Historical Society consists of—

(1) Original Founders, contributing five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, thus enrolling as pioneer builders of a great National Institution;

(2) Original State Advisory Board Founders, contributing twenty-five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected the Members of the State Advisory Boards;

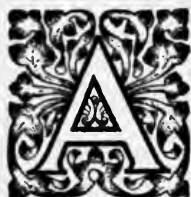
(3) Original Life-Member Founders, contributing one hundred dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected for life the members of the Grand Council of the Vice-Presidents;

(4) Patrons, who contribute one thousand dollars to further the work of the Society;

(5) Annual Members, who pay two dollars, annual dues, receiving *The Journal of American History*.

Original Founders receive *The Journal of American History* for one year, and thereafter for two dollars, annual dues. State Advisory Board Founders receive *The Journal* for five years, and thereafter for two dollars, annual dues. Life-Member Founders and Patrons receive *The Journal* for life.

Resolution by The National Historical Society, Sent to President Wilson



AT A MEETING of the Executive Committee of The National Historical Society, held on the 2d of March, 1917, the following resolution was adopted and telegraphed to President Wilson:

HON. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States:

Whereas, Our fathers founded these United States in the profound conviction expressed by the New Testament that human government is God's ordinance to protect good works and bear the sword not in vain against evil; and

Whereas, The Chief Executive whom God in His mercy has given this nation at an hour of peril in a noble appeal to the powers at war and in memorable addresses before Congress has lifted the standard of our ideals aloft before the world; and

Whereas, He seeks now the support of Congress and the people in meeting wicked attacks of lawless and murderous aggression on the high seas with that righteous resistance which divine law and enlightened conscience unite in demanding from all just government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of The National Historical Society, at 30 East Forty-Second Street, New York, adopting this preamble and resolution, send a copy thereof to the President of the United States in recognition of God's goodness to this nation and in expression of complete confidence and of the hearty support due from every American to our devoted President, who under constant strain and deep anxiety pursues his heroic efforts to maintain all the grave responsibilities of just government in behalf of humanity and the rights of God's Throne.

In behalf of the Executive Committee of The National Historical Society,

FRANK ALLABEN, President,
M. T. R. WASHBURN, Secretary,
DUDLEY BUTLER, Treasurer.

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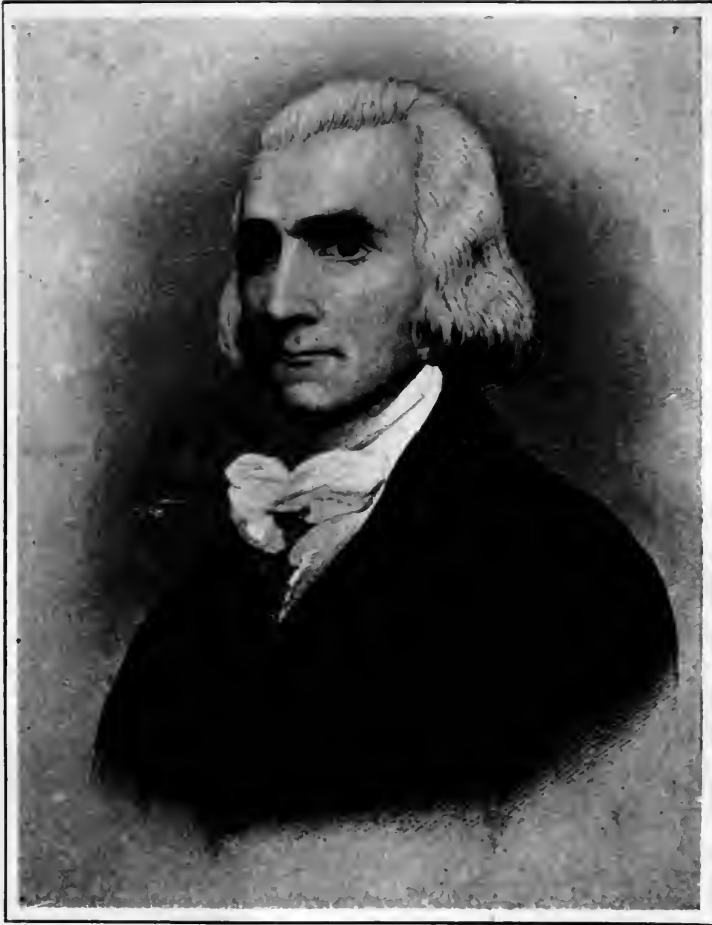
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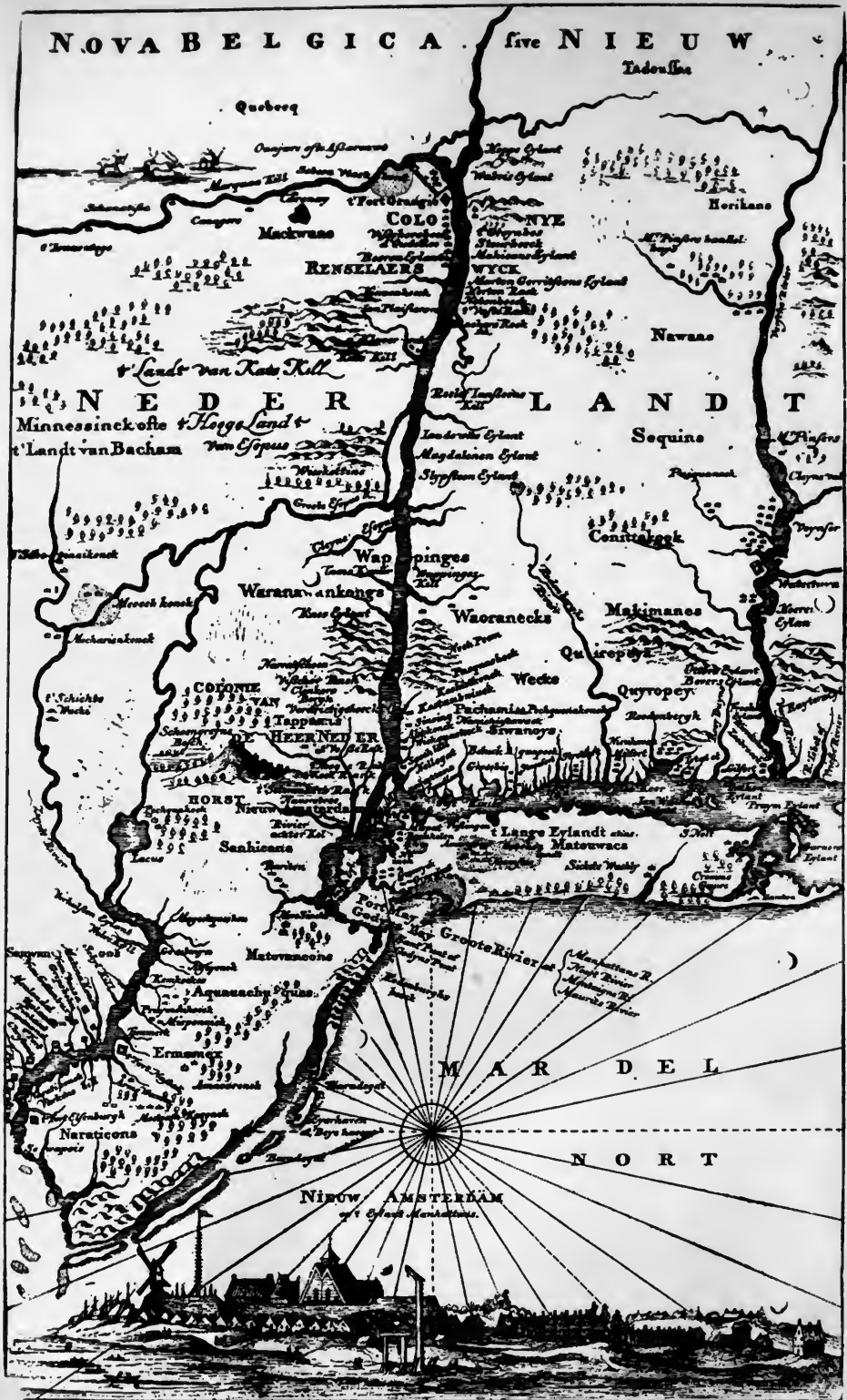
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THE FIRST JOHN JACOB ASTOR

Reputed to have been the wealthiest New Yorker of his times. He sent out the historic expedition which crossed the continent and founded Astoria, Oregon.



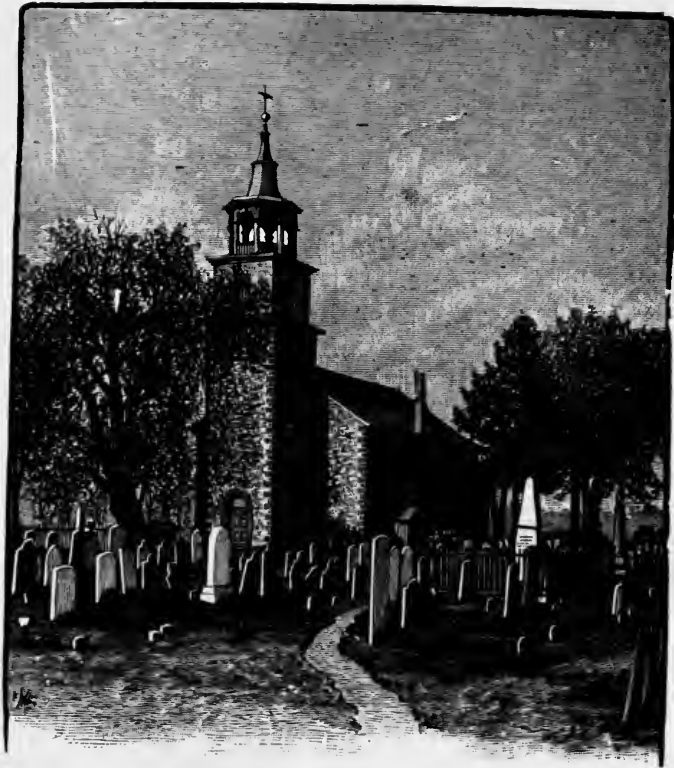
ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK'S MAP

An early Dutch cartographer's representation of the country now comprised in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, etc., and extending as far north as Canada.



YONKERS, NEW YORK, IN 1784

From an engraving in the possession of William Palmer East.
Copyrighted by D. McN. Stauffer, Yonkers.



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EASTCHESTER, NEW YORK

One of the most celebrated landmarks of the early period of settlement north of the Harlem River.



THE POE COTTAGE

Home of Edgar Allan Poe at Fordham, a locality now embraced in the Borough of the Bronx, New York City.



THE OLD COLLECT POND, NEW YORK CITY

A small body of fresh water, which in early times covered a portion of what is now the center of the downtown district.



RUINS OF BERRY-POMEROY CASTLE
West frontage



RUINS OF BERRY-POMEROY CASTLE
View from the Limekiln

The Journal of American History

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NUMBER 2
SECOND QUARTER

A Genealogical "Cause Celebre"

An Analysis of Some Interpretations Which Obscure the
Ancestral Genesis of the American People

BY
FRANK ALLABEN

I

Foreword



IN 1912 Colonel Albert A. Pomeroy, of Sandusky, Ohio, secretary, historian, and executive committeeman of the Pomeroy Family Association, published a Pomeroy Genealogy. Some months later, in the *New England Register* for July, 1913, an attack was made upon the claim of descendants in this country that their ancestor, Eltweed Pomeroy, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, descended from the old baronial family of Pomeroy of Devon, England. Subsequently, in the *Register* for January, 1914, eleven pages were devoted to an elaborate attack upon the Pomeroy Genealogy and its claim of descent. The controversy thus begun has been carried into the genealogical columns

of many newspapers and has caused the appearance of a number of pamphlets and "open letters."

It is very seldom that the editors of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* have felt in duty bound publicly to investigate the merits of a controversy of this character; but the nature and source of the present assault make it necessary for some one of impartial judgment to attempt the defense of the great body of amateur genealogists to whose labors of love we owe practically all the work which has been done in genealogical science.

In spite of the din which the Pomeroy question has raised in genealogical circles, through preoccupation with other matters I long remained innocent of all precise knowledge of it, until invited to consider it by parties on both sides of the argument. I was at first put in touch with what appeared in the *Register*; then with several pamphlets put forth on the other side; then received Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett's "Open Letter," accompanied by a personal letter of explanation.

The book selected by the *New England Register* for attack is a splendid work of 1,040 royal octavo pages, with about eighty interesting illustrations, the whole well printed in excellent type on beautiful white paper and handsomely bound, while in subject matter and contents it is, to an historian, of all genealogies which I have ever examined the one most notable and historically most valuable.

In this book about 840 pages are devoted to some 10,242 American descendants, the immense data being collated and presented in accordance with our highest standards. This has been duplicated in other genealogies, but the peculiar value of the Pomeroy history lies in its large section devoted to the antecedents of the same family for six hundred years in England and Normandy prior to the three hundred years traced in America. Our abundant genealogies give the historian a fair basis for studying the genealogical making of America; but some of the most interesting genealogical problems connected with Great Britain remain obscure to this day because British genealogists almost universally have worked out mere pedigrees instead of tribal histories.

Now, there are certain exceptional peculiarities connected with the Pomeroy surname which assure us that in dealing with persons who bear it we in all human probability deal with the members of a single tribe. This family's pedigree is far more reliable than most; we are secure in following its life-threads back; and we know that in tracing its vicissitudes we follow a real clue in a typical case of baronial descents. Having an exceptional surname confined to a single kin-

ship to deal with, Colonel Pomeroy has taken advantage of the opportunity by following the history on both sides of the water to a degree which is almost or quite unprecedented, making his work, to an historian or sociologist, as I have said, the most valuable genealogy which has appeared in print to date, so far as my knowledge goes. And this is the book selected for attack. In examining the attack critically, therefore, I do not feel that I am defending a book merely, but the entire science of genealogy, which underlies a correct interpretation of history.

II

A Slur on an American Family

The *New England Register* for July, 1913, contained a few items from transcripts of the parish registers of Beaminster, Dorsetshire, and one from the register of Crewkerne, Somersetshire. The reason for their appearance was not obvious, as the Pomeroy Genealogy had already given the information, accompanied by four fac-simile reproductions from pages of the parish registers. We must acquit the searcher in England of acting with a knowledge of the contents of the Pomeroy Genealogy; but Mr. Bartlett, chairman of the Committee on English Research of the society to whose organ he "communicated" this matter, and Mr. Scott, editor of the *Register*, both had the Pomeroy Genealogy within arm's reach in the society's rooms in which they work. Upon them rests the responsibility for the publication of the items referred to, apparently as a pretext for the inclusion of the following gossipy matter (*New England Register*, July, 1913, pp. 261-2):

"FROM THE OVERSEER'S BOOK OR POOR BOOK OF BEAMINSTER CO. DORSET, FOR 1635.

1635		
May, Given unto Mary Pomery		4d.
June, Given unto Widowe Pomery		8d.
July, Henry Pomery qr teridge (quarteridge or quarterly allowance)		5s.
August, Paid unto Henry Pomery		5s.
August, Widow Pomery and Widow Derby		1s.
August, Widow Pomery and ye Carryer's wife		1s.
September, Paid Widow Pomery and Widow Derby		1s.
October, Paid Widow Pomery		6d.
November, Paid Widow Pomery		6d.
December, Paid John Hodder for Henry Pomeroyes shrowde		2s 11d."

Are the words "or Poor Book" part of the title of the volume, or only a gloss thrown in to emphasize the awful damnation supposed to reside in these pitiful items? Such scrapings were the sole foundation advanced for the following grotesque interpretation (*Register*, p. 262):

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"Eltweed Pomeroy appears at Dorchester, Mass., and was freeman 4 Mar. 1632-3. He was afterwards of Windsor, Conn., and of Northampton, Mass. It has been claimed by descendants that he was closely related to a famous armorial family of the name in Devon, but the fact that his mother (for there was but one family of the name in Beaminster) and his brother Henry were both parish charges and that the latter was buried at the expense of the church seems to make this claim baseless."

On such trivial evidence and its snobbish misinterpretation are 10,000 Americans to be bereaved of their British ancestors? Let us apply the test of a little historical criticism.

1. Would it not at least be wise to be sure of one's premise before drawing a conclusion? What proof is there that "Widow Mary Pomeroy" and "Henry Pomeroy" were mother and brother of Eltweed? "The fact," we are told, that "there was but one family of the name in Beaminster." But this is slippery ground. Were no Pomeroyes *near* Beaminster? The very maker of the argument upsets it later (*Register*, January, 1914, p. 55): "*The region around Beaminster teems with yeoman families named Pomeroy.*" Thus at the first touch from a little further research the whole premise and conclusion of the original attack totally collapsed!

2. But as warning against the false conclusion we already had positive evidence concerning Eltweed Pomeroy's social standing on his arrival in America. He appears at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in the earliest Town Records, 8 October, 1633, as "Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy," one of seven who ordered the first town meeting and the choosing of selectmen; was elected first selectman; and by the general court, 3 June, 1634, was chosen constable. What tyro knows not what these things mean? And thus the tables turn; for if Eltweed's relatives received charity, this shows his social position was unassailable even by extreme poverty.

3. The testimony of our Dorchester records is even surpassed by the following Beaminster document of about 1631 from the archives of the dean of Sarum, communicated by Colonel Pomeroy to the Boston *Transcript* of 6 December, 1916:

"Right Worshipful & Reverend Sr: Our duties humbly remembered and prosed: Whereas, the bringer hereof, Mr. Antony Harford, being a licensed Preacher, hath bin our Curate for almost two years now last past; thereunto admitted and licensed by your worthy predecessour, the now Lord Bishop of Rochester, during all wh times hee hath behaved & demeaned himselfe verie conformably peaceably & religiously in his whole carriage and conversation amongst us, after the better manifestation of our respect to your jurisdiction and authoritie over us and for his better settling encouragement & comfortable remaining amongst us; We humbly desire that upon your viewe of his aforesaid licenses and this our testimony of his worth & good deservings you will bee pleased to confirm him with addition alsoe of your approbation & license for wh we shall rest with our best wishes and prayers.

A GENEALOGICAL CAUSE CELEBRE

"Your Worshipp ever thankful poore friends the inhabitants of Beaminster whose names are hereunto subscribed:

"Launcelot Hallet }
"Evans Hitt } Constables
"Hugh Strode (Lord of Manor)
"Wm. Seaburne, Steward (of the Manor)
"Eltwide Pomeroy"
and sixty-five others, all named.

Thus in England, in days of punctilious precedence, of seventy "inhabitants of Beaminster" Eltweed Pomeroy signed first, immediately following the constables and lord and steward of the manor. If documents mean anything he held one of the best social positions in his parish, and our sagacious Dorchester fathers merely accorded to him the recognition he had enjoyed in England. Hence if the "Poor Book" really refers to his family, it gives the most remarkable evidence that Eltweed commanded a precedence which even indigence could not set aside. Does the "Poor Book," then, indicate worthless connections, or place in a highly-honored family?

4. Lastly and fundamentally the principle assumed in this attack on the Pomeroy's challenges one of the most elemental facts in human experience, a thing witnessed to by all genealogical and historical research, the universal phenomenon of extreme vicissitudes in all family histories. Is the great discovery at last made that poor people are never "closely related" to famous armorial families? And were all the ages deluded in thinking the rich generally have had poor relations?

All my historical and genealogical studies run so completely counter to this strange canon that I cannot conceive of a large tribe of descendants whose different members do not sound the entire gamut of social conditions. American genealogies offer the best chance of a record of sustained equality of circumstances, for they are tribal histories covering less than three hundred years wherein our fathers abandoned the British injustice of leaving everything to the oldest sons. Yet who can name a single American genealogy of any size where the records of the descendants of a common ancestor do not exhibit all degrees of divergence between wealth and poverty?

What then have been the vicissitudes among British families whose multiplying numbers among narrowing acres struggled for existence through the six stern and murderous centuries before Eltweed Pomeroy came to America? Where are the surnames that ruled England in Norman times? They fell in the clash of life centuries ago. The exceptions are so few that they stand out in isolated distinction,

arrayed in the decayed and stricken remnants of a departed grandeur, like the castles and abbeys that lift up desolate wrecks in the fields and towns of England.

But the Pomeroy Genealogy claims the special interest of the historian precisely because it presents the continuous and authentic history of such a family for nine hundred years; from the original glory of one of the Conqueror's enriched companions tracing decline, impoverishment, and increasing obscurity until a scion touched soil in the new world, with sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons performing the hard but regenerating tasks of yeomanry in conquering a wilderness, and thus so completely renewed the youth of the tribe that its record now traces no less than ten thousand Americans sprung out of one Pomeroy's loins in less than three centuries.

As to the Beaminster "Poor Book," the wonder is not that a few Pomeroy's got into it, but that any kept out of it! I should like to have some one teach me what remotest bearing any possible degree of poverty of Pomeroy's in Beaminster in 1635 has upon the evidence of their descent from armorial ancestors who lived centuries before. And Christians assuredly will marvel at the superstitious notion that no needy church member who receives Christian ministry can possibly have been born a lady or a gentleman!

The preceding paragraph originally concluded this section of our analysis. But as we go to press I learn that further researches in England by Mr. C. A. Hoppin prove that Eltweed Pomeroy's mother was Eleanor, not "Mary"; that she died not at Beaminster, but at Symonds-bury, Dorset, as did her husband, Richard, their burials occurring 12 April, 1612, and 3 February, 1612, respectively, twenty-three years before the 1635 items in the Beaminster "Poor Book." Thus there *was* another Pomeroy family *in* Beaminster after all, while the whole reasoning and entire scheme of identifications set up with such an air of authoritative finality for the *Register's* first assault are blotted out in eclipse of total oblivion.

III

"Smash the Pomeroy Pedigree"

The *Register's* original attack upon the Pomeroy family was what my preceding caption styles it, a mere "slur," petty, snobbish, based upon an utterly false principle of interpretation of a few insignificant items which, even if they had referred to Eltweed Pomeroy's immediate relatives, would only prove that his social standing both in Eng-

A GENEALOGICAL CAUSE CELEBRE

land and America could survive the severest tests. This first onslaught "made Col. Pomeroy very angry and scurrilous," Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett writes me in a letter dated 16 March, 1916. That Colonel Pomeroy had cause for being "very angry" over the gratuitous insult to the Pomeroy family "communicated" to the *Register* by Mr. Bartlett will be the verdict of every unprejudiced mind.

Those responsible for the attack owed an apology, with whatever other reparation lay in their power. Even if they had not properly weighed the unseemly character of the first assault, we make no mistake in assuming that any policy adopted after the receipt of Colonel Pomeroy's protest involved the intelligent complicity of those responsible for conducting the *Register*. I mean, particularly, Mr. Scott, the editor, and Mr. Bartlett, chairman of the New England Genealogical Society's Committee on English Research.

Three policies lay open to them: (1) to express regret; (2) to maintain silence; (3) to pursue the attack, seeking some appearance of a sounder criticism to cover the weakness and meanness of the first assault. The first policy would have been honorable; the second, cowardly from a personal standpoint, but discreet from the standpoint of the good name of the *Register* and of the society which owns it; the third, in every way dishonorable. The third policy was adopted by men who had on a shelf of their society a gift copy from Colonel Pomeroy of the magnificent genealogy which I consider the most valuable to an historian of any book of its class known to me which has been issued in America.

I quote more at length Mr. Bartlett's own words from his above-mentioned letter to me. The searcher in England, he declares, "In the 'Register' of July, 1913, . . . published some records she found, showing that the mother and brother [a false assertion] of Eltweed Pomeroy of Beaminster were buried there as paupers [a gross exaggeration respecting even those mentioned in the "Poor Book"]. This made Col. Pomeroy very angry and scurrilous; and at my request she investigated the weak point in his alleged pedigree."

Mr. Bartlett here describes his instruction very modestly, "at my request she investigated." But I had it from the one most competent to testify that the order to "investigate" came from the chairman of the Research Committee in clarion and stentorian words of command, "Smash the Pomeroy pedigree!"

Thus Colonel Pomeroy's protest wrung no honorable amenity

from Mr. Bartlett, but sent him back to the firing line (or rather to the rear for better ammunition) with colors flying, drums a-beat, and trumpets shrilling. Now this may be war, but unfortunately it is not the historical method. "Smash the Pomeroy pedigree" was an order to find evidence which could be interpreted to serve a certain end, an order to do alleged historical work under the most positive and vicious "bias" and "tendency." Such a command was a grievous injury to the honor and reputation of the searcher in England, who had long done such interesting work for the *Register* and the society, as well as a breach of trust toward all who had honorably contributed money to support this work.

Incomparably more innocent are the bias and tendency under which almost all the mistakes of amateur genealogists are made. A natural predilection for easy and interesting results induces the acceptance of insufficient and too often of palpably unsound evidence, unmindful of the inevitable nemesis of the searcher who follows with wider inquiry and critical method, dragging into light unsettling documents which should have been consulted at the start.

Yet even slipshod workers do constructive work, setting up positive conclusions which invite criticism and induce further search. But what of trained experts deliberately arming themselves with "bias" to tear down, injure, and destroy, instead of to construct? To place question-marks beside historical work is child's play; we all are clever to-day, and any shallow cleverness can do this. I know of no cheaper way to acquire a worthless reputation. Constructive historical work, a man's task, is alone worth while. What then shall we say when the Research Committee of our greatest genealogical society issues orders for "tendency" work of the worst kind? Or what when the editors of our most venerable genealogical magazine make it the vehicle of such work?

Yet even this one might pass over among sporadic errors in judgment not likely often to recur. But is the very best work of the amateur genealogists of America to be attacked in the *Register*? Are not all genealogical societies the societies of amateurs? Are not practically all our genealogies and local histories the works of amateurs? Have not amateurs contributed the overwhelming bulk of the contents of the entire file of the *New England Register* and of all other genealogical publications, British and American? Are the pages of the *Register*, then, open to gossipy gibes against American families, and when such an unnecessary and historically useless insult is vigorously resent-

ed by the historian and natural defender of such a family, is he to be punished by a secret order sent to England to dig up something to damage his personal reputation and slander the genealogy he has published?

IV

The Difficulties of British Pedigree-Building

We have heard the command to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree." While waiting for the *Register's* generals to scare up new munitions and realign upon the battle-field, let us examine the works they seek to destroy. We shall look a little at the task of building a British pedigree. Colonel Pomeroy constructed a striking one, nine hundred years long, beginning in Normandy before the Conquest, stretching down through England for about six hundred years, and thence into America through another three centuries. It embraces a direct line of twenty-six generations including Colonel Pomeroy, and of twenty-eight down to his granddaughter, under the original Norman name.

To establish through nearly a millennium a continuous pedigree upon a degree of probability so solid that searching criticism cannot anywhere shake it is a performance so supremely difficult that scarcely anyone has ever accomplished it. To so nearly achieve this that even the *Register's* biased critics point out only a single "weak point" is a great credit to Colonel Pomeroy, for which I congratulate him; and if at the one "weak point" he built out of the materials then available a bridge of fair probability, or unclouded possibility, he is not, in my judgment, justly subject to abuse or censure by some afterling, building upon his work, who happens to discover additional documents. Our best work is subject to correction. Apart from divine inspiration, human effort cannot hope to build a pedigree beyond the possibility of emendation in the light of new discoveries.

Infallible proof is no more attainable in genealogy than in other historical work; no British or American pedigree can claim it; so that all differences between sound and unsound pedigrees, apart from deliberate forgery, are simply differences in the degrees of probability or improbability. From this there is no escape, and all pretense of it is begotten either of ignorance or imposture.

All science is subject to these limitations; and history, the culmination of all science, the roof and cornice of the entire temple, can least of all hope to escape, resting as it does not merely upon conjecture in its own particular field of final interpretation, but upon the painfully-ris-

ing and constantly-corrected and renewed structures of hypotheses and probabilities in all the departments of human knowledge underneath it.

In its own domain, of sifting human evidence, what difficulties history encounters! All lawyers and jurists know that the best legal evidence affords only *presumptive* proof, in spite of the law's elaborate machinery to cross-examine the probabilities. Yet only for small parts of the way can the genealogist hope to find legal evidence, which he must of course take subject to all the fallibility, natural bias, dishonesty, and corruption of judges, juries, lawyers, and witnesses, superadded to the numerous clerical errors of the drawers and recorders of documents.

Ask textual critics concerning the multitudes of corruptions and misreadings in handing down a work like the New Testament through trained copyists who considered it inspired and sought to avoid the change of a letter. These errors criticism has slowly corrected through a painstaking labor of generations in collating thousands of manuscripts and versions. But the genealogist is fortunate to find even a single copy of any document, and must *assume* its unimpeachability or give up his task. Lack of charity for one another among workers in a field like this is one of the most grotesque things under heaven. There never has been and never will be an uninspired genealogist who does not do all his work in the most fragile of glass houses; and I have never watched one who threw many stones who did not do vastly more damage to his own house than to his neighbor's. The truth is that we cannot get these stones out without breaking our own windows and letting in the accusing voice, "Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest *doest the same things.*" Let the reader watch our present inquiry and see if these words are not literally fulfilled.

American sources for genealogy are in favored parts of the country so abundant that we often can check the errors in wills, deeds, vital statistics, town records, and court records, by mutual comparison; but in the England that existed prior to America's colonization, the errors of an uncritical age are secure through paucity of witnesses of any kind, and especially of second witnesses to check the first. Biblical requirement, that in the mouth of two or of three witnesses every word shall be established, is beyond the wildest dream of the genealogist, who is overjoyed to find even one solitary signpost here and there by which to guess his way among blind crossroads of mere conjecture.

We have heard of the fierce light which beats upon the throne.

A GENEALOGICAL CAUSE CELEBRE

Yet in trying to establish the genealogies even of England's Norman and Plantagenet kings we are not yet beyond guess-work in assigning some of the kings' children to the proper mothers. Search for correct lists of the bare names of reigning monarchs in the dynasties prior to the Conquest soon leads into a morass of questions, doubts, and conflicting authorities. Bright as was the publicity in which they committed their crimes and succeeded one another, exact genealogical tables of the great baronial families of Norman England are exceedingly difficult to construct; but in this respect the Pomeroyes, whom the acumen of the *Register* singled out for attack, are exceptionally fortunate, in the judgment of British experts, since "there is scarcely a baronial family in England whose early pedigree has been so clearly and satisfactorily worked out step by step as that of the Pomeroyes in Devonshire" (*The Genealogist*, London, New Series, vol. i, p. 167).

The tracer of British pedigrees finds the period of the Conquest more fruitful than the century following. A fair start is often got by critical collation of the genealogical statements of the old chroniclers with ecclesiastical charters and the Domesday Survey, the right use of which British antiquarians are just beginning to understand; but when we leave the great Domesday catalogue of property-holders of the Confessor's and Conqueror's days we plunge into an almost chartless sea, with little to steer by except ill-informed chronicles, old charters (genuine and forged), land squabbles, and such mere lists of names as of those who owed knight's service about 1166.

The extreme thinness of records gradually thickens as we come down, but not in pace with the growing population. How may these few loaves and fishes of genealogical information go around among all the families of England? As for the villeins, from whom we all descend, but who left no broad land-trail in the early days, not until the resurrection will they all be revealed in their true places in our genealogical charts. In guessing at our sprinkling of baronial ancestors (for we all have them) we are chiefly indebted to the fact that they were such quarrelsome robbers and man-killers that down every path of descent snatches of names and relationships hang like sheep's wool to the thorny legal annals of civil and criminal process; while we are under tremendous obligation to kings' greed in subjecting feudal estates to royal administration, at death and during minorities, to be restored to the rightful heirs, if at all, only upon payments of fat fines.

We cannot now regret systems of extortion that placed our ancestors and their possessions upon record, though we may sympathize with

the sense of outrage of those like the violent Earl Warren, challenged concerning a land-title by the king's inquisitors, who, drawing his too-ready sword with the word, "By this my grandfather got his land and by this do I hold it!" met the rebuke of Lord De la Zouch by a lunge through his lordship's body.

Though kings had their way, handing down to us priceless records of post-mortems, the sources remain exceedingly scant, even after will-making became common, until we reach the later period of heraldic visitations and parish registers. Yet these new helps barely counterbalance new difficulties through multiplying population without increased acreage, resulting in new mixtures of the classes and increasing migrations; and if even the heralds, the genealogists of their day, seldom set down correctly a pedigree of any length, we need not marvel at our problems in attempting centuries later to begin where they left off.

If a line clung to the land, we may establish historical continuity where exact genealogy is lost—may trace inheritance from ancestors, though some steps of the descent lie undisclosed. But where younger sons of noble blood entered the condition later styled yeomanry, as constantly happened from the Conquest down and particularly prior to 1350, or conversely where franklins and yeomen emerged into trade, professional life, and manorial gentility, we encounter great difficulties in going remotely back, as we do in tracing the converging descents from Norman and Plantagenet kings and barons and contemporary villeins to their points of conjunction in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

Needless to say, the main difficulty here lies with the villeins, who have generally shed the marks of their former estate before they begin to leave traceable pedigrees. But where we cannot trace, we logically know by mathematical calculation what has taken place. Yet we cannot *assume* that any emerging stock is wholly or in the line of its surname plebeian (as we cannot assume that any royal or baronial stock is wholly noble), because the descent of noble blood into farming was so extensive for centuries that probably few if any stocks are free from noble blood at the point of their emergence into traceable pedigrees.

When English colonization of America began, the economical pressure in England from immensely multiplied population with no more land than at first had resulted in a state of restless flux where class-mixture proceeded rapidly in spite of heralds' snobbery in trying to stem it by establishing an artificial line where none before had existed between a newly-defined "gentility" and a newly-defined "yeo-

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manry." Estates, broken into constantly smaller fragments, would not suffice to go around among multiplying broods of "gentlemen's sons" in ever-increasing competition with emerging multitudes of descendants of yeomen, and of a villenage which had broken the bonds of land-vasalage in the fourteenth century, had gone into trades, commerce, and professions in the towns, had prospered, and was constantly flowing back with the gold that commanded the halls and manner of life of gentility easier than could its broken-down scions, and that could buy from the heralds for trifling sums actual patents of armorial nobility.

America's early settlers, whether of well-known ancestry, of the new-fangled herald-stamped "gentility," or of unregistered yeomanry (including the best blood of England), were for the most part not those who had, but those who sought, the broad acres that support a life of leisure. Hence we must grope for their ancestry, in most cases, far from the easy trails of manorial descents. Few things are more difficult than the picking up of these floating pedigrees by wireless, while few things are cheaper than the pretense of superior wisdom in harsh criticism of one who makes the attempt.

With this brief summary we return to Colonel Pomeroy's work. He gives a genuine history of a descent of baronial stock into yeomanry and indigence, and the exhibit is too valuable for the historian to permit it to be obscured by ridiculous aspersions growing out of the silly rivalries of professional genealogists. Even the *Register's* critics attempt to pick flaws at only one "weak point" of the Colonel's long history; and while mere pedigree-makers may argue that no genealogical chain is stronger than its weakest link, historians can refute this fallacy, and conclusively so in a case like that of the Pomeroy's. Before looking at the "weak point," therefore, let us note the unimpeachable strength of the Pomeroy history.

V

The Unavailable Heritage of the American Pomeroy's in the Blood, Name, and Arms of Their Devonshire Ancestors

The entire strategy of the *Register's* attack upon the Pomeroy ancestry collapsed through a fatal misconception. The attacking experts assumed that if they could make in Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree one clear breach back of Eltwed Pomeroy this would completely undermine the claim to baronial ancestry. In many cases such a result would follow, but the critics very strangely forgot that Pomeroy is notably exceptional.

They assert that their new evidence in the *Register* (January, 1914, pp. 47-56) made a breach in the pedigree. This claim I shall examine critically in due course. But first let us inquire how much of the Pomeroy evidence remains wholly unimpeached even if the alleged breach at the "weak point" should prove an actuality.

On the strength of the alleged breach the *Register's* experts have drawn certain conclusions. I shall first quote these item by item, recording my dissent, and shall then present the historical grounds for pronouncing these conclusions false.

On p. 55 of the *Register* above-mentioned we read that in view of an alleged mistake in identifying Richard, Eltweed Pomeroy's father, "the pedigree given in the History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family breaks down." I reply that this result would follow in a technical sense only; but that even were the facts as alleged, the pedigree would not "break down" in the sense of leaving us in any doubt of Eltweed's descent from baronial Pomeroy. We would not be left in doubt concerning the *fact* of his descent, but only concerning the particular line. Thus against the further conclusion, that "at present nothing is known of the ancestry of Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster, the father of Eltweed," I oppose the emphatic assertion that on grounds of human probability as overwhelming as can be attained in genealogical science, we know that Eltweed and his father descended from the baronial Pomeroy. Again, the statement that "the descent of Eltweed Pomeroy from the armorial family of Pomeroy of Berry-Pomeroy is, therefore, entirely conjectural," is true only of the particular line, not of the fact, of such descent; since any questioning of the fact can rest only upon empty theoretical possibility, without a single element of probability. I challenge completely the intention of the added remark, that "according to heraldic usage the descendants of Eltweed Pomeroy have no right to bear the Pomeroy arms until the descent from the armorial family has been established." The intention here suggests that descent from the armorial family has not yet been established; but my calm judgment is that if our present evidence in behalf of the American Pomeroy can be seriously questioned, all possibility of ever proving an historical title to arms for any American family is gone.

In a similar vein, on p. 56 of the same issue of the *Register* Mr. Bartlett tells us that "the records" there given to discredit Colonel Pomeroy's identification of Eltweed's father "destroy the particular heraldic line of ancestry that has been claimed for Eltweed Pomeroy." Changing "heraldic" to "armorial," Mr. Bartlett's conclusion remains

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only partially true, even if his evidence is what he claims, and is partially true only if we retain his carefully-chosen words, "particular" and "line." The claim to the "particular" "line" would not be "destroyed," but the case made out for it would simply remain "unproven," were there evidence having the force asserted by the *Register*, yet the claim to armorial ancestry would still remain absolutely unimpeached. I therefore challenge Mr. Bartlett's next conclusion, that "whether or not he was in any other way a descendant of the Norman armorial family of Pomeroy of Berry-Pomeroy can with our present knowledge neither be affirmed nor denied." With our present knowledge the fact of such descent can be "affirmed" on the highest degree of probability attainable in genealogical science, and cannot be "denied" with any degree of probability whatever. Again he says, "Eltweed Pomeroy may have been descended in some junior line from the Norman armorial family of Pomeroy of Berry-Pomeroy." To this exceedingly mild statement I assent; yet when he adds, "but on the other hand he may not have been of their blood at all," I must remark that Mr. Bartlett here builds his entire conclusion on the quicksands of the barest theoretical possibility without a discernible element of probability.

On the same page Mr. Bartlett says, "In America a general misconception exists that all persons bearing the same place-surname, such as Pomeroy, Skipwith, Berkeley, and the like, are descendants of the Norman lords of that place in England." Is this fact or delusion? As I never happened to talk with anyone under this misconception, nor ever met it in print, I am compelled to doubt its generality—outside of Boston, perhaps. My conception is that, of the three names mentioned, Pomeroy stands in a class by itself, and cannot by any unbiased person who knows English place-surnames be for a moment bracketed with "Skipwith, Berkeley, and the like." But as this touches the very thing which utterly destroys the *Register's* contention, we shall return to it in a moment.

Mr. Bartlett continues, "In reality, however, throughout England, at the time (about 1300) when the common people began to assume hereditary surnames, many peasants of Anglo-Saxon or British origin and without surnames, whose ancestors were serfs of these Norman landlords, on removing from their native places took the names of those places as family names, and became the progenitors of yeoman families which bore surnames derived from place-names but were not descended from the Norman lords of those places."

Can anyone cite me a theory more purely imaginary than this,

more completely unsupported by a single known historical instance? Does Mr. Bartlett not know that if he has really captured a single "serf" performing the part here assigned to great bodies of them he can make every British antiquary his grateful debtor by publishing the instance? My studies happen to have moved in this direction, and I can assure him of the crown awaiting such a discoverer.

When Mr. Bartlett speaks of serfs he probably means villeins, who constituted over forty per cent of the families of England at the time of the Domesday Survey, whereas the *servi*, even then only about ten per cent, soon emerged into villenage.

We can prove by mathematical calculation that villeins must have risen into craftsmanship, "yeomanry," and "gentility," because the only alternative is the absurd assumption that otherwise these millions must have suffered complete extinction; but Mr. Bartlett's wild theory, that the nobles' assumption of surnames *from their estates* was practised by villeins *without an acre*, seems to carry its own refutation in the confused contradiction involved in its very terms.

The issue raised is to a historic-genealogist a fundamental and very interesting one, involving the entire character of the genealogical mixture which has made the Anglo-Saxon peoples what they are. A question of such consequence must not be twisted like a nose of wax to serve the temporary purpose of a pedigree-smasher; and in a future issue of THE JOURNAL I hope to deal with it on a broad basis, substituting historical examples for mere theory. Here I must confine myself to the briefest epitome of principles.

If the feudal lords of England watched anything with jealous eyes it was land-titles and chances of inheritance. That they would permit villeins to assume surnames under which the latter's descendants might set up false claims to manorial inheritances is one of the least probable things conceivable. Nobles protected their surnames, and their arms too, precisely to exclude false cousinships that might cover false assumptions of property rights. If noble fought noble on this ground, where would the villein stand?

The only place-surnames we can conceive of villeins appropriating would be those of towns and cities not used by the nobles, whose surnames came from estates, their manors, and their "honours." Titles, not surnames, they took from counties and cities; hence a surname like Lincoln, for example, would not concern the earls of Lincoln, whose surnames were not Lincoln.

Again, Mr. Bartlett should know that it was not "about 1300," but

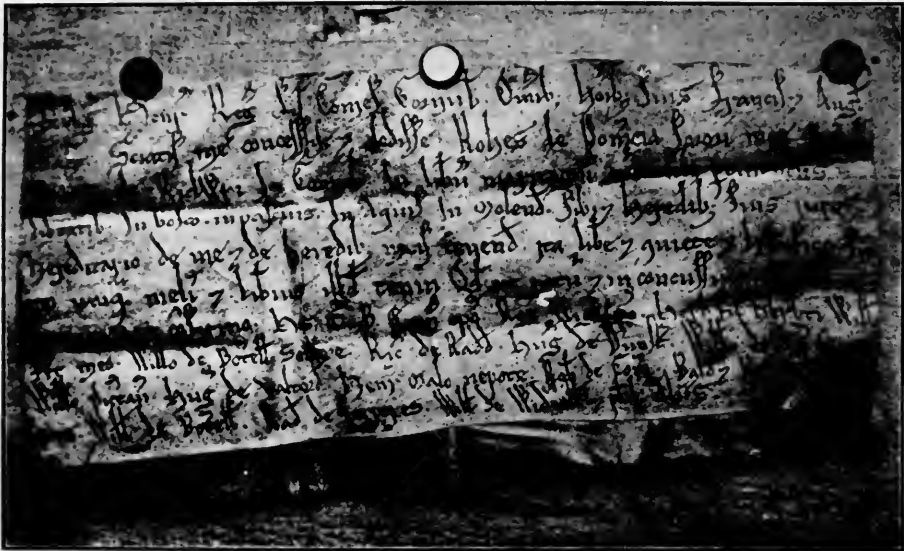
Right worshipfull and Reverend Sir: our duties kindly remembred
 whereof the greater testimony is given by
 your Honorable presence hath in our Court: for about
 your parts some of our brethren have been
 called in to see how their behavior should be
 conformable, peaceably & reverently, his holiness & ministry
 & sent to the right religiously at his whole command
 & our respect of your jurisdiction, & authority over us
 for his better teaching, encouragement & comfortable remaining
 amongst us. We have therefore desired that your presence should
 be desired, & we are glad to see your testimony of his worth & good
 services, you will be pleased to confirm him with addition
 of your approbation, for we shall rest with our
 best wishes & prayers

And we desire that your
 friends the assistants of
 the Court whose names are hereunto
 subscribed

George Gifford
 George Calk
 Will: Tucker
 Richard Sewal
 Charles Downing
 Joane Derry
 Hugh Parle
 Wm. Derry
 John Tucker
 John Derry
 John Derry
 John Derry
 John Derry
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William Tanner
 John Hopkins
 James Daryl
 Henry Winton
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DOCUMENT SHOWING SIGNATURE OF ELTWEED POMEROY



DEED OF GIFT FROM REGINALD, EARL OF CORNWALL, TO HIS SISTER,
ROHESIA DE LA POMEREI

The original of the above is still in existence. The bottom of the deed or charter looks as though a seal may have been attached. It is possible that the seal may be reproduced in Part Three of the "History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family." Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and Rohesia de la Pomerai were children of King Henry I by common law marriage with Sibilla de Corbet. Rohesia was full sister of Sibyl, wife of Alexander the Silent, King of Scotland. The date of this deed is between 1164 and 1180.

TRANSLATION.—"Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, son of King Henry I: To his faithful men, French and English, sends greeting: Know ye that I have given and granted to Rohesia de Pomerai, my sister, my manor of Ridwel in Cornwall, in free marriage, with all its appurtenances and liberties in wood, in feedings, in waters, in mills, to hold to her and her heirs by right of inheritance from me and my heirs, as freely and quietly and honorably as I have best and most freely held it. And that this may endure firm and unshaken, I confirm it to her by my deed. These being witnesses: B——, Bishop of Exeter, Roger Bishop of Worcester, Herbert son of Herbert, William my brother, William de Boterell the elder, Richard de Rudt, Hugh de Dunster, William de St. Claire, William de Poitou, Hugh de Valletort, Henry Malo my nephew, Robert de Com Baldwin and Richard my nephew, William de Boterell, Ralph de Ferrers, William de Widiell, and many others."

about 1350, after the great plague, that English villeins began to rebel against land-vassalage, while the resulting riots began about 1380. But at that time in England hereditary surnames had long been in universal vogue, shutting us up to the conclusion that villeins acquired their surnames on the manors, each under his own lord's eye.

A glance at manorial villenage shows the reason for this. Villeins had property rights under villein tenure or tenure by custom, and a villein's son was as anxious to have his father's privileges as was his lord's heir to inherit the manor, and thus had the same need of an hereditary name for identification. His father's rights were recorded in the court roll; his own admittance was decided by the manor court; and genealogy was as essential in settling his status as in proving a noble's right to inherit at an inquisition post mortem. Thus the villeins were little behind the nobles in taking hereditary surnames, so that in the Hundred Rolls and various Surveys of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, a period including two hundred years prior to 1300, we find villeins habitually enrolled with surnames at least as fixed as those of their lords—whose surnames often changed with their estates.

We cannot alter history to "smash" the Pomeroy pedigree, and Mr. Bartlett's theory we must quietly drop overboard.

Let us now bring up the positive side, the evidence that every Pomeroy descends from the baronial Pomeroyes. We do not have to weigh the possibility that some other family, villein or noble, may have appropriated the same place-surname, because there never has been a place in England from which they could have taken it. As Mr. C. A. Hoppin correctly states, "There has never been in England a town, village, parish, or hamlet called Pomeroy."

The first baron, Sir Radulphus de la Pommeraie, brought his surname with him out of Normandy, and it did not get entangled with English geography until the period of the appropriation of surnames had spent itself. This is as certain as any fact in English history, and by this token whoever is born a Pomeroy knows his origin, blood, and armorial bearings, however ignorant he may be of his exact line. However cunningly the *Register's* experts assault this impregnable rock, the only thing that will yield to their blows will be their own reputation.

The Pomeroy barons of Devon were dominant lords at Berry, Stockleigh, and Brigtown, and at length their name was popularly appended to these ancient place-names, giving Berry-Pomeroy, Stockleigh-Pomeroy, and Brigtown-Pomeroy. This custom was adopted too

late for appropriation in surnames. Were it otherwise, what should we find? Not Pomeroy, certainly; not even Berry, Stockleigh, and Brigtown, except as derived in an earlier period before the compounds were formed; but Mr. Berry-Pomeroy, Mr. Stockleigh-Pomeroy, Mr. Brigtown-Pomeroy. Has anyone met any of these gentlemen? Yet Mr. Bartlett is looking for some one gullible enough to think it possible that an enterprising villein lived in one of these places as late as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, sawed the head off of the compound place-name, took the tail for his own name, and went down to Beaminster to beget Richard, father of Eltweed. And we must assume that he performed this exploit unchallenged, and without leaving so much as a "scent" in the historical trail of this second and different Pomeroy family, in a little corner of baron-worshipping England where every Englishman knew all about the genuine Pomeroy, and in communities where every one's status and antecedents were known to all his neighbors and where the name-pretensions of a false Pomeroy would be instantly detected and persecuted. When we go to fairy-tales for history we may entertain this notion. Not in Devon or Dorset could anyone live who had tried to steal the great name of Pomeroy. What have the *Register's* experts been doing in England, that they do not know facts as patent as the Devonshire hills?

An interesting commentary on the situation appears on p. 77 of the Pomeroy Genealogy in a letter of Captain L. R. L. Pomeroy of the Dragoon Guards, written from Ladysmith, Africa, in 1900 to a Pomeroy in America. We all know how reluctant the English gentleman is to hand over a branch of his family tree to American pretension coming with no better credentials than a common surname. But Pomeroy is different; this name carries its own credentials; and Captain Pomeroy writes without hesitation:

"There is only one family of Pomeroy in England to my knowledge. This is a Pomeroy family that came over with William the Conqueror and was granted large estates in Devonshire. . . . The family continued to be of great importance in Devonshire until 1549, when Sir Thomas Pomeroy, the then head of the family, was the leader of the unsuccessful Western Insurrection of the Roman Catholics of Devon and Somerset against the ultra-Protestant policy of Edward VI. . . . The bulk of his estates were forfeited to the Duke of Somerset. . . . The family, much shorn of its ancient glory, still continued to reside in Devon at Engesdon, a manor which has been left to them, and the ancestor of my family branch went to Ireland as Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. His great-grandson was created Viscount Harberton in 1783. . . . You give no dates, so I do not know where your ancestor would come in. No doubt several of them did seek their fortunes in America in the middle of the 17th century, as the family was greatly impoverished at that time, and I understand Pomeroy is not an uncommon name in the United States."

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Can even the terrors of the Beaminster "Poor Book" "destroy" or "smash" for Captain Pomeroy the origin of members of a family "greatly impoverished at that time"? Nor can it for any serious historical student. Hence my complete dissent from the incompetent conclusions reached in the *Register*. Had I been one of the strategists, I certainly should not have selected the most impregnable family in Anglo-Saxia as the object of assault.

Since the preceding was written I have received a document secured in England by Mr. C. A. Hoppin. It confirms the general tenor of our analysis, brings out the figure of Eltweed Pomeroy in a brighter light, in which also the unsubstantial aspersions of the *Register's* iconoclasts shrink into mere phantasms, and throws back an illuminating gleam upon social conditions in England which led many prosperous men besides Eltweed Pomeroy to seek larger opportunities in a new world.

The document (Chancery Depositions, Elizabeth to close of Charles I, S, 10-16, Public Record Office, London) is a record of testimony in a suit of tenants on the manor of Langdon, Beaminster, against Peter and John Hoskins, gentlemen, lessees, and farmers of the farms and other lands of the manor, successors to the Strodes, the preceding lords and farmers. The Hoskins were sued to restrain them from curtailing the tenants' rights under the ancient "customary law" of the manor through impoverishment of the manorial resources by converting the standing timber into money, one witness declaring that already they had disposed of £1,000 worth of timber, while another claimed that the Hoskins, having refused to pay their poor rates and dues to the Beaminster Church, had to be distrained and a cow taken from them to meet these charges. While the witnesses for the Hoskins were mostly residents elsewhere, the Beaminster men nearly all deposed in behalf of the tenants, including three Beaminster felt-makers, Eltweed Pomeroy, Peregrine Percote, and William Baker.

The depositions are introduced by this general heading:

"Deposition of Witnesses taken at Beaminster in the County of Dorset the last day of March in the seventh year of the Reigne of our Soveriegn Lord Charles by the grace of God of England, Scotland, FFrance, and Ireland King, defender of the faith, etc: Before Roger Gollopp Esqr., George Bowdon, clerk; John ffov and Thomas Keate, gent. By virtue of his Majties writ of commission out of His Highness most Honorable Courte of Chancery unto us or to any two or three of us directed for examinacon of Witnesses in a ceuse in the same Courte depending as well on the pte and behaulfe of the Reverend father in God John, Lord Bishop of Sarum, complate, as also on the pte and behalfe of Peter Hoskins Esqr and John Hoskins, gent, Defts, in maner and forme following, vitz:"

The general effect of the encroachment of the lessee lords upon the

manorial rights of the tenants may be gathered from the testimony of Lancelot Hallett of Beamister, clothier, aged three-score years, who gave affirmative answers to all the questions under the two items following:

"14. Item, hath there not bene by many years past in Beamister divers Clothiers whoe doe keepe many poore people on worke which sells their cloaths to Merchants that doe trade them beyonde the seas whereby the king hath for custome out of their cloaths ffower or ffive powndes weekly, one weck with the other, throughout the whole year by reason of the same trading? And if the tennats customes be overthrowne, many of these poore people will lacke work and the king will loose his weekly customes? Delivr soe much as you knowe or have credibly heard touching this Interrogatory.

"15. Item: Doe you not take it that the townsmen, customary tenants of Beamister, are much weakened and ympoverished in their estates by reason of the defendant Hoskins' long, tedious and chargable suits, attempted and psecuted against them? Are they not much the less able to pay subsedyes, duties and Aydes to the kinge and payments to the church, and to the poore in the said towne of Beamister by reason of Mr. Hoskins vexacious suits? Deliver soe much as you knowe or have credibly heard touching this Interrogatory."

On Membrane 7 we have an additional explanation, which we give following, together with Eltweed Pomeroy's testimony, which appears under this sub-heading and which is here for the first time printed:

"Deposicons of Witnesses taken at Beamister in the county of Dorset, (by way of adiornment) the fievth day od Aprill Anno Dei 1631 between the pties aforesaid by virtue of the commission before menconed in the cause before recited before us the then and now Comitors in manner and forme following vizt:

"Eltwitt Pomery of Beamister in the county of Dorset, feltmaker, Aged fourty fower years or thereabouts, educed to the first, tenth, sixteenth and seventeenth, and three and twentieth Inter(rogoratories) only and thereuppon sworne and examined, (viz.)

"1. To the first Inter. this Dept. saith that he knoweth the Defts. and the fearme and lands called Langdon in the Inter. menconed and hath knowne them and the fearme by the space of thirty years now last past or thereabouts, but the plt. he doth not know.

"10. To the tenth Inter. this Dept. saith that aboute three yeares sithence one Wilbain King sometyme of Evill in the county of Somerst, (cooper), and another partner of his (whose name this Dept. now remembereth not) bought a bargaine of fowr hundred ashes upon Langdon aforesaid of the Deft. Mr. John Hoskins and paid three score poundes for the same as they informed this Dept. which this Dept. rather believeth to be true for that during the tyme that the said King and his Partner wrought and employed themselves about the working of the tymber of the same trees they lay at this Depts. house at Beamister aforesaid and this Deponent then bought of them two hundred of said ashes and trees with wood uppon them growing together with the toppes of tother two hundred ashes some of which ashes were not worth above fowr pence apiece as this Dept. remembreth, and this Dept. paid them thirty powndes for the same, and further this Dept. saith that about the same tyme he also bought of the said Wilbain King and his said partner, an other bargaine of wood of the said trees of some of the residue of the said three score powndes bargaine, and that the chippes that came of the working of the said tymber, and paid twenty shillings for the same, besides this Dept. gave the said King and his said partener beere and allowed them and two others lodging during the tyme of their abode at his house at their pleasure for the space of almost one whole yeare for this Dept. said seconde bargaine of wood and chippes, which beer and lodging this Dept. esteemeth to be well worth twenty shillings more. And farther this Dept. saith that about sik or seven yeares sithence this Dept. bought of one Richard Milles, a turner, a bargain of wood upon Langdon aforesaid and paid him thirty shillings and upward for the same, which wood the said Richard Milles had formerly bought of the Deft. Mr. John Hoskins, and farther this Dept. saith that about two years sithence he bought of the said Mr. John Hoskins uppon Langdon a heape of wood set upp together and paid him six powndes for same, and farther this Dept. saith that about one year sithence

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this Dept. bought upon Langdon aforesaid a bargain of wood of one Hill, a cooper, dwelling in Newish in the county of Somerset, and paid him for the same thirty shillings, which wood and the timber trees on which the same was growne the said Hill bought of the said Deft. Mr. John Hoskins and payed aboute fowr or five powndes for the same as this Dept. hath heard, and farther this Dept. saith that one Bates, a cooper, bouth a bargain of three score ashes or thereabouts upon Langdon aforesaid of the Deft. John Hoskins which bargain this Dept. was in price of and had offered twenty-eight powndes for the same and could not have yt, and therefore this Dept. believeth that the said Bates paid more for yt; and farther this Dept. saith that one Thomas Lincolne, a coop(er), bought two or three bargaines of ashes of the Deft. John Hoskins, but what he paid for the same this Dept. knoweth not.

"16. To the sixteenth Inter. this Dept. saith that about fourteen yeares sithance or upwardes there were Certeyn trencher makers working upon the said fearme but how long this Dept. knoweth not. And more to this Inter. he can not to his now remembrance depose other than as formerly he hath deposed.

"17. To the seventeenth Inter. this Dept. saith that there hath been many trees of oake, ash, maple and other wood within the space of eight years now last past felled and cutt upon Langdon aforesaid and converted to billett and fire wood and such like uses and sold unto neighbors and strangers but how many trees this Dept. knoweth not, nor remembreth to whom, and farther this Dept. saith that there were certain loades of woode made into fagotts but how many this Dept. knoweth not, of which this Dept. bbought one hundred (loads) of oaken fagotts of a carter that bought the same amongst others upon Langdon aforesaid, and paid for the same and the carriage whome to this Dept.'s house nine shillings, and more to Inter. to his now remembrance, he cannot depose other than as he hath formerly deposed.

"23. to the three and twentieth Inter. this Dept. sayeth theat there are greate quantity of timber trees of oak and ash yet standing and growing upon Langdon fearme aforesaid, many of which are young and good tymber trees such as wilbe better forty or sixty yeares hence then now they are as this Dept. conceiveth, but how many such trees there are now there this Dept. knoweth not and saith that many of the young trees are handsome and delightful trees and yf all those trees should be cutt Downe in some short tyme and other owners of tymber trees thereabouts should do the like the country thereabouts woul, wante tymber to builde or there would be greate scarcity of tymber thereabout for buildings about forty, sixty or one hundred years hence as this Dept. verily believeth for this Dept. saith that there is like to be a scarcity of tymber about Beamister already."

This deposition of Eltweed Pomeroy is said to be in a hand different from the rest and apparently identical with that of his several known signatures. If so, he drew up his own evidence, a task which might have been left to a conscientious man of capacity. At any rate, his age was about forty-four on 5 April, 1631, agreeing well with the record of his baptism in the Beaminster transcript; he had been a resident of Beaminster or vicinity all or most of his life, having known the Langdon properties and their lords for about thirty years, or since the age of fourteen or fifteen; and he was a prosperous felt-maker of Beaminster in 1631, four years before the Pomeroy items appeared in the Beaminster "Poor Book," having "his house," commodious enough to lodge for nearly a year four men besides his own family, where at least two of the men he also furnished with "beere," while his means, above all investments of capital in his house and business, permitted outside speculation in timber to the extent of £30, and the offer of another £28, in addition to smaller items—a mere glimpse at a little part of his transactions caught incidentally. A few more such documents

with their casual allusions, and we shall begin to see how near Eltweed Pomeroy ever came to landing in a poor house!

Such a document restores to our own Dorchester records the full power of inference we should naturally draw from them. Had a pauper received at Dorchester the trust reposed in Eltweed Pomeroy it would be the first case of the kind known to me in the history of the founding of our New England towns; and the contrary inference, which by pure analysis I had drawn from the Dorchester records on the ground of the universal discretion of our colonial fathers in putting their affairs in the hands only of men of parts, is shown to have been correct. We also know that the first-comers in these new towns had the first claim to lands and honors; and since we now learn that Eltweed did not reach Dorchester until some time between 5 April, 1631, and 4 March, 1632-3, when he took the freeman's oath, the place at once given him at Dorchester is the more significant. Either he must have sent over funds for original investment with the first settlers, as did some whose affairs detained them in England, or else he was accorded an unaccustomed advantage on his arrival as a particularly desirable settler in a town which did not lack several of the best names in the colony.

I imagine that Dorchester itself will find more interest in the vindication of Eltweed Pomeroy than in the effort to roll reproach upon the memory of its "fathers," who instituted, it is claimed, "the first town meeting in America"; and this satisfaction may be indulged—surreptitiously, of course—even in spite of the frowning veto of the periodical and society which Mr. Bartlett assures us constitute the supreme and final authority on all emigrants to New England. May we mildly suggest that our bondage to this great system of infallibility may be made a trifle more tolerable if its English searchers will veer their inferences from English documents just enough to avoid open collision with our colonial records? And is it too much to ask if English research is not greatly helped by using every scrap of American light on the immigrant? Or, if this expedient be disdained, may not at least one hurried glance be given to records of old towns like Dorchester, now in the sacred environs close under the disciplining wrath and thunders of the threatening brow of Beacon Hill?

Here ends the new document and our comment upon it, an interpellation in our analysis as originally written. In resuming the thread of the argument in the next paragraph the reader will observe that the testimony of the new document only strengthens all that follows.

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The Pomeroy arms go with the blood and surname, upon precisely the same evidence. With the blind thoughtlessness of the technical searcher, eyes glued to the accustomed trail, it is positively asserted that "according to heraldic usage the descendants of Eltweed Pomeroy have no right to bear the Pomeroy arms until the descent from the armorial family has been established." The incompetence here is inability to perceive that descent *has* been established, to the extent of covering completely the right to the arms, which flows down from the beginnings of the family; while the inability to perceive this comes from such exclusive occupation with the narrow method of ordinary documentary evidence that the very possibility of another and even stronger kind of historical evidence is wholly lost to view. These very good searchers need to lift up their eyes from the strain of the microscope and reacquire a focus for long distance in a wider horizon of historical fact.

I am sure that from me, a lifelong stickler for the most exhaustive pursuit after documentary evidence in genealogical work, the assertion of the existence of historical evidence superior to mere legal documents will come as a great shock. But just to turn the mind in the right direction, let me take from physical science an analogy not so far-fetched as it may seem. I might collect the affidavits of millions of witnesses that the sun shines. Would this be so convincing as to go out and try to look into the sun's face with my own eyes?

I insist on documents because they are generally the best evidence available. Their weakness lies, (1) in the proneness to error of the makers and recorders of documents; (2) in the fact that the possible errors cannot be detected and rectified by cross-examination (law courts invariably reject documents when they can get the living witnesses); and (3), and most serious of all, in the fact that all documentary evidence has to be interpreted and put together in the light only of such probabilities as we know and in the darkness of our total unacquaintance with all other probabilities. Hence all the links in a genealogical chain may be buttressed with an uninterrupted succession of apparently incontrovertible documents, such as the trained genealogist joyfully accepts, and must accept, as the Ultima Thule of research, and yet the line of ancestry seemingly established may be false through the undetectable error in one name in a will, for example, or the omission of a name, or some fatal misinterpretation which the mind most logical is sure to fall into in the absence of any warning signal.

But the notorious fact concerning the exceptional exclusiveness

of the Pomeroy name relieves those born with it from that complete subjection to fallible documents which is the total support of most of our pedigrees. For example, because Captain Pomeroy of the Dragoon Guards knew the exceptional fact that the Pomeroy name is in all human probability exactly coextensive with the "one family of Pomeroy," he did not have to wait for a pedigree, or for the Pomeroy Genealogy, before acknowledging his American cousins. He did not know *how* they were cousins; he could not doubt that they were. Now the Pomeroy Genealogy may give the "how," or the *New England Register* may take away the "how," but the one cannot greatly increase, nor the other greatly diminish, the existing evidence of the fact of the relationship and common descent of all born of that name.

Thanks to the industry of the *Register's* pedigree-"smashers" we are not left to mere theorizing. The issue can be tested. They have made out a great case of "documentary evidence" to throw doubt upon the tribal solidarity of all those born with the Pomeroy name. I have already applied my present method of historical analysis to this whole case, and my manuscript lies before me. Its publication must be left to another number of THE JOURNAL, as already I have greatly exceeded the space allotted for the present installment; and I can only promise that some of the limitations and inadequacies of the documentary method, as practised by skilled workers to a point where they widely advertise an absolute and infallible conclusion, will be pointed out. Anyone who wishes to learn, meanwhile, how strong their case is, may carefully examine the *Register* for January, 1914, pp. 47-56.

On the question of arms I add here, in closing, that the arms-bearing right of the Pomeroy does not in any sense arise out of or hinge upon "heraldic usage," which is a late, limited, and fantastic intrusion in the domain of arms. The Pomeroy has their right by "armorial usage," original, unheralded, undefiled. The coat armor rights of many of us are indeed "heraldic," creatures of the heralds attached to comparatively modern colleges; but the right of the Pomeroy is creatorial, sprung out of the original birth and primal ordering of the usage of arms when the civilized world first received it. The College of Arms in London, although it rendered genealogy a valuable service in a critical time, is only a late and decadent by-product of the armorial usage created by the Pomeroy and their contemporaries.

Like other great barons the Pomeroy created, took, and defended their own coat armor; perhaps, like many, granted arms to others; and probably kept and directed their own heralds, thus planting the seed

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that conceived the College of 1483. My study of baronial families, which has taken in many, convinces me that the Pomeroyes were as well-behaved as any. Yet it did not require a great irritation to draw their swords out of their scabbards; and in the days when they took, bore, and began to hand down their arms, I fancy that anything shaped like a modern herald, seeking to interfere, would rapidly have become extinct.

Under the constitution of England immemorial custom becomes common law. The rights and privileges of ancient "armorial usage" were the well-defined and inviolable heritage of all scions of armorial families long before Richard III created a College or Henry VIII authorized the first meddling visitation; and only the weak and flabby accepted the dog-collar of heraldic tax and license; the best authorities agreeing that heraldry passed into decadence and demoralization precisely at that time.

"Heraldic usage" never ventured upon a trial of strength with the old families, who scorned inquisition and regulation. Moreover, under its compromising expedient of "confirmation," the College has always conceded to the user of arms the benefit of every doubt, and thus grotesquely has "confirmed" ancient arms to persons without a shadow of historical title except their use of another family's surname. What, then, is the value of "heraldic usage" in the presence of historical evidence? If such evidence leads *back* of the College, the official touch of "heraldic usage" will only soil by leaving its mark of modernity. What can such a rubber-stamp add to a Pomeroy?

Yet should a Pomeroy so far forget himself as to seek a grant of confirmation, what herald would dare to expose his institution by refusing it? Thus even according to "heraldic usage" could not the descendants of Eltweed Pomeroy, if British subjects, get for the asking, and the indispensable fee, every "right to bear the Pomeroy arms" which a grant of confirmation by the College could confer? If we know this, why humbug about it? If we do not, what do we know of "heraldic usage," "armorial usage," and the history of arms in Great Britain?

The need of such a discussion is fearfully discouraging. Of all the wild motions made by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the gyrations of its Committee on Heraldry have always been the most alarming. Under its former reign of terror pretension to a coat of arms was a more heinous offense than was acknowledgment of a grandfather in the French Revolution, and faster than the guillotine

worked, this committee cut off discussion, under the seal of its fierce taboo reducing the whole realm of armorial history to a state of solemn silence.

I recall sending to the *Register* years ago an advertisement accompanied by an heraldic trade-mark. Ominous silence ensued. I seemed to feel the quakings in Somerset Street, and, sure enough, an icy line came back declaring it a transgression of the law of the Medes and Persians for an heraldic illustration of any kind to appear in the *Register*. I am not certain that the letter was signed by skull and crossbones, but I am sure that I felt like searching my clothes for the deadly crest some surreptitious mortal might have foisted on me during sleep.

Boston friends can thus imagine my shock in picking up a later *Register* to find that the Heraldic Committee had turned a complete somersault, reversed the world, and come out as our greatest lovers and fosterers of coat armor. What strange new generation is this that has so completely chased the prehistoric off Beacon Hill? When I first read the general invitation to send armorial trappings in for registry in the new hall of fame, I think I must have fallen into heraldic coma, incoherently muttering, "Is this a coat of arms that I see before me?"

But what staggers me, knowing that some of the *Register's* genealogical experts deplore the Heraldic Committee's new coquetry and flirtation with arms as not more seemly than its former repression of all natural affection, is that I should now see these deplorers of extremes themselves going off into the worst heraldic rampage in the history of the New England society. Has the war in Europe gone to our heads? Or are the two committees of the society after all working in conjunction, the sirens of the Heraldic Committee sweetly luring the unwary on to the rocks of confession of heraldic sins in order that the Committee on English Research may "smash," "destroy," and devour them?

Even so, this initial temerity is too much for my nerves. With the most destructive appetite in the world, I should expect to choke to death over the mane of the Pomeroy lion. If the thought ever enters my head of challenging a Pomeroy's right to coat armor, I hope I may succeed in locking myself in until the mania passes. But apparently a Bostonian can launch a torpedo that would sink the reputation of a mere New Yorker.

[*To be concluded*]

The Call of the Race

Save and Lift Up Our Own Neglected People!--A Woman's
Eloquent Plea for a Great and Noble Patriotic Cause

BY

MARTHA SAWYER GIELOW

Founder of the Southern Industrial Educational Association; Founder
of The National Historical Society; Lecturer; Author of
"The Light on the Hill"



IT SEEMS impossible to imagine a more inspiring sight than the glorious vista of mountain ranges seen from the summit of Mount Pisgah. Beyond, far, far beyond, and far above the golden sunlit valley, reaching to the bounds of Eternity, endless billows of towering peaks and dark, wooded passes hold one in speechless awe.

As we lift our eyes unto these "Everlasting Hills" in breathless contemplation of Infinite Creation, we become conscious of the touch of some invisible force drawing our heart-strings, and we hear unmistakably the plaintive whisper of some mysterious call from across the distance. Our innermost being thrills at this faint vibration upon the harp of the soul and we understand. Yes, we know; we are gazing upon another world, a world within and yet a world apart from our own world. A world throbbing within those distant strongholds of lofty fastnesses with priceless mines and buried treasures of human gold.

Unlike the "Call" that comes across the vast plains from our Rockies and Sierras; unlike the "Call" that lures to the snow-clad ranges of the Cascades and Olympics, to the frozen ranges of Alaska and its Klondike, this "Call" from the hidden realms of the southern Appalachians is the call not of the mineral but the call of the blood, our own blood. Boulders of glittering ore form irresistible load-stars

that entice seekers of wealth to the western ranges; but the call of the southern mountains that is drawing the heart-strings of national thinkers is the "S. O. S." of the race.

This silent, wireless soul-call, emanating from the dark, distant regions of "forgotten men," has not the magnetic force of the call of material wealth, but its human cry demanding recognition of human values and human worth is being heard.

Of all the great waste of America's wealth of resources, the waste of her human product is the most tragic, and the loss through the ages of wasted millions of her native men and women the most irreparable.

Yet to-day, while the nation is bending its best energies toward the conservation of its remaining forests, mines, and other material resources, in developing fisheries, better grades of stock, preserving the remnant of buffalo, birds, and Indians, no national effort is made to rescue and conserve its most priceless possession—the valorous stock of native-born Anglo-Saxons of our mountains.

Universal ignorance regarding our mountaineers has for ages been almost as complete as the lack of knowledge of the outside world by our shut-in cabin-kin. Such is no longer an excuse, however, for our lack of interest and our indifference; the Call has come, the conditions are known, the responsibility is placed.

In the last few decades Christian workers and would-be educators have penetrated the darkness of this neglected area, torch-bearers, as it were, for the nation, and the public is awakening, even if slowly, to the importance and economic necessity of developing and conserving this native element of pure-blooded Americans, existing to-day as in the primitive time of Daniel Boone behind the peaks of the Blue Ridge, Smokies, Cumberlands, and Ozarks.

Fisk and other historians give in detail the origin of our mountain people, and the story of the valor of those heroic Scotch, Scotch-Irish, English, and French Huguenots of our highlands—how they fought for liberty and independence under Campbell and Shelby at Kings Mountain, and with Morgan, Pickens, and McCall at Cowpens, turning the tide of battle and winning the day, thereby making possible the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. And the part that the mountaineers played in the battle of New Orleans under their leader, Andrew Jackson, is known to every child in school. They may not know, however, that it was mainly due to the mountaineers of Tennessee and Kentucky that the Union was preserved. It does not matter that many of those mountaineers thought they were going to fight against the English to

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preserve the independence their heroic mountain forefathers bled and died for; it only matters that they responded to the call to colors, grasped their old flintlocks, and went forth to help save the nation. Had they not led the way through intricate mountain passes, Sherman could never have made a successful march to the sea. A mission worker told us that some years "after the War" while penetrating the dark fastnesses of the Ragged Mountains, he found a settlement of nine hundred souls without education, and with but little knowledge of the outside world, living in direst poverty. He was very kindly received by these shut-in people, but when he suggested building a church the mountaineers with one accord declared they would not allow a church as they had "Fit for Independence and would never go back under the dominion of the English." The good man realized that the school-house would have to precede the Episcopal (or English) church, as they supposed it to be. To-day very few illiterates are to be found in that community, as they have been given a chance. A chance is all the mountaineer needs to make him a valuable asset, and while there is seemingly much activity in his behalf, it is as a drop in the ocean.

Out of mountain cabins came Farragut, Sevier, Lincoln, Jackson, Johnson, and others, and yet the nation never remembers our cabin-dwellers, except when it needs fighters or when some clansman has broken the law for the need of knowing a better means of earning a subsistence than by making moonshine whiskey. A humanity that has the strength to survive centuries of isolation and darkness deserves profound consideration. Such a test speaks volumes for the value of heritage—the heritage which this nation so little regards, the heritage of an unadulterated Anglo-Saxon race.

Perhaps when too late there will be some punitive effort to "preserve the species." At this time the southern mountaineers are the purest blooded, truest Americans we have. In fact, they form the only remaining strength and backbone of the English-American race in this country.

The arrested progress of these highlanders is due to geographic conditions. Through no fault of their own they have been cut off from all opportunities that make for progress and education, and though they have retained many of the strong race characteristics that have enabled them to survive the effects of isolation, they are not fitted or prepared to withstand the "vices and devices" of the incoming current of commercialization, or to cope with the problem of new conditions that is thrusting them out and taking possession of their hillsides. The

mountaineers need to-day, more than ever before, the aid of education and enlightenment; yet no hand is lifted in the form of a mountain foundation, and no effective endeavor is being made to save them from the spoilation of real estate speculators.

To permit this last reserve of native Americans to be pushed out and down, and lost to the nation in the maelstrom of struggle through its unpreparedness and inefficiency to deal with outside conditions, will be a greater crime than the centuries of neglect that left them in the bondage of illiteracy and poverty in their mountains.

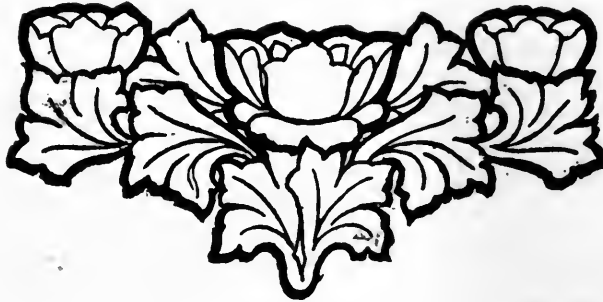
It is not necessary that this nation should forget its own native children while making supreme efforts to Americanize foreign aliens. Charity should begin at home, though it need not end there. This country can do its duty at home and abroad. To be the richest nation in the world is but an inglorious achievement if a vast per cent of the native manhood and motherhood of the land is unavailable for the lack of the fundamentals of education. The glory and strength of a nation is in the standard of its citizenship; ignorance, inefficiency, unpreparedness the greatest peril to its power. Industrial education is a vital necessity in the development of our mountaineer people, as is also a persistent training in sanitation and hygienic laws. The pitiful condition among the unlettered people of isolated cabin homes is a reflection on this government. This is the twentieth century, they are our own people, our own race and blood, the very "seed corn" of American patriotism going to waste, and suffering the ravages of trachoma, hookworm, typhoid, tuberculosis, and every known physical and mental disease. The public school system of the Appalachian States has been mightily belated in reaching even the ragged edges of the "dark corners" where shut-in Americans are calling for light, and such schools as they have in those desolate districts are pathetically inadequate and inefficient. The altruistic endeavors of mission workers and mission schools, forever pleading for endowments and aid, are meagerly responded to by philanthropists with millions to give.

Much time has been wasted in this slow method. In spite of the untold sacrifices of the workers and the heroic efforts of the state educators, crop after crop of illiterates matures in ignorance and vice without a chance! It is time for the United States to take stock, to look to the beam in its own eye. The children of the mountains are the nation's own! If the problem is beyond the ability of State methods, then let the nation do its duty to its own. What if it does require a federal amendment? It were better to make amendments to qualify millions

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for citizenship than to make amendments to give largess to millions unqualified. It is time to mobilize our human as well as our material resources.

Let the bugle note be sounded,
For the conservation grand
Of the men and of the women
Of our own beloved land.



Letter from a Man Who Has "Absolutely No Faith in American History," and the Reply



SINCE the early part of this year The National Historical Society has been prosecuting a very extensive postal card campaign with a view to increasing its membership and the circulation of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY. In the printed matter on the postal cards sent out, stress has been placed upon the essential patriotic character and objects of the Society and THE JOURNAL. We publish below a communication from one of the recipients of the card, and the reply to it.

The correspondence was sent by the editors of this periodical to the *New York Tribune*. A representative of that newspaper undertook to interview Mr. Seitz by telephone concerning it. All he would say in reply was, "You are all liars. I would not speak to you." (*New York Tribune*, March 11.)

C. Seitz, 100 William Street, New York.
Cable Address, *Cary*, New York.
Telephone, 4990 John.
Codes: Western Union Tel. Code, Lieber's Standard.

New York, March 2, 1917.

National Historical Society,
30 East 42nd St.,
New York City.

Dear Sirs:—

I respectfully decline to become a member of your society. I have absolutely no faith in American History. When the history of this great war will be written then you will have to take your information from the American newspapers, which have published more lies during the last 2 years than have been published since the beginning of the world.

Yours truly,

C. SEITZ.

TWO LETTERS—FROM AND TO A PRO-GERMAN

The National Historical Society,
30 East Forty-Second St., New York,

Mr. C. Seitz,
100 William St., New York.

March 5, 1917.

Dear Sir:—

The National Historical Society has received your letter of March 2, in reply to a printed postal card—one of a good many thousands that we have sent out recently—inviting the attention of patriotic people to the work of the Society and its magazine, *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. From the terms of your response we can only conclude that you bitterly resent the patriotic endeavors of this Society and *THE JOURNAL*—a not undeserving publication in the opinion of Americans competent to judge, however little esteemed by anti-Americans or potential traitors.

Your observation that you have “absolutely no faith in American History,” and the allusion which accompanies it, are plainly declaratory of a faith in things that you hold superior to the spirit and results of American history and institutions—unmistakably Kultur! Deutschland ueber Alles! Put it over! In these times no one writing in your manner leaves anything to be inferred respecting either his attitude toward America or his substantial allegiance elsewhere.

American history and our splendid patriotic newspapers are naturally not to the liking of those who prefer a tyrannical foreign regime specializing in demoniacal murder of civilians, every species of violation of faith and honor, every variety of atrocity and iniquity, every device of lying and intrigue, and every means of skulking conspiracy—all for the exclusive object of universally extinguishing the liberties of mankind. Aside from the reason of partisanship in behalf of that damnable and despicable regime we cannot credit you with any logical reason whatever for your aspersions upon this nation and its free, able, and most especially truth-telling public press. No other logical reason exists or is conceivable—and you, Sir, know it.

The history of the United States centers around one outstanding fact and its corollary which may be commended to even our most vicious foes and ignorant detractors with the surety that it will compel their respect though intensifying their hate. The nationality of America was established by English-speaking people, attached to the country of their origin by the most immediate and sacred personal ties. Those noble and brave colonists had the independence and virtue to

fight their own race and kind for an idea superior to that of ancestral egotism. Their descendants—detested by alien sympathizers and frequently characterized by German-language newspapers as “nativists”—have ever since dominated America, and ever will. Our great history is founded altogether upon the idea of the fathers and its continuance and supremacy. The future adherence of our country to the idea will not be in the slightest measure disturbed by either the emotional antagonism or the substantial activities of a formally anti-American class, however numerous, whose special characteristics seem to be fanatical egotism of race, professed superiority of Kultur (professed, but not observable by anyone else whomsoever), and automatic subserviency to a foreign despotism and interest.

W. W. SPOONER.



James Fenimore Cooper

An Intimate Account of the Life, Work, Character, and Personal Peculiarities of America's Famous Novelist

BY

CHARLES ANSON INGRAHAM, M. D.

Member of The National Historical Society, New York State Historical Association, and New York State Museum Association



AMES FENIMORE COOPER was one of the greatest and most picturesquely interesting literary characters that this country has produced. While he is not equal to Hawthorne in the artistic handling of plots and in the subtle delineation of character; though he is inferior to Irving in smooth and cultured quality of style, yet in extent of literary production, durability, breadth of popularity, and ethical influence he excelled them. Few writers ever enjoyed a wider reading than Cooper; all Europe and even oriental peoples devoured his books; "from New York to Ispahan, from St. Petersburg to Rio Janeiro," his novels evoked delight and admiration, and the sale of his writings remains steady and large. Besides his literary delinquencies—which, except his prolixity, are unobserved, however, by the average reader,—the infirmities of temper that kept him embroiled through the later years of his life in perpetual contention were an added handicap; but his fertile intellect, with his really kind and noble nature, enabled him to produce many volumes of delightful and improving fiction, so that when he died he was all but universally respected, admired, and loved.

Cooper came of good stock. His father, Judge William Cooper, a man of force, character, and business ability, journeyed in 1785 from his home in Burlington, New Jersey, to Otsego Lake, New York, three

hundred miles away, and laid out forty thousand acres of land which had come into his possession. There he lived as a hunter, subsisting on game, while he explored and mapped out his lands, and in the following summer he offered for sale and in the space of sixteen days disposed of all his holdings, except a tract at the south end of the lake, which he reserved for his private estate. It was his boast that, beginning life "with small capital and a large family," he settled more acres than any man in America. He served nine years as first judge of the Otsego county court of common pleas and two terms in congress. The author cherished vivid and affectionate remembrances of his father, and refers to him as "a noble looking, warm-hearted, witty father, with his deep laugh and sweet voice as he used to light the way with his anecdotes and fun."

His mother was a woman of exceptional worth and culture, a daughter of Richard Fenimore, whose home was in New Jersey. The Fenimores were of Swedish extraction and enjoyed a high social standing. Mrs. Cooper was beautiful, with a dash of romance in her nature, but withal a ready companion and an efficient helpmeet in all her husband's enterprises. The author resembled her personally, and also from her derived his liking for legendary and imaginative studies.

The early life of Cooper was such as to foster the growth of romantic ideas and to familiarize him with the adventurous life in the midst of which he dwelt. Judge Cooper having made his home on his estate at Otsego Lake, there at the age of thirteen months came with the family the babe who was to immortalize the wilderness place and make a great name for himself in literature. It was a school in which he was taught the fascinating first-hand lessons of adventure and heroism, though the settlers were, as Judge Cooper said of them, of the lowest sort, while Indians were familiar to the boy as they came and went in all their picturesque and untutored individualities.

Cooperstown, as the little village which grew up around the home of the leading proprietor was appropriately called, came to be, as a frontier settlement, a rendezvous and asylum for people of all nations and every grade of intelligence—a strange and nondescript population, but which was not without deep and lasting influence in the development of the mind of the future novelist in a knowledge of original and diversified character. Moreover, the country where he dwelt at the head of the beautiful Susquehanna valley, with Otsego Lake embosomed in the great forest and forming the crystal feeder of the delightfully meandering river, impressed itself indelibly upon his sensitive and re-

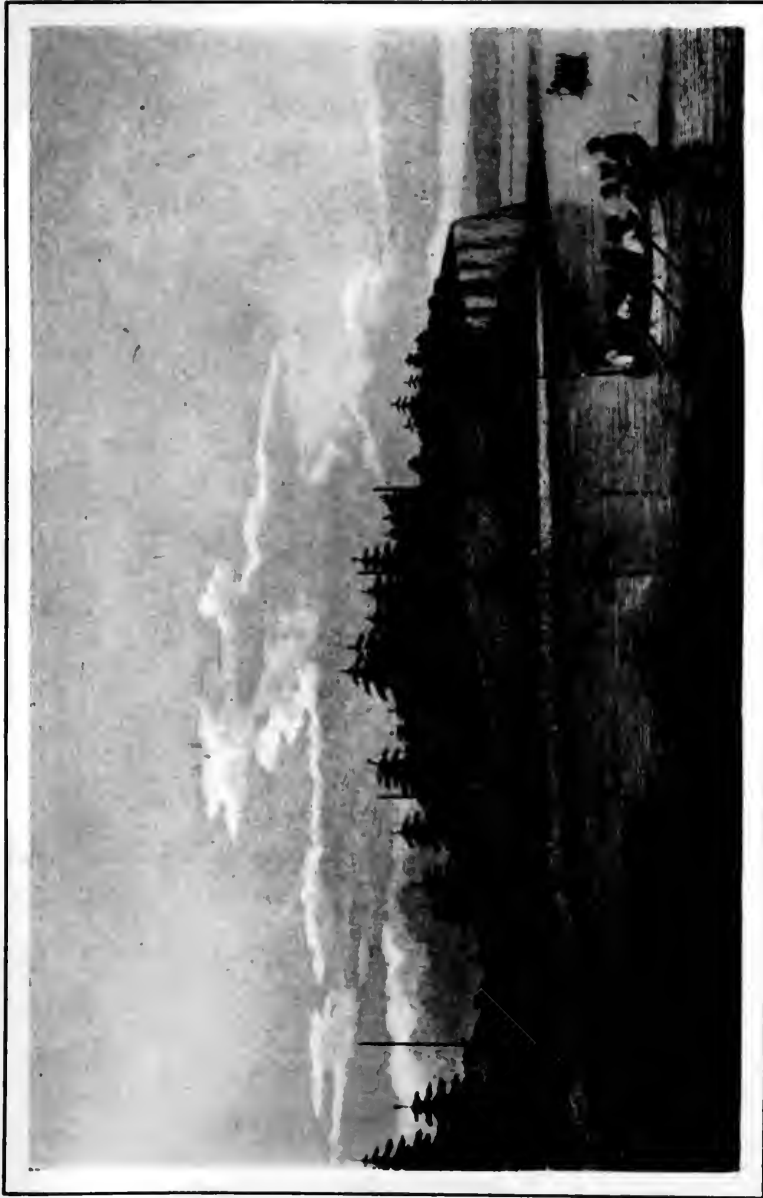


CAPTAIN JOHN MEARES

A noted English navigator, who made important discoveries in the north Pacific in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

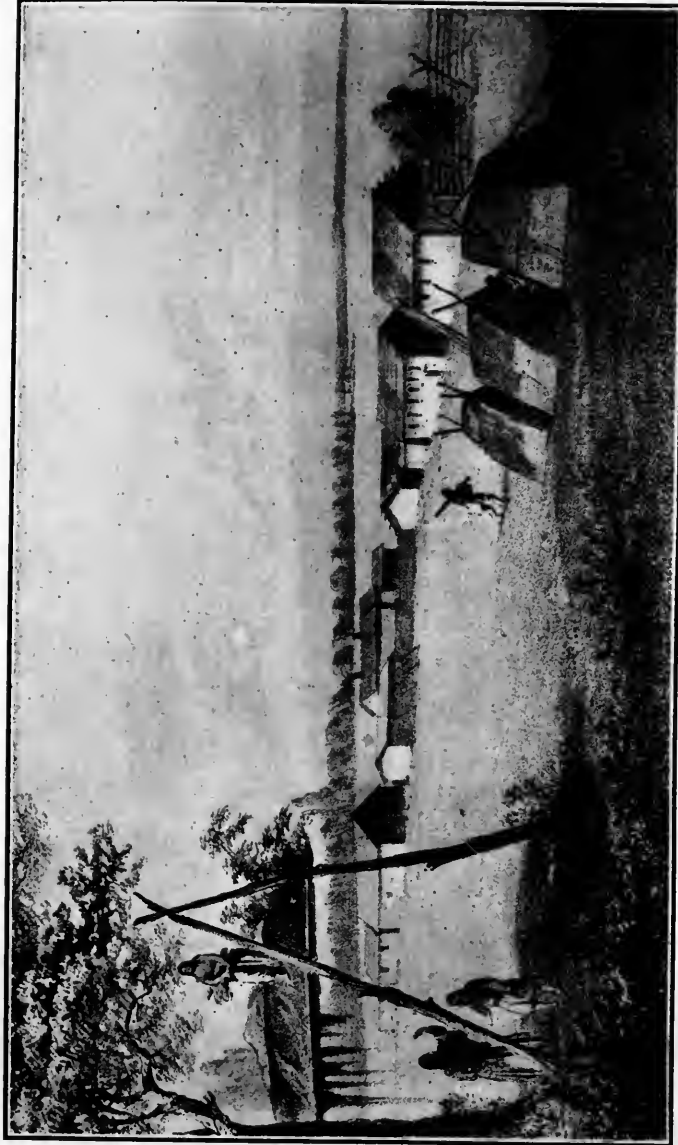


ENTRANCE TO FUCA'S STRAIT, NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
After a print in "Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 by Captain John Meares."
Published in London.



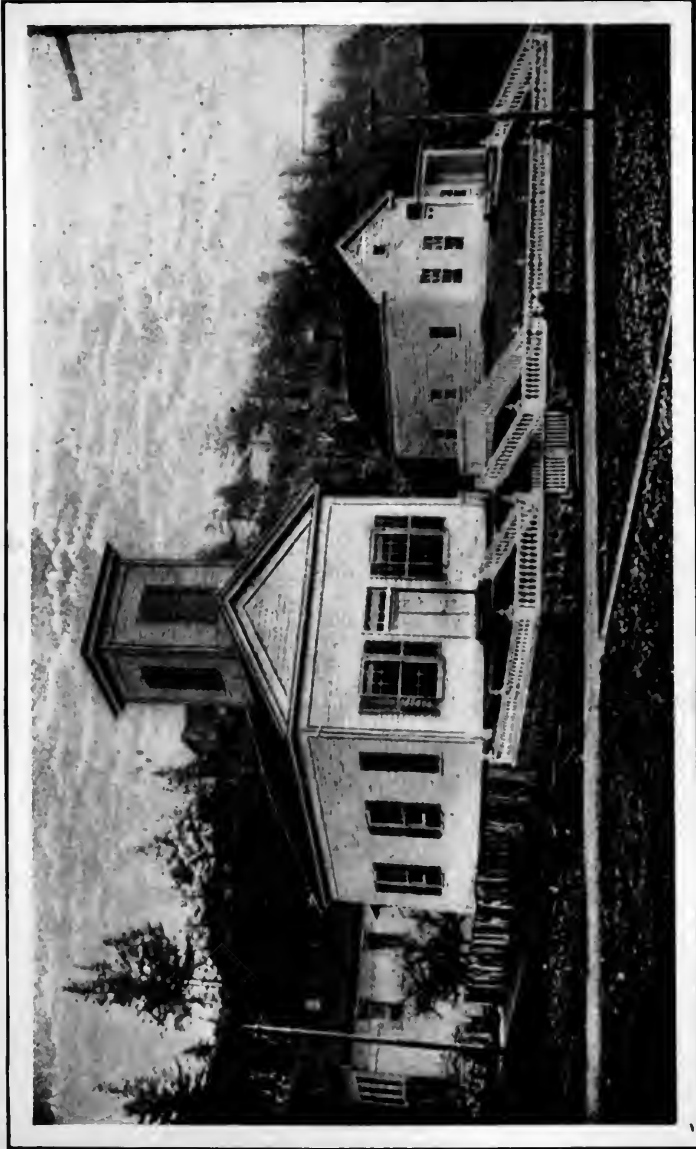
INDIAN POLES AT FORT DISCOVERY, NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

Captain Vancouver could not conjecture what they were for. The natives put them up to support nets for catching wild fowl while approaching or leaving the water.



TSHIMAKAIN, STATE OF WASHINGTON

The second missionary station established in Washington, this was the scene of the early labors of Rev. Cushing Eells and Elikanah Walker. It was about six miles north of the Spokane River on the trail from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Colville.



FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH BUILDING ON THE PACIFIC COAST
Erected in 1844 at Willamette Falls, Oregon

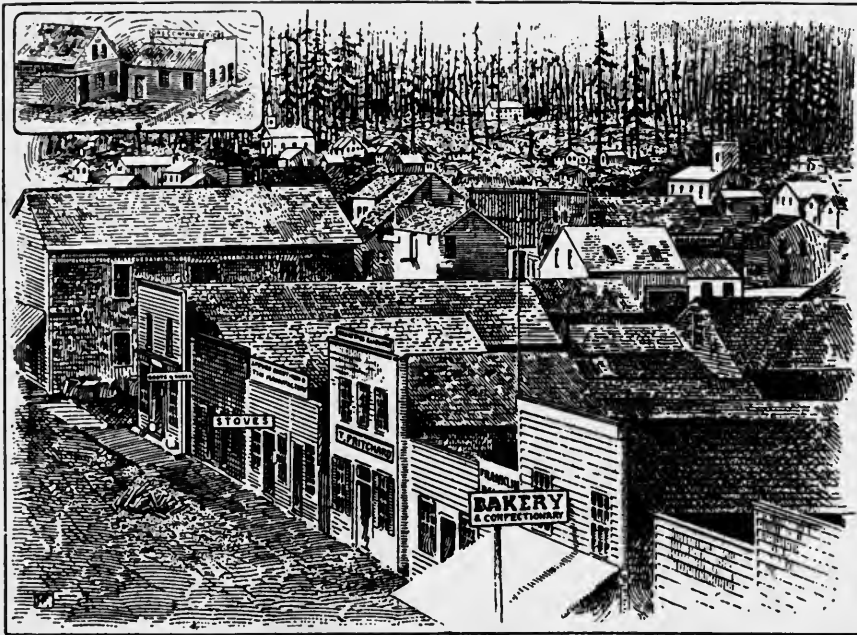


COURT HOUSE AT THE DALLES, OREGON, BUILT 1858

The first court house erected between the Rocky and Cascade mountains.



THE DALLES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, 1858
After an old print



EARLY VIEW OF PORTLAND, OREGON

From a photograph taken in 1854



PORTLAND, OREGON, IN 1858
View from the east shore of the Willamette River



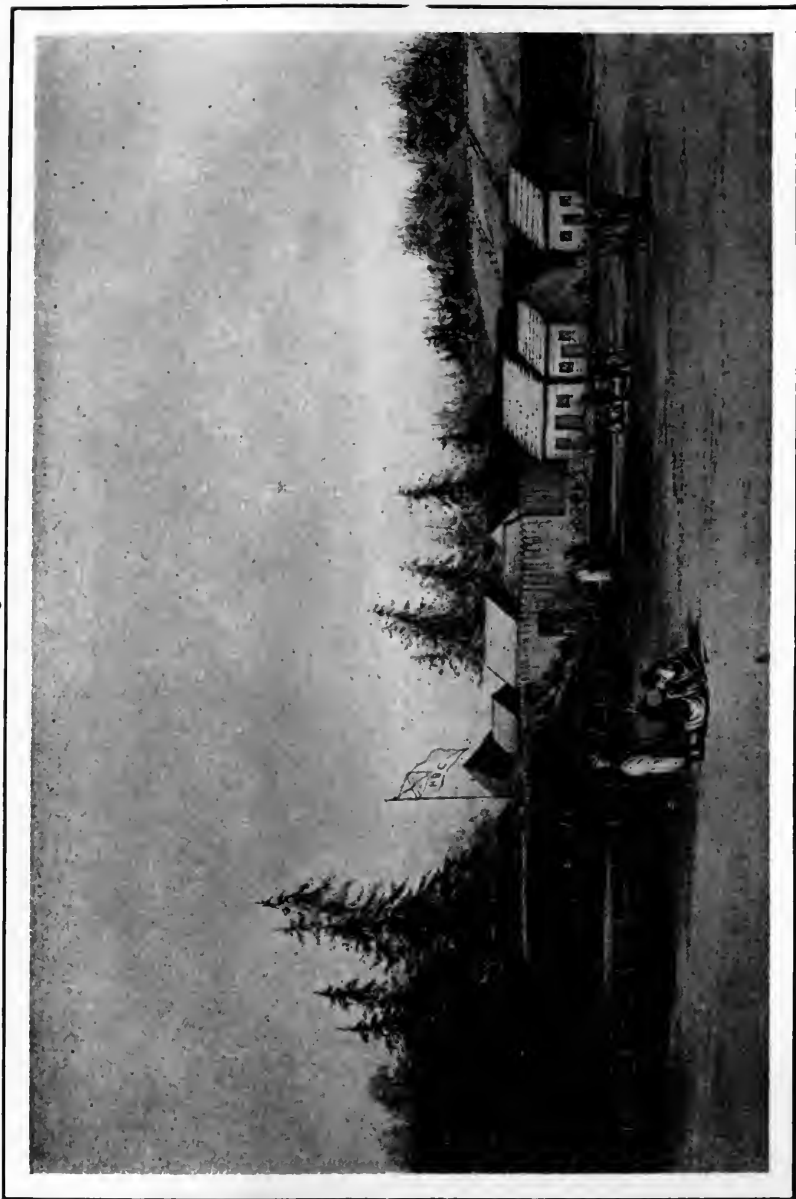
SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849
From a lithograph in the Golden Gate Park Museum



HAYES VALLEY, SAN FRANCISCO, IN 1862

From a lithograph in Golden Gate Park Museum

Originally the rancho of Colonel Thomas Hayes, and long a recreation park for the people of San Francisco. Now occupied by the Civic Center.



FORT VANCOUVER IN 1845
From an old print

sponsive imagination, lingering in his mind as a fertile source of romantic fiction till his latest day. It was not all, however, of an external influence that made up his preparation for his life work, for in his home he enjoyed the intellectual and cultural elements by which he was insensibly tutored and refined. Thus he grew into boyhood and on into young manhood with a cheerful disposition and enterprising spirit, entering with zest into the employments and diversions of the settlement, and enjoying boating on the lake, particularly when the waves ran high. The primitiveness of the country about Cooperstown at that time is evidenced by an episode that Cooper was fond of relating: one day while in his father's garden, a deer sprang into the inclosure from the main street, and, running very close to him, dashed into the forest in the rear of the house.

Young Cooper attended for a time Master Cory's Academy, which was maintained in the village, and then was for a period of four years a pupil of Rev. Thomas Ellison, at St. Peter's Rectory, Albany. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Yale College, being with one exception the youngest student in the institution. He entered the freshman class, spending the first year, according to his own statement, in play, and left in his junior year on account of a "frolic," evidently meaning some infringement of the college rules. Much of his time while there was employed in long walks through the fields and over the hills and in gazing by the hour upon the sea from vantage points on the high lands.

He perhaps derived from his familiarity with Otsego Lake and the ocean view at New Haven an ambition to go to sea, and we find him after leaving college shipping as a common sailor in the "Sterling," a merchantman sailing from New York, bound for Cowes, England. After a year's service he obtained a commission as midshipman in the United States navy and entered upon his duties in January, 1808. From active sea life he was transferred to Oswego, New York, to superintend the construction of the brig "Oneida," for employment on Lake Ontario. His five years' maritime experience gave him an intimate knowledge of seafaring in all its details, both as to merchantmen and ships of war, information which he turned to account in his sea stories, acknowledged to be the best written in this field of literature. In this connection it might be said that his determination to write the book entitled "The Pilot" was made through a conversation in which Scott's story, "The Pirate," was cited to illustrate that author's wide information, inclusive of seafaring. Cooper, knowing that Scott's

acquaintance with the subject was comparatively limited, resolved to write a novel that would be at least technically correct as regarded nautical life and employments. The decided success of "The Pilot" encouraged him to bring out his other great sea stories.

How long Cooper would have remained in the navy had he not met and married Miss Susan De Lancey, of Heathcote Hall, Mamaroneck, Westchester county, New York, will never be known. His determination to forsake the fascinating life of the sea for the tame and monotonous pursuit of agriculture speaks highly of the charms and excellent elements of character possessed by the bride, whom he wedded on New Year's day, 1811.

In his domestic associations Cooper was ever fortunate, for to the advantage derived from the high intelligence and cultivated character of his mother, to whom he was indebted for the fervent filial love and the instructions of his youth, in his manhood was added that of the controlling spell of a woman of rare attractions of mind and heart. She it was who spoke the first word of encouragement that embarked him on his great career of authorship, and throughout his life, when the storms of detraction raged about him, his domestic relations were ever characterized by love, peace and quietness. In the hallowed confines of the home the delightful woman who presided knew and loved the burly and headstrong author as really a meek and lowly man when appealed to not by argument but by loving suasion. The regard in which he held his wife is evidenced by the fact that, her people being Tories in the Revolution, some of them serving in the British army, he studiously avoided in his writings uncomplimentary allusions to that odious class of colonists. Not long after their marriage they visited Cooperstown, riding in a gig drawn by two horses driven tandem, and returning to Mamaroneck made their home for a time in Heathcote Hall. Then they set up a home of their own in a cottage not far from the De Lancey house, and after a brief residence there removed to Cooperstown, where Cooper began the erection of a fine stone house on the southwest shore of the lake. There at the age of twenty-five he lived the easy life of a country gentleman, engaged in agriculture and diverting himself with the flute, boating, and riding. Nothing in his manner of life indicated that he would ever be other than an intelligent farmer and an upright and useful citizen.

He frequently shifted his place of residence between his home town and that of his wife, and in the course of time erected a house on property inherited by her and located four miles from Mamaroneck and

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

twenty-five miles from New York. The site commanded a superb view over Long Island Sound, which was much admired by Cooper, and here in the lap of peace at about the age of thirty he began his literary career.

He was an omniverous reader, delighting particularly in Scott's novels, and was in the habit of reading aloud much to Mrs. Cooper, of whom it has been said, "She listened with affectionate interest through a long life." One day, having thrown down what he called an uninteresting novel with the exclamation, "I could write a better myself!" his wife encouraged him to make the trial. As a result of her words he brought out, at his own expense, "Precaution" (1820) and in the following year "The Spy," the latter attaining popularity at home and abroad. From this decided success Cooper applied himself assiduously to fiction writing until many novels, both of land and sea, had fallen from his pen and his name had been established throughout the world as one of the greatest literary lights of his own or any time. Thirty-four works of fiction were published by him between 1820 and 1851, the year of his death, besides historical and biographical books, while several volumes were left in manuscript. This great output of literature evidences the author's fertility of invention, facility of expression, and steadiness of industry. That blemishes may be found in his work is the unavoidable result of the haste with which it was thrown off, but it is pertinent to consider whether we would be willing to have the mass of Cooper's writings lessened at the expense of an improvement of his technique.

Cooper visited Europe in 1826 and remained till 1833, traveling in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. His intolerant and combative disposition, previously not prominently noticeable, now discovered itself and for many years remained a besetting infirmity, involving him in fierce and exhaustive controversy and litigation. Some one has attempted to reconcile the conflicting elements of his character, one amiable, generous, and kind, the other proud, arrogant, and intractable, by stating that "he was a democrat by conviction and an aristocrat by feeling." A thoughtful consideration, however, of his life and character seems rather to favor the view that his belligerent tendency was but an instance of childish spleen so often associated with genius—an irritable, unreasoning, unpremeditated querulousness, entirely out of place with his lofty and noble ethical standards. He abused Europeans for their criticisms of his home land and people, so that after the publication of his book, "Notions of

the Americans" (1828), his fame, which was great throughout Europe, suffered on account of the castigations that foreign periodicals inflicted upon him. Returning to the United States, he was coldly received through disapprobation of the strictures he had made upon the people of other lands where he had been entertained and honored, a breach which he set himself still further to widen by publishing even additional offensive criticisms of his countrymen. In 1841 Thurlow Weed accused him of having "disparaged American lakes, ridiculed American scenery, burlesqued American coin, and satirized the American flag." No doubt the most of Cooper's reflections were well founded, and the discrepancies which a residence in the capitals of Europe and journeyings through venerable and highly enlightened nations, rich in romantic renown, adorned with ancient and beautiful monuments, with great universities and vast libraries, had made apparent to him, he felt in duty bound to utter; but in aiming to improve his countrymen, if it is allowable to put that charitable interpretation upon his conduct, he overshot his mark and maddened them.

A few years after his return from Europe a feud which developed between him and the people of Cooperstown made complete the sphere of his unpopularity—international, national, and local. Three Mile Point, or Myrtle Grove, a pleasant resort to this day, is located three miles north of Cooperstown on the west shore of the lake; an attractive spot, jutting out from the highway into the lake and containing perhaps two acres of ground. Cooper, serving as executor of his father's will, had the control of the property and insisted that his authority should be recognized. This the public refused to do, having for years enjoyed the undisturbed use of it, though he had no desire in any manner to interrupt its employment as an outing place. Finally, a tree that he valued, standing on the disputed land, was felled without asking his permission, and the battle was on. The villagers held an indignation meeting and passed resolutions denunciatory of Cooper and recommending that his books be removed from the village library. This unseemly and undignified quarrel eventuated in favor of Cooper, but the report of it went over the country and periodicals which he had by his disparagement of the American people already provoked, seized upon the story as a means of further denunciation, stating gratuitously that the censorious resolutions called for the burning of his books.

But his greatest embroilment began in 1839 with the publication of his "Naval History of the United States," an able and authoritative work, but one that increased the disfavor in which he was held. In this

production he took the ground that Commodore Perry did not deserve all the credit he enjoyed for the naval victory on Lake Erie, but that Commodore Elliott was entitled to as much or more distinction, a contention which Cooper was able afterwards to establish in court. The press of the country was lashed by this derogation of a popular hero into a frenzy of indignation, and it poured out the vials of its wrath upon the head of the versatile feudmaker of Cooperstown. But the storm of defamation, far from disconcerting him, nerved him for battle, which he entered with all his characteristic vigor.

For a period of several years his principal occupation was the management of twenty libel suits which he brought against newspapers and periodicals. The larger part of these he conducted personally, acting as his own lawyer. One of the most conspicuous of them was against the *Commercial Advertiser*, of New York, which was heard before referees in that city in 1842. When, in the course of the hearing, the hour had arrived for Cooper's summing up, it was conceded by all that the defense had made an impregnable showing. All were against him—the press, public, and even the referees. Yet when he had concluded his address, which consumed in its delivery six hours, he had not only unanswerably substantiated his contention, but had converted the libel law from an emasculated statute to a living and mandatory prescript. This unexpected display of the author's forensic ability was a revelation to all, and his speech has come down as one of the greatest pleas ever made before the bar of New York City. Other suits were but repetitions of this, and Cooper finally claimed that all against whom he had brought actions had either retracted or been defeated in court. In these suits he was seeking vindication only and not a money indemnity. He conducted his cases with dignity, fairness, and candor, and was free from those ill-favored manners and expressions which are so common in court and which might have been expected from a man of so recalcitrant a disposition. It is a strange and pathetic illustration of his dual nature, that while in the fume and fury of these fierce legal battles there should issue from his pen his "Pathfinder," a captivating book breathing of the virgin forest, genial in tone and utterly remote from the contentious spirit by which he was evidently governed. Throughout this period of strife, books of fiction, two in the year generally, were published by Cooper, three of which were of a controversial character entitled, "The Satanstoe," "The Redskins," and "The Chainbearer." These, though brilliant novels, took the unpopular side in the anti-rent controversy which then agitated the state

of New York, and served to further prejudice him in the eyes of the people.

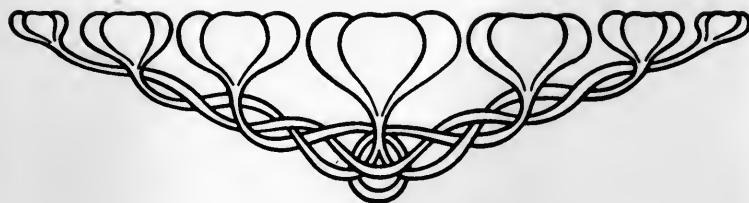
The physical and mental outlay of all this litigation and literary labor must have been very exhausting, and the sudden failure of his health a few years later has been attributed to the overwork of those strenuous and exciting years. The spring of 1851 found him in a debilitated condition, with a derangement of the digestive organs, to which dropsy supervened. After having courageously submitted to a knowledge of the hopelessness of his condition, though regretting that so much of his prospective work remained unaccomplished, he died on Sunday, the 14th day of September, 1851, aged sixty-two lacking one day. During the summer months through which he lingered he manifested a cheerful resignation and was sustained by a confident hope in the future beyond. The animosities which he had engendered were forgotten by the people, and universal sorrow and regret were the experience everywhere he was known.

Cooper was a man of magnificent physique, nobly handsome features, and of a happy, cordial disposition. "He looked like a man who had lived much in the open air,—upon whom the rain had fallen and against whom the wind had blown. . . . Distinctly through the gathering mists of years do his face and form rise up before the mind's eye: an image of manly self-reliance, of frank courage, of generous impulse; a frank friend, an open enemy; a man whom many misunderstood, but whom no one could understand without honoring and loving." (*Atlantic*, vol. ix, p. 68.) Robust and athletic, at the age of fifty he was able, while his house at Cooperstown was being repaired, to climb ladders and stagings to the gable and walk on the ridge of the roof, exhibiting his seafaring capabilities. He employed himself much in his garden and was in the habit of personally taking gifts of fruit and vegetables to his friends in the village. He was a lover of children.

His daily routine consisted of writing in his library during the morning hours with a favorite Angora cat as his companion and sometimes sleeping on his shoulder. Then his horse, "Pumpkin," a nondescript and refractory beast, would be hitched to a yellow buggy and Mr. and Mrs. Cooper would ride to their farm on the lakeside. Dinner was served at three o'clock, and the remainder of the afternoon was spent with friends or in playing chess with Mrs. Cooper. During the evening hours he would walk the great central hall of the mansion while he meditated the literary matter that he would commit to writing on the following morning.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

This fine old house was burned in 1852. It had been the home of the author's childhood and upon his return from Europe had been remodeled by him in the style of an English country mansion. A detailed model of it, both as to exterior and interior, with other souvenirs of Cooper, may be seen in the Village Club and Library building at Cooperstown. The place has well honored the memory and preserved the memorials of its distinguished son. A beautiful park embraces the grounds where stood Cooper's home, and a fine bronze statue, "The Indian Hunter," is its central and conspicuous adornment. Across Main Street to the north stands the graceful and classically lined building of the Village Club and Library, in which are many mementoes of the Indians—articles of apparel, weapons of war, and implements of domestic life. On the south border of the park is Christ's Episcopal Church, of which Cooper was a communicant, and adjoining is the burying-ground where rest his ashes. His pew, in which as warden he sat, is fittingly inscribed, but no one needs to be directed to his grave, for multitudes have worn a path to one of the greatest literary shrines in America.



The Chateau Bayard

A Visit to the Birthplace of France's Hero, the Chevalier
"Without Fear and Without Reproach"

BY

MRS. BAYARD STOCKTON



IN RECENT years much has been done to preserve and restore historic landmarks in the British isles and on the continent. Even in America the much maligned "Sons" and "Daughters," Colonial Dames, and "Warriors" have kept from destruction that which otherwise would have been lost. In England what would Stratford-on-Avon have been without American dollars, or Sulgrove Manor without American enthusiasm? Yet in the fair land of France, the very cradle of chivalry is unmarked and almost unknown;—the land where Viollet-le-Duc is a name to conjure with and where his wonderful restorations of Mont St. Michel, Carcassonne, and the Cathedral at Arles stand as lasting monuments not only to him but to France.

The Chateau Bayard is within comfortable motoring distance of many places. An hour and a half from Aix, one hour from Grenoble, and four hours from Geneva. One can also reach it by electric tram and railway. In the royal province of Dauphiné, from which the heir of France got his title, a land made famous by Hector Berlioz, the musician, by the poets Lamartine and Matthew Arnold, it stands a near neighbor to the Grande-Chartreuse and far-famed Savoy with the snow-clad French Alps. What more could one ask for a summer holiday?

We left the Hotel de France in Chambéry in the late afternoon. Not only did the name we bore still command respect in the neighborhood, but we had wired all the way from Switzerland to our young brown-eyed French landlady for a motor, and she had protected us from being overcharged and made us feel as only the French can—that we belonged to her. Yet we were glad to leave the garrison town with its wide, silent, almost forbidding streets and get out into the friendly



TURRET WHERE THE CHEVALIER BAYARD WAS BORN

From a photograph taken by Mrs. Bayard Stockton in September, 1913



THE CHATEAU BAYARD FROM THE SOUTH
From an oil painting by Robert W. Weir



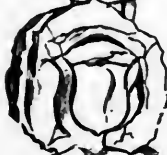
THE CHATEAU BAYARD—THE ALPS IN THE DISTANCE
From a photograph taken for Mrs. Bayard Stockton in September, 1913



Cambier



Henry Goulburn



William Adams



John Quincy Adams



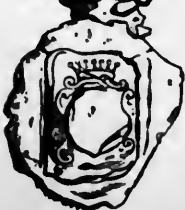
J. A. Bayard



W. Clay



J. A. Rufin



Albert Gallatin

SEALS AND SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF
GHENT, 1814



"SALUBRIA," IN CULPEPER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

See article, p. 252

THE CHATEAU BAYARD

country. No one seemed in a hurry here, and the peasants looked at us with as contented and kindly eyes as their sleepy cream-colored oxen, two, three and four yoked together to high wooden carts, and these often laden with casks from the neighboring blue-green vineyards or with golden grain. When the horn sounded that proclaimed the sudden approach of our car of juggernaut, the one of the party who still only "snatches a fearful pleasure" when motoring felt that these leisurely movements made them take fearful risks!

For these twelve miles there are two roads to choose from—one the post-road, quite flat and broad, between fertile fields of grain, the other passing through many tiny villages (we counted seven), with narrow winding streets, sometimes having quaint signs over the little cottage doors, which proclaimed "Ici on loge a pied et á cheval." And once we crossed the River of Isère, until at the end of ten miles, high up on the heights opposite the Tower of Ste. Helene, we saw the turrets of Bayard with the little village of Pontcharra clustering at its feet. From there, though still in the motor, we must climb up directly from the village street for three-quarters of a mile what seems like a perfectly perpendicular hill, until at last we reach the three great turrets and the ruins of a fourth which overlooked the beautiful vale of Grésivaudan. Now we can see the three departments of Dauphiné, Drôme, Isère and Hautes Alps. Beautiful Savoy is on one side with the snow-glistening Mt. Blanc, and nearer by stands the renowned convent of the Grande-Chartreuse.

Bayard is distinctly a fortress château, and, situated at the bend or meeting of two rivers—Bréda and Isère,—suggests very much in period, plan, and situation the château of Voulte—Palignac-sur-Loire, so very recently restored,—but how pitiable is the difference when seen near by.

Here the thirteenth century archway only shows where once the portcullis hung and the narrow windows where the archers kept watch. Here also are the great dining-hall and cellar with huge vats for wine. Higher up, the room where the chevalier was born in 1476 is shown. Each tower had a great hall on the ground floor, one of which contained in his day a chapel; but it is now, alas, a stable, and in what was once the courtyard echoing to the sound of arms a garden smiles, enclosed on the south by forbidding ramparts, which now form a terrace.

The château is so large that two families live in it absolutely apart. The older half is occupied by a farmer who tills the vineyard of the good red wine of Montmélian, whose vines reach from the battlements

that encircle the château down as far as the eye can see to the silver ribbon that marks the River Isère, and on the north to the River Bréda. In the more modern wing, opening on the corps de logis, an artist has her studio where she treasures some relics of the chevalier: a gay bit of brocade, part of a costume perhaps once worn when he attended his royal master, Francis I, a vellum-bound volume of Plutarch's Lives once owned by him, and a coffer of even earlier date. This is all that remains of the great man here, mere keepsakes. But there is a far more lasting memorial which holds its place to-day as one of the chief works in the French tongue—"Le Loyal Serviteur," written by his devoted secretary, Jacque Jeoffe de Millieu.

If stone by stone his home is falling to pieces, and there is still much to be desired in the way of restoration, yet there is nothing lacking in the charm of romance or in beauty of surroundings. In their very simplicity these wind-swept towers and sunny terraces are typical of light and purity, and they stand in contrast to the royal châteaux of the Loire, where under all the luxurious ornament lurk suggestions of evil deeds of crime that dare not meet the light of day. What could be more inspiring to noble deeds than to follow in the footsteps of a Bayard!

It was from here that Pierre du Terrail, Chevalier de Bayard, first set out on his adventures, riding away along the winding road to Chambéry in charge of his uncle, the good bishop of Grenoble. We feel sure that his mother watched him from the battlements with sad, tear-dimmed eyes, far down into the valley until the autumn mists at last hid him from her sight. He was only thirteen years old and it was the first time he had left her, but *Le Loyal Serviteur* only tells us of a purse of gold and of the good advice she gave him when he ran in to her turret chamber, where she sat with her women, to bid her goodbye. As a page of the great duc de Savoie (Charles I) in the courtyard of the Château of Chambéry, he first attracted attention by his feats of horsemanship, which ended in his being appointed page to the king of France. From this time on no more romantic figure can be found in history. Of "most noble lineage," a knight errant with lance always in rest to take up a quest for the oppressed, beloved of the poor, devoted to his church, faithful to his king, the hero of courts and tournaments, of many battles in many lands, his brave and courteous deeds have been celebrated by all nations in song and story. He died *Sans peur et sans reproche*, in battle, on the retreat between Romagnano and Gattanora (over the Sesia), and was brought back from Italy escorted by Spanish, Italians,

THE CHATEAU BAYARD

and French alike, with royal honors, to rest in his native Dauphiné, in the Church of the Minorites near Grenoble.

Ye slumber in your silent grave!—
The world, which for an idle day
Grace to your mood of sadness gave
Long since hath thrown her weeds away.

In America many of his name are found, scattered in different States, whose homes still bear to-day names from the beloved France of their ancestors.¹ But in France, a nation which is taxed for the restoration and preservation of its historic monuments, what seems most conspicuously to call our attention to the name of the great chevalier is the Clement-Bayard motor, or a churn "Le Bayard," whose detailed virtues fly along past us whether we travel by rail or motor. Only three poor statues have been put up in his honor, and two of these by private individuals; one in Grenoble in 1823, another by Ramband in Pontcharra on the bridge from which the village gets its name, and the third was first used for decoration on the Pont de la Concorde in Paris, in the time of Louis XVIII, and removed to the Cour d' Honneur at Versailles by King Louis Philippe.

In 1820 the Château Bayard was about to become the property of the young duc de Berry, himself having many of those qualities which made Bayard famous, when he met his tragic end by the poniard of Louvel. Doubtless had he lived the Château Bayard would have been put at least in repair. Since then no effort has been made to restore fittingly one of the most illustrious châteaux of France.

1. During the troublous times of the edict of Nantes, a Huguenot refugee—another Pierre de Bayard—sought sanctuary in Holland. From there his son came to the New Netherland, where he in his turn was persecuted and imprisoned for free speech. As he lay in prison his window overlooked the North River across to the fair green slopes of the Jersey shore, where stand on the heights the walls of his country house, Castle Point. May we not believe that those two long years were made the shorter by the thought of the even farther away towers which these suggested, and which had sheltered one from whom he could draw inspiration and whose blood flowed in his veins?



“Salubria”

The Colonial Home of Mrs. Thompson (Lady Spottswood), and
the Stopping Place of Thomas Jefferson and Other Notables

BY

BLANCHE FITZHUGH HANES



THE historic home of “Salubria,” in Culpeper county, Virginia, not far from Fleetwood, the celebrated cavalry battle-ground of the Civil War, has some of the most interesting associations of any of the old colonial residences now standing. Its history of the past is closely connected with that of the present, for its gracious and altogether charming owner of to-day is nearly related to the Bollings of Virginia, from whom Mrs. Woodrow Wilson is descended, and it was also the birthplace of Dr. Cary Travers Grayson, naval aide and physician to the president and recently appointed rear-admiral.

“Salubria” was built about 1739 from bricks brought from England, and was owned and occupied by “Parson” John Thompson, who married the widow of Governor Spottswood.

Governor Spottswood was born at Tangier in northern Africa in 1676, and was aide-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough. He married Jane Butler (or Bryan or Brayne according to some, as her surname is a matter of genealogical dispute), by whom he had four children, John, Robert, Catherine, and Dorothea. John married and had two sons and two daughters. Robert was killed by the Indians in 1757 when serving under Washington in our French and Indian War.

Alexander, the grandson of Governor Spottswood, married Elizabeth Washington, daughter of Augustine Washington and niece of George Washington. Dorothea, daughter of Spottswood, married Captain Nathaniel West Dandridge of the British navy and had nine children, one of whom, William, married a Miss Bolling, ancestor of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson; and Dorothea Dandridge, granddaughter of

"SALUBRIA"

Spottswood, married Patrick Henry, the orator, on October 9, 1777—his first wife having been Sarah Shelton (married 1754).

Governor Spottswood owned eighty-five thousand acres of land and built an "enchanted castle" not far from the present site of "Salubria" on the Rapidan River (sometimes written "Rapid Ann"), at a place known as Germanna, the settlement consisting of a church, Spottswood's home, and a number of tenements for the German settlers who were iron workers. Spottswood operated four iron furnaces there. This castle is supposed to have had secret underground passages leading to the river to afford safety in case of trouble or attack.

At a meeting of the vestry of St. Mark's in March, 1731, the church at Germanna was ordered repaired and the roof tarred. The Fork Chapel and Mount Chapel were ordered "swept and kept clean." In 1733 a choice of a pew was offered Governor Spottswood at Two Springs Church for thirty-six hundred weight of tobacco.

Spottswood died at Annapolis on June 7, 1740, aged sixty-four, en route to command a military expedition to South America, and was buried at Temple Farm near Yorktown.

Rev. John Thompson, master of arts of the University of Edinburgh, ordained deacon by the bishop of St. David's in 1734 and priest in November of the same year, came to America after and became rector of St. Mark's parish in Culpeper county, where Germanna is located. In 1741 Lady Spottswood presented to his church a velvet cloth and cushion, and on November 9, 1742, we find her promising "to obey and to serve him" in the holy estate of matrimony. In 1764 plans and specifications were made for a glebe house to be built for 35,900 pounds of tobacco, but before its completion he was called by death and was buried at "Salubria," where his second wife, who was a Miss Roote, continued to reside.

The Rev. Mr. Thompson had by his first wife (the former Lady Spottswood) two children—Anne, who in her fifteenth year married Francis Thornton of Fall Hill near Fredericksburg, and William, who married Sally Carter of Cleve. Among their descendants are Commodore Thompson of the United States navy and many of the Thompsons of Kentucky.

In the history of Dale parish in Chesterfield county, settled by Sir Thomas Dale in 1611, the year books from 1790 to 1799 mention these vestrymen: Jerman Baker, John Botts, George Robertson, Richard Basker, Blackman Morley, *Thomas Bolling*, King Graves, Archibald Walthall, Archibald Bass, Jesse Coghill, Daniel McCullum, Charles

Grame, George Woodson, Henry Winfree, *George Mason*, Roger Atkinson, Thomas Friend, Charles Duncan, Daniel Dyson, John Hill, and Henry Archer, showing that the Bollings, as well as the Masons and others, were identified with the history of both the State and the Episcopal Church before the close of the eighteenth century.

"Salubria" is now owned by Mrs. Georgia Taliaferro Grayson, a niece of the late Robert Bolling of "Bolling Brooke Farm" near Upper-ville, and widow of Dr. John Cooke Grayson, who was a descendant of George Mason, owner of "Gunston Hall" and fifteen thousand acres of land on the Potomac, and celebrated as the framer of the Declaration of Rights and the constitution of Virginia. The "Gunston Hall" estate is now the property of Mr. and Mrs. Hurtle, who have restored the house and grounds to their original beauty.

Sarah Mason, daughter of Colonel John Cooke of "West Farm" in Stafford county, married, first, Cary Selden, and second, Dr. Robert O. Grayson of "Salvington" near Fredericksburg, and had two sons, Robert O. Grayson and Dr. John Cooke Grayson of "Salubria." Colonel John Cooke of "West Farm" married Mary Thompson Mason, daughter of Colonel George Mason of "Gunston Hall."

"Salubria" is situated on a gentle rise of land little less than half a mile from the public road leading from Stevensburg to Legnum, and stands in a very large yard containing many beautiful old trees, some of them covered with English ivy. Several of the trees are splendid specimens of the catalpa.

The house is large and roomy, built of bricks imported from England. The chimneys, of which there are two, are immense and must extend at least fifteen feet above the roof of the house and are landmarks easily seen from many parts of the country. The rooms now used are all on the first and second floors. The basement contains many rooms, root cellars and wine cellars, etc. The halls on the first and second floors are about twenty feet wide and extend through to the back of the house. The stairway is winding and partly enclosed by the walls of the hall.

On the right as you enter is the parlor of large size, magnificently panelled to the ceiling, a height of about fifteen feet, and the fireplace is across the corner of the room. The windows, three in number, are exceedingly long (and every window in the house contains a deep window seat), and in the days of "once upon a time" were curtained by beautiful maroon satin, heavily bordered and fringed. Back of the parlor is a smaller room, which was used as a sitting room. It has a

"SALUBRIA"

charming southern exposure and view of the mountains from the west window, and there is a corner fireplace.

On the left as you enter is a rather small room, panelled to the ceiling, which was the library but used in more recent years as a bedroom, and in which Dr. Cary T. Grayson made his entrance into this world, October 11, 1878. Back of this is the dining room, also a small room. Now then, what of the space unaccounted for between these two small rooms? In the days of childhood's "long ago" many, many hours have I spent going over and pressing each panel on the side of this mystery, expecting every moment to have one of the panels respond to my touch and disclose to my astonished eyes—what? Secret chambers, ghosts, silver, gold, or jewels! Even in those days I could not tell whether hope for gold or fear of "spirits" predominated.

There were stories from the olden times of a woman well known and respected in her generation, who finding life not all sunshine and roses had committed suicide on the third floor. Often when the creaking of the doors came or the swaying of the trees caused a mournful sound would we children sit and stare in awe and say to each other, "Oh, don't you hear Mrs. H. groaning?" and almost expect to see her appear.

On the second floor are four commodious bed chambers, each containing three windows and each having a fireplace across the corner of the room.

In the room over the parlor Thomas Jefferson frequently spent the night on his journeys from Monticello to Philadelphia, and it is said parts of the Declaration of Independence were written in it. This room also is wainscoted or panelled.

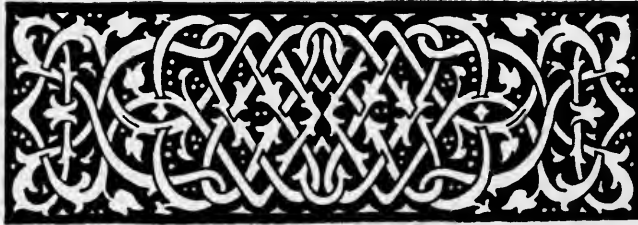
The kitchen is separated from the main part of the house but connected with the dining room by a long enclosed porch open on the south side. In the kitchen is an immense fireplace into which a cord wood log could be put without cutting.

Dr. John Cooke Grayson always used during his occupancy of "Salubria" his set of knives and forks inherited from George Mason, which were ordered from England by George Washington when he ordered his own, Mason's being exactly like them; the Washington set is now in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, being loaned by the Lewis heirs. The dinner knives are eleven inches in length and the forks nine inches. The breakfast knife is eight and a half inches long, while the fork is only seven inches. Each fork has two prongs, which are

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nearly an inch apart at the ends and as sharp as needles. The handles are of pure silver, hollow, bearing the plate mark of the lion passant—supposed to be the sovereign's mark. The other plate mark on this silver is "J. H.," presumably the initials of the maker.

And so "Salubria" stands to-day, a connecting link from colonial, Revolutionary, and Civil War periods to the present.



Mount Vernon, the National Shrine of the American People

A Study of Paul Wilstach's Chronicle for Patriotic Pilgrims

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN



WE ALL KNOW of Wordsworth's literal-minded observer to whom the golden glory of the springtime flower was but "a yellow primrose"; but are not we, as a people, uncultured in the imaginative faculty which clothes bare objects with the charm-woven vesture of Idea? This is especially true of our attitude toward the heroes of our race. We are hero-worshippers, emotionally frenzied for a fleeting period over the man who has won a political nomination:—we exchange enthusiasm for criticism after the election. But that instinctive patriotism that loves the very soil of our Land, and that cherishes the homes whose benignant sanctities have nurtured the Nation's great—that, we most of us lack and should seek to cultivate. The man who is incapable of reverence for relics, who does not see, beyond the bright colors of the Flag, the shining verities for which it stands—he is not the man who will risk material ease and physical life itself that the sacred Stars may continue to shine over us and as beacon-lights of hope and freedom and peace to all the world.

To all Americans, those of the old founder race and those new-come to our inheritance, the name of Washington is holy. To all of us, the Father of his country is Washington: the valiant Washington, who led us to the glory of Independence (the only environment in which we could have power to mature our ideals of national righteousness),—the gallant Washington, fighting with his back against a wall, as at Valley Forge, when not only trained armies of soldiers but the grim forces of poverty, hunger, cold, discouragement, and distrust sought to tear his splendid fighting soul from its moorings,—the wise and self-forgetting Washington, who guided our fragile ship of state through its perilous first voyages,—the great Washington, of whom

the phrase, hackneyed though it be, is still and shall be always true: "First in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"!

Let us, therefore, as a sacred rite of patriotism, make, in spirit at least, a devout pilgrimage to the place that meant to Washington rest and comforting and felicity—in a word, home.

The story of Mount Vernon, "Washington's Home and the Nation's Shrine," has been finely told by Paul Wiltach, in his book lately published by Doubleday, Page, and Company, through whose courtesy the editors of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY are enabled here to present the four pictures of Mount Vernon. Mr. Wiltach has gathered together old letters and other documents and many beautiful pictures, and has devoted to his study historical scholarship, literary value, and—perhaps best of all—enthusiastic, unwearying interest in his theme. Let us follow his chronicle.

In the first youth of Virginia of the English, Captain John Smith with a band of his adventurers sailed through the upper waters of the Potomac River, and passed the site of Mount Vernon. In 1634 came Leonard Calvert, on his way to plant the first American colony whose foundation-stone was religious liberty. He anchored a mile from Mount Vernon, but did not long remain, locating permanently nearer the mouth of the Potomac.

Prior to the restoration, King Charles II bestowed upon the earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper broad lands in Virginia, and later all the colony. The earl conveyed his share to Lord Culpepper, and he granted Lieutenant-Colonel John Washington and Colonel Nicholas Spencer, "in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of our Sovereigne Lord, King Charles ye Second, Anno Domini 1674," five thousand acres, in Stafford county, "in the ffreshes of the Pottomeek River and neare opposite to Piscataway, Indian towne of Mariland." This Lieutenant-Colonel John Washington was George Washington's great-grandfather, and had come to Virginia in 1658 from his English home.

In 1690 the tract was divided, and, Colonel John Washington having died, his son, Lawrence, fell heir to half the original grant. Lawrence bequeathed the property to his daughter, Mildred, who married Roger Gregory, with whom, May 26, 1726, she deeded to her brother, Augustine Washington, "a moietie or half of five thousand acres formerly Lay'd Out for Collo Nicholas Spencer and the father of Capt. Lawrence Washington."

When George Washington was born—the son of Augustine Washington and his second wife, Mary Ball,—the family was living

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at Wakefield, a plantation located at the juncture of the Potomac River and Bridges Creek. By 1735, however, when George was three years old, his parents had removed to the estate whereof Mount Vernon's site was a part. Whether the first Washington mansion here stood on the land of the Mount Vernon mansion is unknown. It was burned to the ground in 1739, and the family removed to Cedar Grove, on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg.

In 1740 Augustine Washington deeded his Hunting Creek tract (including what became Mount Vernon) to his eldest son, Lawrence, half-brother of George. He confirmed in his will this gift, together with that of the flour-mill nearby. There are still living persons who can remember the old mill, standing before the Civil War; and the old brick barn, on a rise of ground overlooking the river when Lawrence Washington came to the estate, is to-day at Mount Vernon.

The actual builder of Mount Vernon mansion is unknown with certainty, some chroniclers believing it was Augustine, the father of George Washington, and others giving the honor to Lawrence, half-brother of George. There is now preserved in one of the upper rooms (chosen for its removal from effects of damp and heat) what is known as "the corner-stone." It was formerly in the cellar wall, is twenty-three inches long, seventeen and a half inches high, and six inches thick, and on it are engraved two crossed battle-axes, in whose angle is a heart with the initials "L. W." on either side of the device. This points to Lawrence Washington as more probably the builder of the mansion.

Soon after coming into possession of this estate, Lawrence Washington received a captain's commission and left with a body of colonial troops which were sent to fight under General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon in their activities against the Spanish West Indies. He returned to Virginia in 1742, but was at that time seriously considering going to England, there to rejoin his regiment. The charms of Anne Fairfax, daughter of his neighbor, William Fairfax, at Belvoir, proved more potent, however, than attachment for his military and naval chiefs, and in July, 1743, he brought his bride to the mansion, which he named Mount Vernon in honor of the admiral.

His and George's father had died a few months before Lawrence's marriage, and the latter was now head of the Washington family in America. In 1747, a boy of fifteen, George came to live with his brother in the place that had been the earlier home of his childhood. The life at Mount Vernon, with the influences of Lawrence Washington and his wife, Anne Fairfax, became important forces in the devel-

opment of his character. "Lawrence was a far-travelled man," writes Mr. Wilstach. "He had been to school in England and had fought in the West Indies. In the adventures he recounted there was fuel indeed for a hungry boyish curiosity. Vessels of his majesty's navy came up the river and anchored off Mount Vernon, and the officers, among whom were some with whom Lawrence had fought at Carthage, came ashore. Over the punch and toddy, through the haze of smoke rolling from the long churchwardens, while the candles burned bright, there was brave talk enough of campaigns and strategy to fire the imagination of the listening lad of fifteen.

"At Belvoir he came under another influence, that of a polished English household, no negligible substitute for that trip abroad which he was never privileged to take. At his mother's there was the discipline and the sound, simple morality which strengthened the root and branch of his character, but at Mount Vernon and Belvoir he found an outlook on a broader world of experience and culture which produced the bloom thereon."

Lawrence Washington died at Mount Vernon on July 26, 1752, and George, though but twenty years old, was appointed executor of his will. In this direction was given "that a proper vault, for interment, may be made on my home plantation, wherein my remains together with my three children may be decently placed; and to serve for my wife, and such other members of my family as may desire it." This vault was built, under George's supervision, of brick and sandstone, and exists to-day, having received the remains of members of the Washington family for nearly a century after its erection.

In the will of Augustine Washington, father of Lawrence and of George, he had written: "It is my will and desire that in Case my son Lawrence should dye without heirs of his body Lawfully begotten that then the Land and the Mill given him by this my Will lying in the County of Prince William shall go & remain to my son George and his heirs."

Lawrence and Anne had four children, but only one was living at Lawrence's death. This was a daughter, Sarah, then less than a year old, and she died in the September following her father's death. George thus became the owner of Mount Vernon, in accordance with the provisions of his father's will, and those also in the will of Lawrence, his half-brother, who bequeathed to his daughter, Sarah, all of his property in Virginia and Maryland, "not otherwise disposed of," with the statement that, in the event of Sarah's death without issue, all his lands

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in Fairfax county (formerly a part of Prince William) were to belong "unto my loving brother George Washington." Lawrence bequeathed to his wife, Anne, the "benefits and profits" of the Mount Vernon estate during her lifetime.

Anne's widowhood was brief, her second husband being George Lee, who joined with her in a conveyance to George Washington of her life-interest in the property on condition that the grantee should pay each year to her husband fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco.

Washington's work as a surveyor had begun in the spring of 1748. In the summer of the following year he was appointed surveyor for Culpeper county, but in 1751, at the age of nineteen, his military career commenced, with his commission as adjutant of the militia, in place of his brother Lawrence, whose failing health had caused his resignation from the post. Irving writes of this period of Washington's life at Mount Vernon:

"He now set about preparing himself, with his usual method and assiduity, for his new duties. Virginia had among its floating population some military relics of the late Spanish war. Among them was a certain Adjutant Muse, a Westmoreland volunteer, who had served with Lawrence Washington in the campaigns in the West Indies, and had been with him in the attack on Carthage. He now undertook to instruct George in the arts of war, lent him treatises on military tactics, put him through the manual exercises, and gave him some idea of evolutions in the field. Another of Lawrence's campaigning comrades was Jacob Van Bramm, a Dutchman by birth, a soldier of fortune of the Delgatty order, who had been in the British army, but was now out of service, and, professing to be a complete master of fence, recruited his purse in this time of military excitement by giving the Virginian youth lessons in the sword exercise. Under the instructions of these veterans, Mount Vernon, from being a quiet rural retreat, where Washington, three years previously, had indited love ditties to his 'lowland beauty,' was suddenly transformed into a school of arms, as he practised the manual exercise with Adjutant Muse, or took lessons on the broadsword with Van Bramm."

Irving's allusion to the "lowland beauty" refers to a youthful admiration, mentioned in a letter written to a boy friend when Washington was sixteen, and away from home on the task of surveying Lord Fairfax's vast property in the Shenandoah Valley.

"Dear Friend Robin,—As it's the greatest mark of friendship and esteem, absent friends can show each other, in writing and often communicating their thoughts, to his fellow companions, I make one endeavor to signalize myself in acquainting you, from time to time, and at all times, my situation and employments of life, and could wish you would take half the pains of contriving me a letter by any opportunity, as you may be well assured of its meeting with a very welcome reception. My place of residence is at present at his Lordship's, where I might, was my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly as there's a very agreeable young lady lives in the same house [Colonel George Fairfax's wife's sister]. But as that's only adding fuel to fire, it makes me the more uneasy, for by often, and unavoidably, being in company with her revives my former passion for your Lowland beauty; whereas, was I to live more retired from young women, I might in some measure elivate my sorrows, by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion or eternal forgetfulness, for as I am very well assured, that's the only antidote or remedy, that I shall ever

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be relieved by or only recess that can administer any cure or help to me, as I am well convinced, was I ever to attempt anything, I should only get a denial which would be only adding grief to uneasiness."

Mr. Wilstach says of him at the period of his early ownership of Mount Vernon: "A mistress for Mount Vernon was continually in his thoughts. Women had a great attraction for him from his earliest youth. His early diaries and letters are full of sentimental confidences." One of the flames of his early twenties was Betsy Fauntleroy, to whose father he sent the following letter:

"Sir: I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurise which has reduced me very low; but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have enclosed a letter to her, which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of it. I have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family."

"Betsy, however," comments Mr. Wilstach, "seems to have been unwilling to revoke her 'former cruel sentence,' and so his detached domestic situation made it easier to accept Governor Dinwiddie's difficult commission to bear his protest to the encroaching French on the far western frontier of the Ohio."

For the next two years he was away from Mount Vernon, possibly the entire time. Soon after his return from the French mission he was made a lieutenant-colonel and sent again to the Ohio by Governor Dinwiddie in command of a force "to aid Captain Trench in building Forts and in defending the Possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French." Thus Washington took part in the actual beginning of the Seven Years' War, the conflict which, in a sense, continued through our own and the French Revolutions, the Napoleonic wars, and even the War of 1812, which was the outcome of aggressions of both France and England on our neutral commerce during their own earlier contests on the seas. Regarding this, Thackeray wrote in "The Virginians": "It was strange that in a savage forest of Pennsylvania a young Virginian officer should fire a shot and waken up a war which was to last for sixty years, which was to cover his own country and pass into Europe, to cost France her American colonies, to sever ours from us, and create the great western republic; to rage over the old world when extinguished in the new; and of all the myriads engaged in the vast contest, to leave the prize of the greatest fame with him who struck the first blow!"

He returned to Mount Vernon in October, 1754, and the ensuing

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winter was enlivened by a flirtation with Mrs. Neil, says Mr. Wilstach, who quotes from a letter sent Washington at this time by one of the officers stationed at Williamsburg: "I imagine you by this time plung'd in the midst of delight heaven can afford and enchanted By Charmes even Stranger to the Cyprian Dame."

Washington's mother had been opposed to his entry into the navy, or into any career on the sea, which had been, at an earlier period, his ambition. She was hardly less opposed to his adoption of a military career, and in the spring of 1755 he wrote to Orme, aide-de-camp to General Braddock, the latter having invited Washington to join an expedition to the western country: "The arrival of a good deal of company (among whom is my mother, alarmed at the report of my intentions to attend your fortunes) prevents me the pleasure of waiting on you to-day, as I had intended."

"This was Mary Washington's last appearance at Mount Vernon," writes Mr. Wilstach. "She retired to Fredericksburg, where she spent the rest of her days, at first at her farm across the Rappahannock, but later near her daughter Betty Lewis's 'Kenmore,' in the center of the little city, in a house which her son George bought for her. He visited her whenever he passed through Fredericksburg and wrote to her always with high but somewhat formal affection."

In May, 1755, Colonel Washington set forth with General Braddock on another expedition and left in charge of Mount Vernon his younger brother, John Augustine Washington, with the latter's family. Many letters have been preserved which he wrote to his brother during this absence, in which he usually subscribed himself, "Dear Jack, your most affectionate Brother." In one of these letters he referred to a report of his own death: "As I have heard, since my arrival at this place, a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first, and of assuring you, that I have not as yet composed the latter."

Soon after Washington's return to Mount Vernon, at the close of July, 1755, he received an invitation to visit the Fairfax home, Belvoir, in which Colonel Fairfax threatened that, in the event of a refusal, "the Lady's will try to get Horses to equip our Chair or attempt their strength on Foot to Salute you, so desirous are they with loving Speed to have an ocular Demonstration of your being the same Identical Gent—that lately departed to defend his Country's Cause."

With this letter was a note signed by Sally Fairfax, Ann Spearing, and Elizabeth Dent:

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"Dear Sir: After thanking Heaven for your safe return I must accuse you of great unkindness in refusing us the pleasure of seeing you this night. I do assure you that nothing but our being satisfied that our company would be disagreeable should prevent us from trying if our Legs would carry us to Mount Vernon this night, but if you will not come to us to-morrow morning very early we shall be at Mount Vernon."

Another Sally Fairfax, as Sally Cary before her marriage to George William Fairfax, had been, for a time at least, the star of Washington's dreams. There were so many young ladies who seem to have occupied this place from time to time, that one concludes George was either extraordinarily susceptible or exceedingly fickle—or both. Some of these fair ladies fortunate enough to win the sighs and ardent, if evanescent, homage of the greatest of men were, besides those already named, Mary Cary, who became the wife of Edward Ambler, Lucy Grymes, who married Henry Lee and was the mother of "Light-horse Harry" Lee; and Mary Philipse of New York.

After the battle of the Monongahela, the fatal end of Braddock's ill-managed campaign, the dying general gave to Washington his war-horse, and at the same time commended to the young officer's care a soldier named Bishop, who had accompanied Braddock from England, had become the general's military servant, and had served faithfully and well. Bishop returned with Washington to Mount Vernon and remained throughout his life in Washington's service.

Mr. Wilstach writes: "A proof of the colony's appreciation of Colonel Washington's performance under Braddock came within a few months when there arrived at Mount Vernon his commission as commander of all the Virginia forces. He was soon off, and during the two years following he was rarely at home.

"In August of the next year, 1756, however, he petitioned the governor for leave to return to the Potomac, 'As a general meeting of all the persons concerned in the estate of my deceased brother is appointed to be held at Alexandria about the middle of September next, for making a final settlement of all his affairs; and as I am deeply interested, not only as an executor and heir to part of his estate, but also in a very important dispute, subsisting between Colonel Lee, who married the widow, and my brothers and self, concerning advise in the will which brings the whole personal estate in question.' The trip was in vain, 'the Assembly having called away the principal persons concerned.'"

Another year passed in military service on the frontier, and in September he came back to attend the funeral of Colonel Fairfax, his friend and neighbor and the father of Anne, the wife of Lawrence Washington, who had been mistress of Mount Vernon during George's



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MOUNT VERNON MANSION

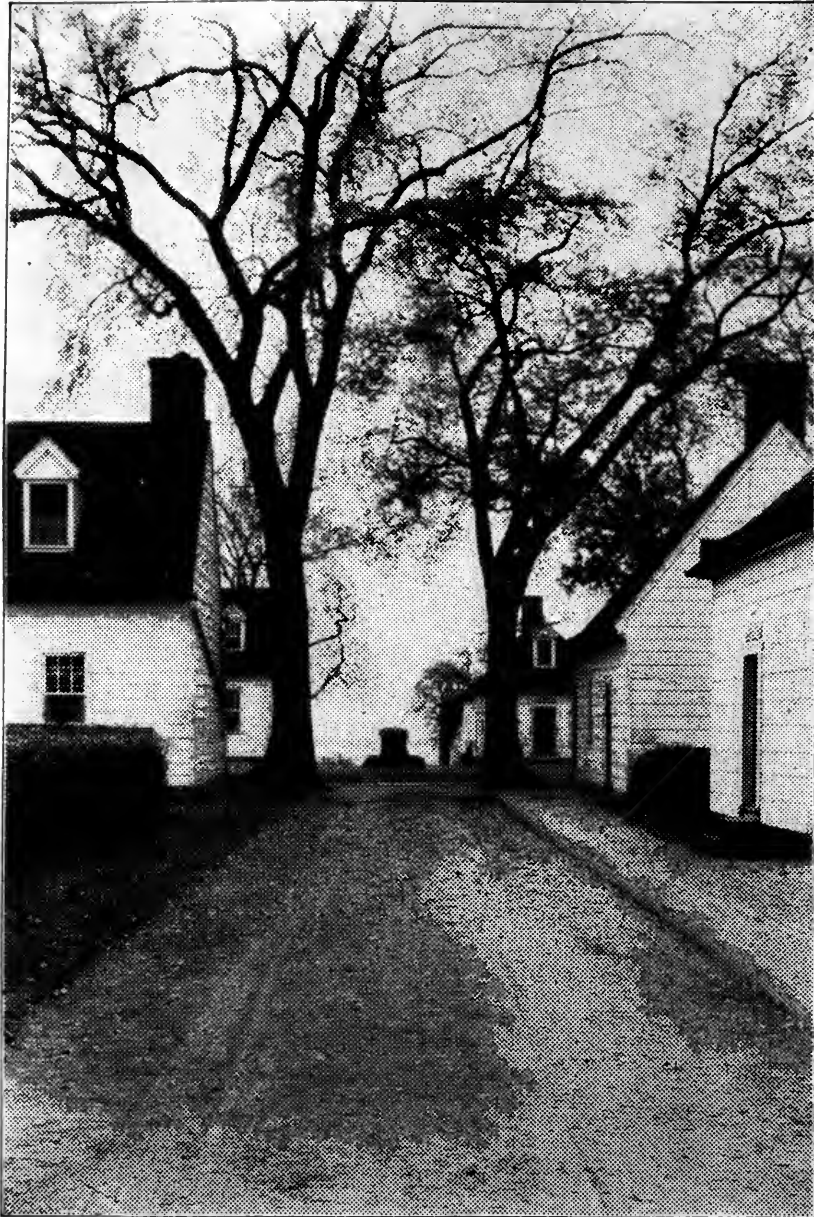


MOUNT VERNON MANSION AS IT APPEARED JUST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR
From a photograph taken at that time



GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BEDROOM

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NORTH AND SOUTH LANES, MOUNT VERNON

Taken in the North Lane near the spinning house, and showing the sun dial in the circle.

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boyhood. He returned to the front, but soon was again at home and ill. His physician at this time was also the rector of Pohick Church, which Washington attended, the Rev. Charles Green. This proved a serious illness, but by April of 1758 the colonel was able to leave home.

In May he arrived at Williamsburg, bearing a report of the military progress in the west, and he was accompanied by the faithful Bishop. Mr. Wilstach says: "On his way to the capital, in crossing the ferry over the Pamunkey River, the south branch of the York, he most miraculously fell in with 'one Mr. Chamberlayne, who lived in the neighborhood,' and insisted on the traveller resting at his house as his guest. Colonel Washington submitted aimably to being captured and led off, but before the day was done he had been twice captured."

It was at Mr. Chamberlayne's house on this occasion that Washington is believed to have met for the first time the beautiful lady who became his bride and helpmeet, and was destined to be the "First Lady of the Land." Her grandson chronicled this meeting:

"The colonel was introduced to various guests (for when was a Virginian domicil of the olden time without guests?), and above all, to the charming widow. Tradition relates that they were mutually pleased on this their first interview, nor is it remarkable; they were of an age when impressions are strongest. The lady was fair to behold, of fascinating manners, and splendidly endowed with worldly benefits. The hero, fresh from his early fields, redolent of fame, and with a form on which 'every god did seem to set his seal, to give the world assurance of a man.' The morning passed pleasantly away. Evening came, with Bishop, true to his orders and firm at his post, holding his favorite charger with one hand, while the other was waiting to offer the ready stirrup. The sun sank in the horizon, and yet the colonel appeared not. And then the old soldier marvelled at his chief's delay, . . . for he was the most punctual of all men. Meantime, the host enjoyed the scene of the veteran at the gate, while the colonel was so agreeably employed in the parlor; and proclaiming that no guest ever left his house after sunset, his military visitor was, without much difficulty, persuaded to order Bishop to put up the horses for the night. The sun rode high in the heavens the ensuing day when the enamored soldier pressed with his spur his charger's side, and speeded on his way to the seat of government."

Says Mr. Wilstach: "The remarkable lady whose attractions captivated the marvel of punctuality and caused his servant a vain vigil was Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis. . . . Martha Custis was one of most admired young matrons in lower tidewater. She was Washington's junior by a few months. Her girlhood home was in New Kent at the head of the York River. The social life of the young women of that time began at an age almost inconceivable now, so it is small wonder to read that, when according to modern ideas she should have been in the nursery, or at most in the school-room, she was 'presented' in Williamsburg 'during the administration of Governor Gooch.' . . .

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"When sixteen Martha Dandridge engaged the attentions of Daniel Parke Custis, in point of antecedents and personal character one of the most desirable bachelors in their neighborhood, in the large sense of the far-flung neighborhood of those days. At seventeen she became his bride. They were married one June day in 1749, at St. Peter's Church, near the White House, their home in New Kent. Vaughan Kester, in 'The Prodigal Judge,' hints amusingly at the tradition that the titles of the old-time southern planters might be read in the number of chimneys on their houses. If, as his Yancy said they did, two chimneys brevetted a man colonel and four raised him to the rank of general, what shall be said of the magnificent rank of a man whose household stood supported by six chimneys? The Williamsburg house of the Custises was known as the Six-chimney House. Between the two homes they spent the eight years of their married life. Two children, John Parke and Martha, survived their father. Their mother, widowed at the age of twenty-five, was in her own right one of the rich women of the colony."

When Washington returned to his military duties in the Ohio country in June, he went as Mrs. Custis's accepted lover. One of the letters that he sent her during this first separation has been preserved. In it he says:

"We have begun our march for the Ohio. A courier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportunity to send a few words to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other, my thoughts have been continually going to you as another Self. That an all-powerful Providence may keep us both in safety is the prayer of your ever faithful and affectionate friend."

Another letter written at this time to James Wood expresses his emotions upon his election to the Virginia house of burgesses, in which his first American ancestor, John Washington, had served the colony, as had also George Washington's father and his half-brother, Lawrence.

"If thanks flowing from a heart replete with joy and Gratitude can in any Measure compensate for the fatigue, anxiety and Pain you had at my Election, be assured you have them; 'tis a poor, but I am convinced, welcome tribute to a generous Mind. Such, I believe yours to be. How shall I thank Mrs. Wood for her favorable Wishes, and how acknowledge my sense of obligations to the People in general for their choice of me, I am at a loss to resolve on. But why? Can I do it more effectually than by making their Interest (as it really is) my own, and doing everything that lyes in my little Power for the Honor and welfare of the Country? I think not; and my best endeavors they may always command. I promise this now, when promises may be regarded, before they pass as words of course."

He was burgess from this time until 1765, representing Frederick county, and from then until the beginning of the Revolution he was chosen to represent Fairfax county.

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His approaching marriage made it necessary to prepare Mount Vernon for the new life. His brother, John Washington, had moved away and the mansion was untenanted. The correspondence of this period shows that Humphrey Knight was then in charge of the farmland, William Poole acted as miller, and John Patterson superintended the improvements needed in the house itself. Colonel Fairfax of Belvoir gave a neighborly supervision to the work and kept Washington informed of its progress. The house was practically rebuilt. New foundations were placed under it, fifteen thousand new bricks were used, the roof was made new, new glass put in the windows, and much change and improvement made inside. The new stairway into the garret was discussed in a letter by Colonel Fairfax:

"For with regard to the Garrett Stairs, I am at a loss unless I know whether you intend that for Lodging Apartments for Serv^{ts}. If not the Stairs may be carried from the left hand room, which you design for Lumber, without making it publick."

The end of the frontier fighting with the French came in 1758, and in December Washington returned to Williamsburg and resigned his commission. He was not to resume a soldier's life until the War for Independence.

Washington was an ardent lover and in January, 1759, only a month after his return, he and Martha Custis were married, by Mr. Mosson, rector of St. Peter's. "The place where they were married is still undetermined," writes Mr. Wilstach. "Washington Irving, Bishop Meade, and Benson J. Lossing say at Mrs. Custis's residence, the White House on the Pamunkey. Worthington Ford and Henry Cabot Lodge say at Saint Peter's Church. The bride's own grandson avoided the controversy. As all the accounts of the festivities at the White House that day are based on tradition, his recital is apt to be as dependable as any. And much had he heard of that marriage, he said, 'from gray-haired domestics who waited at the board where love made the feast and Washington was the guest. And rare and high was the revelry, at that palmy period of Virginia's festal age; for many were gathered to that marriage, of the good, the great, the gifted, and the gay, while Virginia, with joyous acclamation, hailed in her youthful hero a prosperous and happy bridegroom.'"

In Mrs. Pryor's life of Mary Ball Washington, she describes the wedding gown of Washington's wife: "a white satin quilt, over which a heavy white silk, interwoven with threads of silver, was looped back with white satin ribbons, richly brocaded in a leaf pattern. Her bodice

was of plain satin, and the brocade was fastened on the bust with a stiff butterfly bow of the ribbon. Delicate lace finished the low, square neck. There were close elbow sleeves revealing a puff and frill of lace. Strings of pearls were woven in and out of her powdered hair. Her high-heeled slippers were of white satin, with brilliant buckles."

To-day there is a pin-cushion, covered with a piece of Martha Washington's wedding gown, preserved in a cabinet in one of the upper rooms of Mount Vernon.

"The honeymoon was spent in Williamsburg," writes Mr. Wilstach. "To-day the old town is a diminishing echo of the sprightly capital of the middle of the eighteenth century. The venerable buildings of William and Mary rise in proud consciousness that it is the second oldest college in the country. The Raleigh Tavern, where the 'dissolved' burgesses met in defiance of their royal governor, still stands and nearby is old Bruton Church shepherding its yard of colonial notables. But gone is the house of burgesses where Washington sat a part of every one of fifteen consecutive years. Gone is the governor's palace, scene of so much viceregal splendor, social and official. Gone are the old mansions where the worthies lived and made the capital so gay; among them Martha Custis's Six-chimney House. Near the place where it was stands a yew tree, and the visitor is told that it was planted by her own hand. In the days of this story the Six-chimney House stood bravely forth, one of the handsome mansions of the little capital. Here the young couple spent the first months of their honeymoon."

The assembly remained in session and it was not until May that Martha Washington went home to Mount Vernon. With the husband and wife went Martha and John Parke Custis, her children by her first marriage, who thenceforth were to know the kindest of fatherly care and affection from Washington.

Both Washington and his wife had a kind of genius for wise and efficient management of their affairs. This was notable in his administration of Mount Vernon and of his wife's properties, and in Mrs. Washington's career as an ideal home-maker. Her grandson wrote of her: "In her dress, though plain, she was so scrupulously neat that ladies often wondered how Mrs. Washington could wear a gown for a week, go through her kitchen and laundries, and all the varieties of places in the routine of domestic management, and yet the gown retained its snow-like whiteness, unsullied by a single speck. In her conduct of her servants her discipline was prompt, yet humane, and her household was remarkable for the excellence of its domestics."

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She brought to Mount Vernon some of her own furnishings and she retained some things which had been in the mansion when Lawrence Washington, the brother of George, had reigned there. Mr. Wilstach says: "Among the latter were the painting of the English fleet before Carthage and the old lantern in the hall, sent Lawrence by Admiral Vernon, and the brass window cornices and certain bands in the west parlor, all of which had survived the changes of years and are to-day preserved in their accustomed places.

"In the main Mount Vernon was refurnished by order on London. The Virginia colonial dame of means shopped almost exclusively by mail order on England, though in point of time she was then more distant from the London market than is Japan to-day."

If space permitted it would be interesting to give at length the items of the Washingtons' orders to the colonel's London agents, which Mr. Wilstach quotes in delightful detail. An order "for Miss Custis, 4 years old," includes "2 Caps, 2 pairs Ruffles, 2 Tuckers, Bibs, and Aprons, if fashionable, 2 fans, 2 Masks, 2 Bonnetts," also "a stiffened Coat of Fashionable silk, made to pack-thread stays." "Master Custis, 6 years old," was to have "1 piece black Hair Ribbon, 1 pair handsome silver Shoe and Knee Buckles, 10s. worth of toys, 6 little books for children beginning to read, and 1 light duffel Cloak with silver frogs."

A number of busts, probably bronze, were ordered, among them busts of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Charles XII of Sweden, "the King of Prussia"—Frederick the Great,—Prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough; but these were not sent as they were not available in the desired sizes. There were also to be "2 Wild Beasts, not to exceed twelve inches in height, nor eighteen in length" and "Sundry small ornaments for the chimney-piece."

Mr. Wilstach writes that "both were early risers, though breakfast was not early for all the household. Washington in winter often made his own fire in his library and there, over his correspondence and accounts, did an immense amount of work in a few hours. Mrs. Washington rose when he did and directed the beginning of the day's domestic duties into easy and ordered channels. After breakfast he rode out on one of his horses to overlook the laborers on the various farms into which he divided Mount Vernon estate, and returned, according to Custis, 'Punctual as the hand of a clock, at a quarter to three . . . and retired to his room to dress, as was his custom.' Mrs. Washington chose the first hour for religious devotion in her own room, an unflinching custom her life long. Dinner was a mid-afternoon meal after the

southern tradition. Washington rarely ate any supper, though it was always spread for his household and guests. When at Mount Vernon it was his habit to retire at nine o'clock."

All the little, intimate details of Washington's life at Mount Vernon must be studied from Mr. Wilstach's book itself, in order to appreciate the devoted care and accuracy with which the author's researches have been made and their results presented. The social life of the Washingtons occupies many charming pages, its boundless hospitality being its characteristic feature. It is said that in his diary Washington was sometimes at a loss to recall his guests' names. "But without distinction the horses were sent to the stables, the servants to quarters, and the visitors were welcomed to all the big house afforded."

The marquis de Chastellux, who served so gallantly in our War for Independence, wrote of Mount Vernon's welcome at a later period: "Your apartments were your house; the servants of the house were yours; and, while every inducement was held out to bring you into the general society of the drawing-room, or at the table, it rested with yourself to be served or not with everything in your own chamber."

An amusing little record in Washington's diary of an assembly at Alexandria, to which he took Mrs. Washington soon after their marriage, reads:

"Went to a ball at Alexandria, where Musick and dancing was the chief Entertainment however in a convenient room detached for the purpose abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some biscuits, with tea and coffee, which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water sweet'ned.

"Be it remembered that pocket handkerchiefs servd the purposes of Table cloths & Napkins and that no apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the stile and title of the Bread & Butter Ball."

So the years passed by, happy and useful, full of quiet domestic pleasantness, social diversion, hunting and reading, card-playing and children's parties, and, always a parallel channel to his home life, a public career of energy and patriotic citizenship. As Mr. Wilstach truly says: "The period of this public service was so much overshadowed by his earlier and later military career and by his supreme service under the new republic, that it is easy to think of Mount Vernon at this time merely as a home of an industrious, pleasure-loving planter. Bound up in his home though he was, there emanated from Mount Vernon wider and more unselfish interests than those which were merely social and domestic."

Little Martha Parke Custis, all her life an invalid, died on June 19, 1773, and Washington thus recorded it in his diary: "About

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five o'clock poor Patsy Custis died suddenly." He wrote of the little girl's death in a letter: "It is an easier matter to conceive than to describe the distress of this Family; especially that of the unhappy parent of our Dear Patsy Custis, when I inform you that the Sweet Innocent Girl Entered into a more happy & peaceful abode than any she has met with in the afflicted Path she hitherto has trod." Little Patsy left her fortune, for she was an heiress, to George Washington, the kindest of stepfathers.

A loss of another kind came to the Mount Vernon household this year, for Colonel George William Fairfax and his family went to England, the colonel having inherited estates there. He left Belvoir in Washington's care and never returned to America.

In January, 1774, John Parke Custis, or Jack, as he was known in the family, was married to Eleanor Calvert, daughter of Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy. The young pair made their home at Abingdon, Virginia, about twelve miles from Mount Vernon, and they and, later, their children, found Mount Vernon a second home.

Washington, like every other patriot in the colonies, was strongly indignant at the passage of the Stamp Act and the similar legislation, and joined a local association of men who resolved to use no goods on which England was taxing the Americans. In 1769 and again in 1770 he wrote to his London agents that no goods of this character were to be sent him, saying in the second letter on the subject: "It will not be in my power to receive any articles contrary to our non-importation agreement, which I have subscribed, and shall religiously adhere to, and should, if it were, as I could wish it to be, ten times as strict."

On July 18, 1774, Washington presided at a meeting of citizens of Fairfax county, at which were adopted the patriotic resolves presented by George Mason of Gunston Hall. Almost immediately after came the convention at Williamsburg, to protest against the conduct of General Gage at Boston. Washington spoke with ardor and splendid eloquence, and declared: "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for Boston."

On August 31 he started for Philadelphia to attend the first continental congress. The night before George Mason, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton spent at Mount Vernon, and Mr. Henry and Colonel Pendleton accompanied Washington to the congress.

Mount Vernon during the following winter, 1774-1775, was the scene of many meetings between Washington and other patriots. Mr. Wiltach writes: "The house was the scene of continual conferences

of the leaders of thought and action in the neighborhood and the colony at large. George Mason was there; William Grayson, later first senator for Virginia but now arming the independent militia of Prince William with funds he was promised on these visits; Edmund Pendleton and Daniel of Saint Thomas Jenifer, the latter now as Major Jenifer, neighbor, coming to be directed in militia organization, but later to live in history as signer of the Declaration of Independence for Maryland; Charles Lee, British and unbalanced, accompanied by his hounds, which he insisted on feeding in the dining-room; Horatio Gates, major now but adjutant in June next; old companions in the French War, who, scenting powder, found their way to their former chief's seat 'in search of courage and sympathy'; delegations from the various counties who came to offer Washington the command of their independent militia 'should they be obliged to have recourse to arms to defend their King and country'; and others in numbers, patriots for the most part who recognized in the master of Mount Vernon their hope in the impending struggle."

In March, 1775, Washington, as a Burgess of Virginia, took part in the Virginia convention at Richmond, at which he was chosen to represent the colony in the second continental congress, and where he was, as were all, thrilled and exalted by Patrick Henry's immortal cry: "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

He left for Philadelphia the latter part of April, believing his absence would be for only a few weeks. On his unanimous election by the congress to command the colonial forces, he wrote to his "Dear Patsy," as he called his wife: "I am now set down to write you on a subject, which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased, when I reflect upon the uneasiness which I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defense of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it. . . . I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg, you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen."

Washington was not to be again at his home for six years. During the war there was a cessation of its pleasant ways of social inter-

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course, but its kindly charities continued. Washington wrote from Cambridge to Lund Washington, who managed the estate in its master's absence: "Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go away hungry. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed."

In the weekly letters of Lund Washington to the general much of the life at Mount Vernon of this period can be traced. There was rumor that the English were planning to sail up the Potomac, burn Washington's home, and take prisoner his wife. Mrs. Washington and Lund made ready for the attack, packing silver and important papers, and Lund wrote to the general: "Without they attempt to take her in the dead of night, they would fail, for ten minutes notice would be sufficient for her to get out of the way."

Dunmore, the royalist governor, did come up the river but was repulsed by the militia. George Mason sent word to Washington of the event: "Dunmore has come and gone, and left us untouched except by some alarms. I sent my family many miles back into the country, and advised Mrs. Washington to do likewise as a prudential movement. At first she said, 'No, I will not desert my post,' but finally she did so with reluctance, rode only a few miles, and—plucky little woman as she is, stayed away only one night."

In 1781, however, British ships did anchor off Mount Vernon, and Lund, evidently fearing an attack, and weakly willing to parley with the enemy, offered them some measure of hospitality, for which misconduct Washington sent him a letter of just rebuke:

"I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my House and laid the Plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration. It was not in your power, I acknowledge, to prevent them from sending a flag on shore, and you did right to meet it; but you should, in the same instant that the business of it was unfolded, have declared explicitly, that it was improper for you to yeild to the request; after which, if they had proceeded to help themselves by force, you could have but submitted; and, (being unprovided for defense,) this was to be preferred to a feeble opposition, which only serves as a pretext to burn and destroy."

Washington visited Mount Vernon only once during the Revolution, and this was but for ten days, in September, 1781, on his way to

Yorktown to command the siege, and on his return after Cornwallis's surrender. This stay was saddened by the death of Mrs. Washington's son. He left four children, three daughters and a son. Washington, on their father's death, adopted the two youngest, Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, thus bringing back to Mount Vernon the presence of youth and its influence for happiness.

The general's next home-coming was at the end of the war. Mr. Wilstach writes: "He resigned his commission at Annapolis on December 23, 1783; took affectionate leave of his companions in arms; and once more a private citizen, with Mrs. Washington by his side, and accompanied by Colonels David Humphreys, William Smith, and Benjamin Walker, he rode forward over the familiar Maryland roads toward his beloved Mount Vernon.

"The General and Mrs. Washington reached home Christmas Eve. His 'people' from the various farms gathered at the gate and along the drive to give them welcome. . . . They lighted the night with bonfires and made it noisy with fiddling and dancing in the quarters. At the great door of the mansion the home-comers were greeted by a troop of relatives, and next day the neighbors drove in from all directions to add their welcome."

A letter has been preserved, written by a little girl of the Lewis family of Fredericksburg, describing this joyous Christmas-tide. From it Mr. Wilstach quotes: "I must tell you what a charming day I spent at Mt. Vernon with Mama and Sally. The General and Madame came home on Christmas Eve, and such a racket as the servants made! They were glad of their coming. Three handsome young officers came with them. All Christmas afternoon people came to pay their respects and duty. Among these were stately dames and gay young women. The General seemed very happy and Mrs. Washington was up before day-break making everything as agreeable as possible for everybody."

At this time Washington wrote to Lafayette: "At length, my dear Marquis, I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac; and under the shadow of my own vine and fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe were insufficient for us all, and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have

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very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life, with heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

To General Knox he also expressed this sense of escape from turmoil to the peace and tranquil happiness of home, writing: "I feel . . . as I conceive a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burthen on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed; and from his house-top is looking back, and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way; and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling."

The next few years were restful ones, as he had desired, and he spent them for the most part quietly at Mount Vernon, caring for his estate and improving and embellishing the mansion. He loved the trees and planted many and of a wide variety in his gardens and lawns and shrubberies and orchards. He replaced the miles of fences enclosing his property with hedges, as a matter of timber economy, but doubtless also with appreciation of their more attractive aspect.

Mr. Wilstach describes Washington's resumption of his former daily routine. "He was again in the saddle daily, riding his circuit from farm to farm, to reappear at the great front door at fifteen minutes before the dinner hour punctually as the needle on the sundial, with which he now invariably compared his watch.

"Somewhere along the way, however, he compromised with time to allow himself a few extra minutes, for it is said that he now added one final unfailling stop to his daily rounds. It was at the pasture where a tall, aging chestnut, with white face and legs, came at his call to receive the caresses of his master's hand. This was his battle-horse, Nelson, his companion in the war, and 'remarkable as the first nicked horse seen in America.' He bore Washington on his back when Cornwallis surrendered to him at Yorktown. Then he was mustered out of service and a saddle was never put on his back again."

Washington was devotedly fond of children, and we can realize his disappointment in not having those of his own flesh and blood. But "his paternal affections spent themselves without reserve first on Mrs. Washington's children and then on her grandchildren. They found

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themselves as much at home at Mount Vernon as if it were their own father's house. Of the evidences of his petting of the children none perhaps is more charming than his thought of tiny Nellie and Washington when, in the confusion of settling the public business in Philadelphia, he took time to shop for toys for them, in anticipation of that Christmas Eve return from the war. The items are recorded in his note-book with his customary precision:

“By Sundries bot. in Phila.

A Locket	5	5	
3 Small Pockt. Books	1	10	
3 Sashes	1	5	0
Dress Cap	2	8	
Hatt	3	10	
Handkerchief	1		
Childrens Books		4	6
Whirligig		1	6
Fiddle	2	6	
Quadrille Boxes	1	17	6”

The new life, or rather the return to Washington's home life, did not wholly sever him from public affairs. As Mr. Wilstach says, “He now belonged to the country, for although there was no actual national entity, the pride and national aspirations of all the independent States in the confederation focussed on their recent military leader.”

Persons of rank and high office frequently visited him, and his correspondence was so important that he employed secretaries and clerks, and finally had to erect a separate building for the proper filing and storage of his papers.

A number of artists visited Mount Vernon at this period to paint the general's portrait. In regard to this, he wrote: “*In for a penny, in for a pound*, is an old adage. I am so hackneyed to the touches of the painter's pencil, that I am *now* altogether at their beck; and sit, ‘like Patience on a monument,’ while they are delineating the lines of my face. It is a proof, among many others, of what habit and custom can accomplish. At first I was as impatient at the request, and as restive under the operation, as a colt is of the saddle. The next time I submitted very reluctantly, but with less flouncing. Now no dray-horse moves more readily to his thill than I to the painter's chair.”

In October, 1785, Houdon came from Paris on behalf of the State of Virginia, and at the instance of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, to make his famous life-mask of Washington and to model the bust of the general, which is still at Mount Vernon. Houdon completed the full-length statue of Washington in marble, which stands in

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the capitol at Richmond, from the life-mask and from memory, with the assistance of Gouverneur Morris posing for the figure.

Among the many distinguished visitors to Mount Vernon in the years following the war were Noah Webster, his dictionary not then begun, John Fitch, with "a draft & model of a machine for promoting navigation, by means of steam," Robert Fulton, a boy of twenty, Jedediah Morse, the first American geographer, and Parson Weems, who was to be the biographer of Washington and the originator or first recorder of the hatchet-and-cherry-tree story.

Twice in the year 1784 Lafayette, whom Mrs. Washington called "the French boy," visited Mount Vernon, and after the second visit Washington wrote him a letter which reveals the deep and warm friendship he felt for the brave and noble young man whose ardent passion for liberty had brought his great military talents to the cause of America.

"In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you? And though I wished to answer No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty two years in climbing, and that, though I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently, to my prospect of ever seeing you again."

Much of Washington's correspondence now bore on the national idea, and the need for a federal constitution and government. A beginning of confederation was made at Mount Vernon in March, 1785, when uniformity of laws concerning finance and commerce was agreed upon by representatives of Virginia and Maryland. In January, 1786, these two States proposed a convention of all the States to be held at Annapolis, to regulate the commerce of all. From this meeting came the Philadelphia convention, from May to September of 1787, at Philadelphia, to frame a constitution for the United States, at which convention Washington was the head of Virginia's delegation. He became the president of the convention.

The next months Washington spent mostly at Mount Vernon, fighting with his pen's high eloquence for the American constitution, which he recognized as vital to our existence as a nation, or, indeed, to our existence as a group of separate free States. By the end of June, 1788, ten States had ratified the constitution, and congress then chose

electors to vote for the first president of the United States. There was but one name in every heart, but one man whom all America acclaimed as the chosen leader. On April 14, 1789, the secretary of the congress, Charles Thompson, arrived at Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election to the presidency.

During his two terms as chief executive he made usually two yearly visits to Mount Vernon. These visits were of necessity brief ones. In 1793 he gave a passing consideration to the idea of renting the larger part of his estate, and a letter concerning this, written by Washington to Mr. Arthur Young, a friend in England, and dated December 12, 1793, is now preserved in the Library of Congress. One paragraph says of Mount Vernon: "No estate in United America is more pleasantly situated than this—it lyes in a high, dry and healthy Country."

On a visit made to Mount Vernon in September, 1795, for the first home-coming since their marriage they missed the welcome of faithful old Bishop. He died in January, 1795, in his eightieth year, a constant friend and devoted servant of Washington since the old days of the French and Indian War.

Mr. Wilstach comments on the extraordinarily detailed care Washington gave to Mount Vernon during his absence at the seat of government.

"He exacted a weekly report from his manager by the post leaving Alexandria each Thursday, and he, on his part, wrote every week, usually devoting Sunday afternoon to the preparation of the long letters which covered two or three and even four large, closely written pages. . . . They directed the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of crops; building and repairs; the engaging, discharge, discipline, and comfort of his servants and slaves; all with the same intimate acquaintance he might have shown in his library in a talk with his manager after a morning ride of inspection over his farms.

"He referred to the hundreds of slaves by name, and knew each of their children's; he knew exactly where windows and doors were to be placed and their dimensions; what was boarded and what was free; what carpenters were available and best suited to the various jobs; what money he owed and what money was owed him; the condition of his growing crops, the potentiality of each field, the stage of the foaled mares; and seemingly every other imaginable detail.

"That an absent proprietor with no other concerns should exhibit such a grasp would be remarkable; that it was the concurrent if not the secondary interest at first of a general conducting a great war and

MOUNT VERNON

later of a president organizing an infant nation, excites a truly natural wonder."

Washington's great service in the presidency had been one beset with thorns, and might have made any man wistful for the peace and freedom of home; and this was especially true with a man of his strong domestic feelings and whose love for his home was a lifetime's passion. He said: "I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of state and the representatives of every power in Europe." He came home on Saturday, April 1, 1797.

Their delight at being again and settled in their beloved Mount Vernon is expressed in a letter written by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Knox:

"The General and I feel like children just released from school or from a hard task-master, and we believe that nothing can tempt us to leave the sacred roof tree again, except on private business or pleasure. . . . I am again fairly settled down to the pleasant duties of an old-fashioned Virginia house-keeper, steady as a clock, busy as a bee, and cheerful as a cricket."

This little brief gay outburst of a contented wife of nearly forty years of marriage to the greatest man of his age, and Washington's oft-expressed delight in his home, are pleasant testimony to the blessing each found in their companionship. Their love had known not only the ardor of youth, but the abiding sweetness of deep and loyal friendship, which time only intensified. For many years Washington wore around his neck a locket containing a miniature of his wife, and this was buried with him.

As the old style calendar was in use in England, and consequently in the English colonies, when Washington was born, although discarded for the Gregorian calendar in his young manhood, the family celebrated his birthday on the eleventh day of February, instead of the twenty-second, the date according to modern usage. In 1799, the last year of his life, there were two celebrations, on the eleventh by his friends in Alexandria, where the day had been kept publicly since 1784, and on the twenty-second, at Mount Vernon, when Nellie Custis was married to Lawrence Lewis. He was Washington's nephew, son of Betty Washington.

The last time he left Mount Vernon was on Saturday, December 7, 1799, when he drove to Mount Eagle on Great Hunting Creek to dine with Bryant Fairfax. The next Thursday, while riding over his farms, he was caught in a great storm, and caught cold. The following day

he did not seem ill, and went out during the afternoon to mark some trees which were to be cut. His last letter was written on that day, one of directions to the manager of his estate, and, as Mr. Wilstach says, "it is interesting to this chronicle that his last activities and his last written words should have been devoted, even as was his whole life, to the care of Mount Vernon." In the early morning of December 14 he woke and told Mrs. Washington that he felt very ill. In the afternoon Dr. Craik and Dr. Dick came from Alexandria and Dr. Brown from Port Tobacco. Washington realized that death was coming, and said to his wife, "It is a debt we all must pay." About ten o'clock that night he spoke faintly to his secretary, Lear, who replied. Washington whispered, "'Tis well," and in a few minutes he quietly ceased to breathe and his soul went out in peace.

His funeral services, conducted with simple dignity, were held on December 18. His body was placed in the family vault. "Mount Vernon was his home; it now became the nation's shrine."





INDIAN HEAD ON THE HUDSON RIVER, OPPOSITE YONKERS

Estimate for the expense of a steam ferry boat
for one year

2 fore men at 30 dollars a month each they findings
themselves, they will also act as engineers to keep the
engine in order, they must be engaged for the year, as
such men cannot be turned away in the winter &
got in the spring = 60 dollars a month — 720 per
Three Boatmen to take turns in steering
at 25 dollars a month each, 50 dollars } — 600
a month -----

1 1/2 cords of wood for 12 or 13 hours at
4 1/2 dollars a cord or say 7 dollars a day } 2240
to work 320 days -----

Wear & tare and Repairs ----- 600

Total. 4,160

Robt Fulton
Jan'y 22^d 1810

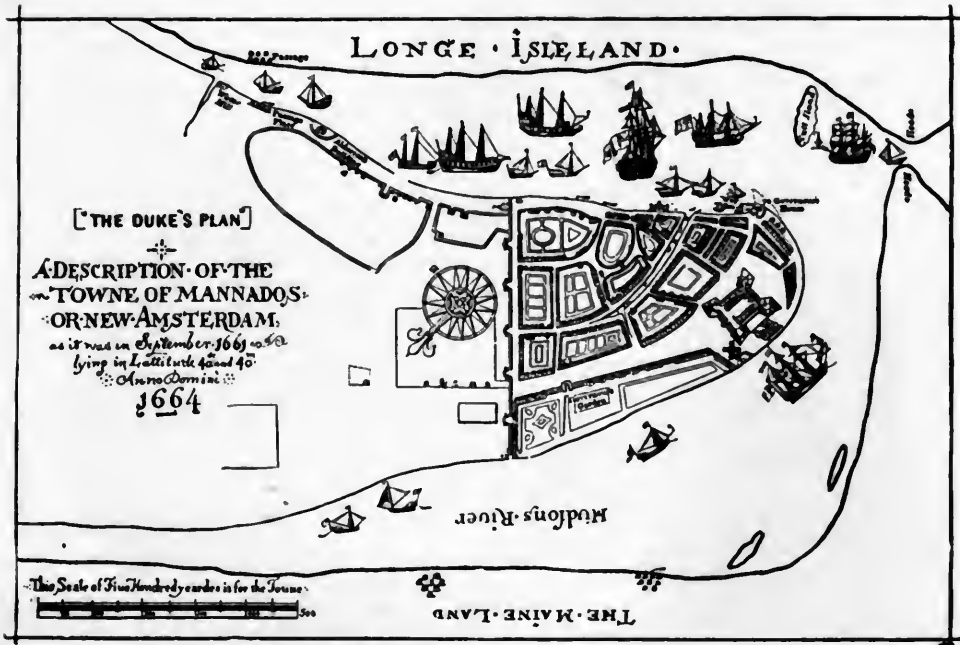
Estimate for the
expense of a steam
ferry boat for one
year



MONUMENT TO THOMAS PAINE AT NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK

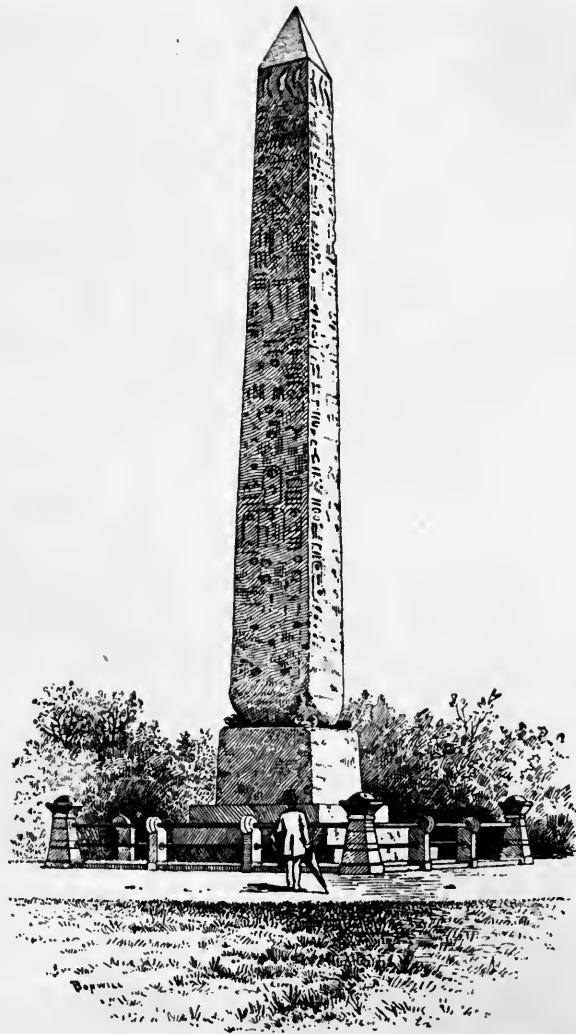


THE STADTS HERBERG (CITY TAVERN), NEW YORK CITY, BUILT IN THE
DUTCH PERIOD; AFTERWARD THE CITY HALL



NEW YORK CITY (NEW AMSTERDAM) IN 1664

This is known as "The Duke's Plan." It is of the period of the English conquest of New Netherland.

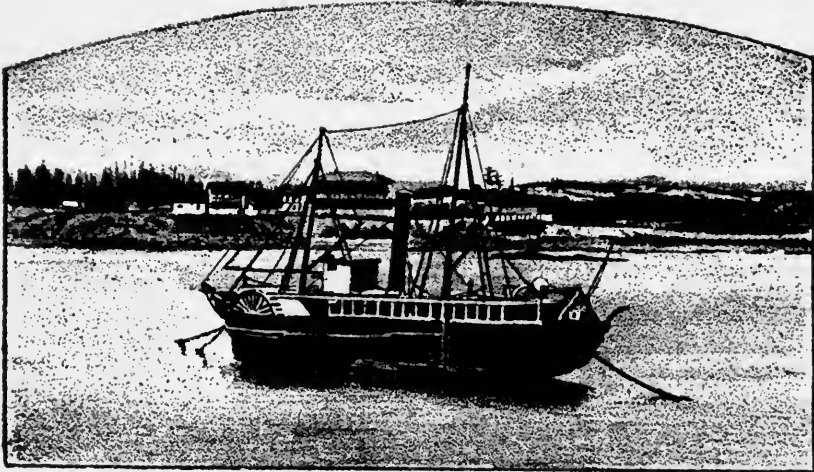


THE EGYPTIAN OBELISK IN CENTRAL PARK,
NEW YORK CITY



THE FAMOUS CONQUEROR OF MEXICO FOR SPAIN

In English his name is usually written Hernando Cortez. His great exploit (1519-1522) stands unsurpassed in history for brilliancy—and incidental barbarity.



THE STEAMSHIP "BEAVER"
The first steam vessel to round Cape Horn.



CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The legendary—purely legendary—"Bridge of the Gods" is assigned to this locality. From a photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.

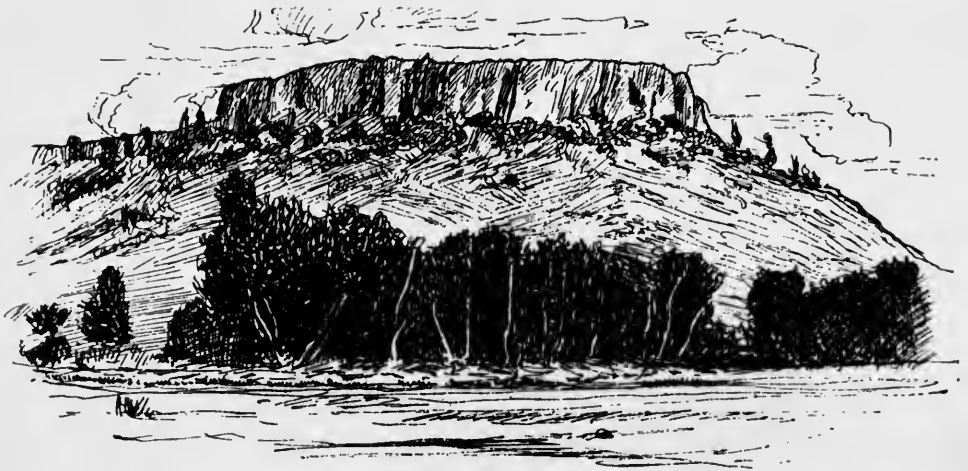


TABLE ROCK, SOUTHERN OREGON
The scene of General Lane's negotiations with the Indians



OREGON CITY IN 1845
From an old print



RESIDENCE OF MADAME BONAPARTE, WIFE OF JEROME BONAPARTE, ON THE ROSEMONT ESTATE IN MARYLAND, GIVEN HER BY NAPOLEON

An American Princess

Elizabeth (Patterson) Bonaparte, Wife of Jerome Bonaparte,
Napoleon's Brother

BY

ELOISE SOMERLATT



ALL THE dreams of conquest and visions of empire which were being dreamed during the latter part of the eighteenth century did not have their beginning in the island of Corsica. There was a little maid, enjoying the freedom of the rolling hill land of Maryland who had her dreams of a brilliant future, too, and knew the thrill of ambition. And when the girl reached the border land of womanhood, it would seem that she was well equipped for conquest, for she possessed every weapon which a woman of that time was able to wield most effectively. So, while Napoleon marshalled the forces of France and gained strength by every victory, the Maryland girl was waxing strong in the charms of her young womanhood. Each was stirred by a common motive force—the desire for royalty; and between the two Destiny was weaving an imperceptible chain.

At the age of eighteen Miss Elizabeth Patterson was the reigning beauty of Baltimore. She was the eldest of a family of thirteen, and had spent most of her childhood on the estate of her father, William Patterson, among the hill lands of Maryland. But we find her, in 1803, the recognized beauty of Baltimore society. She was a girl of exquisite grace and charm, with a beautifully formed head and deep blue eyes of exceptional brilliance. Her wit was the delight of all who conversed with her, and withal she possessed an intelligence and shrewdness that were tried and proved during her unusual life.

William Patterson was one of the wealthiest and most highly respected citizens of Baltimore. Among his intimate friends were numbered Washington, Lafayette, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He was a careful business man, and but imperfectly understood the impulsive nature of his daughter Betsy.

To this girl, who possessed every requisite of a princess, Fate

brought the fairy prince—at least he was young and handsome and renowned, as the hero of a fairy story should be, and if not a prince he was at least the youngest brother of the mighty Napoleon, first consul and soon to be emperor of France. Such was Jerome Bonaparte. There is slight wonder that the first impression which he made upon the fair Miss Patterson was deep and lasting.

Napoleon had placed Jerome in charge of a French frigate and sent him in quest of British cruisers. It was probably an easier task to find British cruisers than to avoid them; at least Jerome, who chose the latter course, was driven to the extremity of seeking safety in New York harbor. There he disembarked, and while waiting for an opportunity to return to France, gave himself up to the enjoyment of American society, which welcomed him with open arms. After visiting New York and Philadelphia he came to Baltimore.

The assembly that gathered at the home of Samuel Chase on an evening in 1803 represented the gayest, most illustrious society of the city of Baltimore. The interest of the evening centered in the dashing young celebrity, Jerome Bonaparte, and perhaps more than one maid had visions of conquest. But Fate was present and interposed a golden chain—not a figurative chain, either. It was during the dance that Jerome, passing Elizabeth Patterson, became entangled in the golden chain that she wore about her neck. Jerome fell almost immediate captive to Betsy's gracious charms, but that lady's attitude did not reveal the fact that her heart had started to flutter at the first mention of the name of so famous a personage. She received his attentions at first very coldly, but it was not long before mutual interest was aroused. The Patterson family looked upon the growing intimacy between Captain Bonaparte and Miss Betsy with great disfavor, and finally she was sent to Virginia to avoid him. But those who had hopes of separating the lovers were evidently reckoning without the very decided wills of both the interested parties. Among other traditions of this romantic courtship is the story of how, on one occasion, Miss Patterson escaped from home in disguise, and, accompanied by a servant, rode to Baltimore on a mule to attend a social function with Jerome. The banishment to Virginia was no more successful from the point of view of the maid's parents. Finally, however, resigning himself to the inevitable, Mr. Patterson consented to the proposed marriage, under the condition that Jerome would not leave America until Napoleon had recognized the marriage. He had good reasons for imposing that condition, as by French law a man under twenty-five years of age could not marry

without the consent of his guardian. Jerome was at the time less than twenty, and the French ambassador, M. Pinchon, feeling his responsibility for the young brother of Napoleon, remonstrated, politely threatened, and quoted French law—all to no avail. Finally, he, too, was brought to the point of polite submission, and on December 24, 1803, Miss Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte were married by the bishop of Carroll, the highest dignitary of the Catholic Church in America, with the attendant ceremony, paternal blessings, and all. Then the bridal couple went for a tour of the eastern cities of the United States, leaving to the perturbed M. Pinchon and to the Patterson family the delicate task of making peace with Napoleon. For this purpose Robert Patterson, the brother of Betsy, went to France and tried to gain an audience with the emperor, but nothing came of his endeavors. It is interesting to note that the wife of Robert Patterson was a daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and an intimate friend of the duke of Wellington. The Pattersons had more than a one-sided interest in the outcome of Waterloo.

The news of Jerome's wedding aroused the anger of Napoleon beyond everybody's most dismal expectations. He refused to recognize Miss Patterson as Jerome's wife, applied to Pope Pius the Seventh for a divorce, and ordered his brother to return to France on the first vessel in which he could obtain passage. Madame Bonaparte and Jerome continued to hope for the fraternal forgiveness and blessings, and when news was received that Napoleon had been made emperor they became impatient to return to France. The Maryland girl was about to attain an eminence beyond her fairest dreams; a member of the royal family of France—a princess and sister-in-law of the Emperor Napoleon.

Had Napoleon chosen the members of his royal family in the same manner in which he chose all his officials and associates—solely on their merit and ability—he could not have hesitated to welcome Madame Bonaparte into his family circle. Her gracious manner and beauty of person would have made her an adornment of his court, and she was possessed of a sagacity not always to be found in the princesses of Europe. Jerome counted on the generosity of his brother and the personality of his wife to bring about a happy reconciliation. Madame Bonaparte believed in Jerome and believed in herself. So together they set sail for France to attain the prize.

What was their dismay when, arriving at Lisbon, they were met by the stern decree of Napoleon that Jerome's American wife should not be permitted to land on French soil. Jerome hoped that a personal

interview with his brother would right matters, so, with many protestations of affection, he left his wife and set out for Versailles and Napoleon. Fortunately for the spirits of the young wife, she did not know that they were never to meet again. From Lisbon she set sail for Amsterdam, but that port, being likewise under the control of the emperor, also excluded the fair young exile. Finally England gave her an asylum and Madame Bonaparte took up her abode a few miles from London, awaiting the outcome of Jerome's interview with Napoleon. There, on July 7, 1805, the young Jerome was born. The mother with her little son, provided with the necessities of life, remained in England for two months without friends or relatives, through no fault of Jerome's. Then, despairing of Napoleon's recognition, she returned to America.

About thirty miles from the city of Baltimore there remains at the present day the beautiful old estate of Rosemont. This estate was furnished Madame Bonaparte by the family of Jerome, for Napoleon desired that she should have every inducement to remain in America. In the midst of six hundred acres of farm and woodland stands the stately old mansion. It is a spacious stone edifice surrounded by beautiful lawns. The whole appearance is one of past magnificence and grandeur. The big glass doors of the front entrance open on to a portico from which one descends to the lawn shaded by grand old pines and hemlocks. From the rear portico one steps upon the "Josephine" pathway, bordered by boxwood which is grown to such a size that it almost closes the pathway. The interior of the mansion is a series of delights, rooms upon rooms—thirty-eight in all—opening into one another in most unexpected places and angles. At the present day the estate is used by Mrs. Mary Kalbash of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as a summer home, but it still retains the atmosphere of its French origin, and it is easy to picture the beautiful young wife of Jerome Bonaparte wandering about its vast domains in quest of that peace which she could not find on this side of the Atlantic.

In the meanwhile, Napoleon, not being able to induce Pope Pius to grant a divorce for his brother from Madame Bonaparte, declared himself superior to canon law and made his annulment of the wedding final. Jerome, whatever his intentions had been, was easily influenced by the will of his brother, and submitted in 1807 to being married to the Princess Catherine of Württemberg, thereby securing an alliance with a royal family of Europe—certainly of more advantage to Napoleon than a simple American alliance.

AN AMERICAN PRINCESS

Madame Bonaparte remained at her American home until after Waterloo. During this time the most exquisite qualities of her nature were revealed in the constant devotion she bestowed upon her little son. She herself cared for his early education, and she centered her entire ambition on the welfare of the young Jerome, a boy of exceptional beauty and intelligence.

In 1815, Madame Bonaparte visited Europe, where she was received in a manner suitable to her station and beauty. This was the first of her visits to the continent, which covered most of the years 1815-1822, during which time she revelled in the society of the highest courts of England, France, and Italy, and made many illustrious acquaintances. While she was in America Jerome attended Mount St. Mary's College and Harvard, but he obtained most of his education abroad. His mother's fond hope was that he should marry a European girl of noble birth, and an effort was made to bring about an alliance with a distant connection of the Bonaparte family. When, in 1821, Madame Bonaparte and her son visited the mother of Jerome and Napoleon in Rome, the grandmother and aunt of the young Jerome also became interested in furthering this proposed alliance. But Jerome never received more from his father's family than a kindly interest. We find that in 1827 he visited his father himself, and later in life he made several visits to the court of Napoleon III. Aside from such incidents, nothing ever came of his connection with the Bonaparte family.

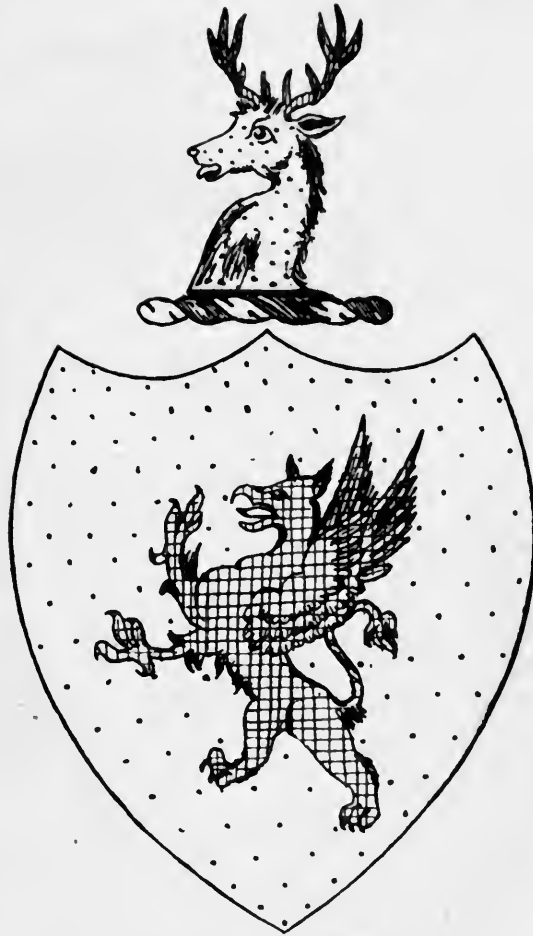
All of Madame Bonaparte's fond hopes were destined to be blasted when, 1822, her son committed the unpardonable indiscretion of marrying an American girl. Madame Bonaparte was grievously disappointed, and, feeling that she no longer had anything serious in life to deserve her energies, gave herself up to a life of pleasures. In 1824 she made a short visit to America—to the "small trading town of Baltimore," as she phrased it,—but hurried back to Europe in less than a year. She remained in Europe this time until 1834, constantly moving from one country to another restlessly. Wherever she went she was held in great honor and all society took delight in paying homage to this American princess who seemed to be possessed of everlasting beauty and charm. In 1825 she attended the reception given to Lafayette when he returned to France from his last visit to the United States, and it is a matter of record that on that occasion no one was more honored than she. When she finally came back to the United States in 1834 it was to live a life of retirement. She was, as she did not hesitate to say, thoroughly disgusted with American society, and from this time

on held herself steadily aloof from all things American. Napoleon as long as he reigned had given her an income of sixty thousand francs—in addition to the mansion in Carroll county, Maryland, already described. Her father, too, was still a man of great wealth, and Madame Bonaparte had no cause to fear the wolf at the door. For some time she continued to live on her estate at Rosemont—a very lonely life, we may well believe. For her nature had now grown suspicious, and she was in constant dread of imaginary disasters. When her grandson was born she transferred to him the hopes that his father had disappointed, and until the day of her death cherished the belief that he would sometime become the emperor of the French. Madame Bonaparte never forgot that she was a member of an emperor's family, not even after she removed to Baltimore and took up her residence in a simple boarding house. There this ambitious lady continued to live in almost undiminished beauty until the time of her death in 1879. During these long years of partial seclusion she was wont to spend hours going through her trunks filled with the beautiful gowns she had worn in the period when her star was in the ascendant. She used to tell to the young people who would gather about her the story of her brilliant achievements, and thus lived again in her declining age the glories of her youth.

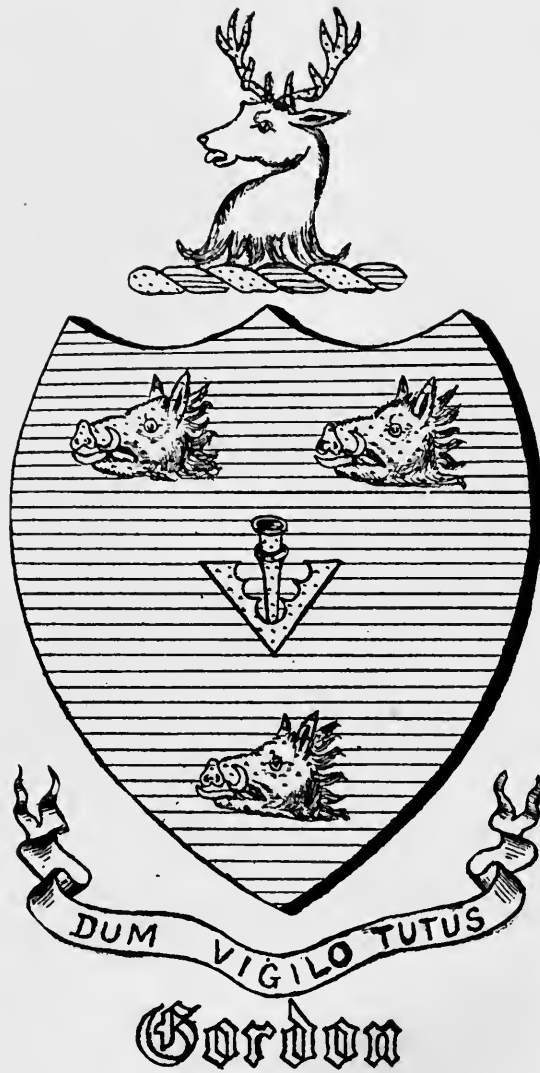
According to her request, Madame Bonaparte was buried in a solitary lot in Greenmount Cemetery in Baltimore; she said that she had been alone in life and desired to remain alone in death.

The story of the exile of the island of St. Helena has no more pathos than this of the Maryland girl who aspired to become a princess. Both had known the glory of dreams about to be realized. Both had known the anguish of seeing their dreams vanish away, and both had known the desolation of an end of life far removed from the scenes of their conquests. One biographer thus expresses Madame Bonaparte's right to a corner in the House of Fame: "Her story lives because it appeals to the heart."





Morgan



American Armorial Index

Surnames Borne by American Families for Which Coat
Armor is Blazoned by Heraldic Authorities

[Continued]



IN VOLUME X, No. 4, THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY began the publication of a comprehensive list of American families entitled to claim coats of arms on the historical foundation of recorded and authenticated heraldic grants to an individual or individuals of corresponding surname in each instance. Such a list is of value for various purposes of reference. The series will be continued in future numbers of THE JOURNAL until the alphabet is completed.

D

Daam	Dalwig	Dare
Dabney (Daubeny)	Daly (Dealy)	Darell
Dabridgecourt	Dalzell	Darley
Dach	Daman	Darling
Dacosta	Damarell	Darlington
Dacre	Dame	Darnall
Dade	Damen	Dart
Daggett (Doggett)	Dammartin	Darwin
Dagworthy (Dag- worth)	Danby	Dashwood
Dahlman	Dandridge	Daum
Dakin	Dane	Daunt
Dale	Dangerfield	Davenport
Daleman	Daniel (Dainell and Daniels)	Davey
Daley (Dally)	Danielson	David
Dalgetty	Dappen	Davidson
Dallas	Dapper	Davie
Dalman	Dapping	Davies
Dalrymple	Darby	Davis
Dalton	Darcy	Davison
		Dawes

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Dawson	Delaval	De Sille (Desille)
Day	De la Warr	Desmond
Dayton	Dellinger	Despeauz
Deacon	Delpé	Detwyler (Detweiler)
Deale	De Luce	Deutsch
Dean	Deluze	De Veaux
Deane	De Meyer	Devereaux
Dear	De Mille	Devlin
Death	De Mott	De Voe
Debevoise (Debb-	Dempsey	De Wald (Dewalt)
vots)	Demuth	Dewandalrert
De Bouchelle	Denham	Deweese (Deweis and
De Carteret	Denison	Dewys)
Deck	Denn	Dewell
Decker	Dennel	Dewey
De Courcy	Denner	Dewing
De Die	Dennie (Denny)	Dewitt
Deens	Dennis	De Wolfe
Deering (Dering)	Denniston	Dexter
De Forest	De Normandie	Dey
Degarmo	Denottbeck	Deyman
Degen	Dent	Deys
De Graef	Denton	Diamond (Dymond)
De Groot (Groat)	De Pau	Dick
De Hart	Depew	Dickens
De Haven	De Peyster	Dickey
De Kalb	Depue (De Puy)	Dickhoff
De Kay	Derby	Dickinson (Dicken-
De Koven	De Ridder	son)
De Kraft	De Reimer	Dickson
De Lacy	Dering	Diebolt
De Lafayette	Derr	Diddier
Delafield	Dersch	Dieffenbach
De la Grange	De Russy	Dieffenbocher
Delamont	Desbron (Disbron	Dieh
De Lancey	and Disbrough)	Dieter (Teetor)
Delano	Desbrosses	Dieterich
Delanoy	Deschames	Dietz
Delany	Deschler (Dischler)	Digby (Digbie)
Delaps	Deshon	Digges

AMERICAN ARMORIAL INDEX

Dike	Donavan	Driver
Dill	Donnell	Druck
Dillbeck	Donnelly	Drummond
Dillingham	Donner	Drury
Dillman	Dorchester	Dryden
Dillon	Dore	Drysdale
Dimmick (Dimmoch and Dymoke)	Dorffinger	Duane
Dimocke (Dimock)	Dorfflinger	Dubois (also Du Boys)
Dimond	Dorman	Dubreil (also Du- bruil)
Dimsdale	Dorr	Dubs
Dingley	Dorrington	Ducane
Dinwiddie	Dorsch	Duche
Diodati	Dorst	Ducker
Dippel	Doubleday	Dudley
Ditmar	Doughty	Due
Dix	Douglas	Duell
Dixie	Dow	Duer
Dixon	Dowd	Duff
Dixwell	Downe	Duffie
Doane	Downes	Duffield
Dobbins (Dobbyn's)	Downing	Duggan
Dobler	Downman	Duhamel
Dobson	Downs	Duhring (Duhren)
Dochman	Doyle	Duke
Dod	Doyley	Dulany
Dodd	Drack	Dumaresq
Doddridge	Drake	Dumas
Dodge	Drakley	Dummer
Dodson	Draper	Dumont
Dodsworth	Drayton	Dun (also Dunn)
Doe	Dreher	Dunbar
Dolbeare	Dresch (Dress)	Duncan
Dold (Dolt)	Drew	Dundas
Dolley	Drexel	Dungass
Dollinger	Dries	Dunham
Dolman	Driesbach	Dunlop
Dominick	Driesch	Dunning
Dommer	Drill	Dunsmore
Donaldson	Drinkwater	Dunstable
Donat	Drion	
	Driscoll	

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Dunster	Duren (Van)	Dyce
Du Pont	Durham	Dyck (Van)
Durand	Dury	Dye
Durandt (also Durrant and Durrant)	Dutton	Dyer (also Dwyer)
Durbrow	Duvall	Dyke
Durell	Duyckink	Dynn
	Duyn (Van)	Dyson

E

Eager	Edwards	Elmore
Eagle	Eels	Elphinstone
Eames	Egan	Elton
Earl	Egberts	Eltonhead
Earle	Egel	Eltz
East	Egen	Elwell
Eastman	Egerley	Elwyn
Easton	Eggleston	Ely
Eaton	Egmont	Embree
Eberle	Ehrhardt	Embury
Eberlin	Ehrman	Emerick
Ebersohl	Eichelberg	Emerson
Ebersold	Eichelberger	Emery
Ebert	Eichholtz	Emlen
Eblé	Eichler	Emmett
Ebly	Eisenhardt	Enck
Eccles	Eisenmeyer	Endicott
Eccleston	Eissinger	Endres
Eckel	Elder	Endt
Ecker	Eldred	Engelbreght
Eckgardt	Eldridge	Engelbret
Edelmann	Elkins	Engeldrecht
Eden	Elkinson	Engelhardt
Edge	Ellenberger	England
Edgecombe	Eller	Engler
Edgerly	Ellicott	English
Edgerton (also Eger-ton)	Elliott (also Elliott and Eliot)	Ennis
Edmond (also Edmonds and Edmonds)	Ellis	Ensign
Edmonstone	Ellsworth (also Ellsworth)	Ensor
Edrington	Elmendorf	Epps
	Elmer	Erb
		Erback
		Erben

AMERICAN ARMORIAL INDEX

Erdman
 Erdt
 ErnsI
 Ernst
 Ernstmayr (Ernst-
 meyer)
 Errington
 Erskine
 Ertel
 Eschenbach
 Esmonde
 Espony

Espy
 Eustace
 Evald
 Evans
 Everard
 Everden
 Everest
 Everett
 Everhardt
 Everingham
 Everton
 Ewald

Ewell
 Ewer
 Ewers
 Ewig
 Ewing
 Ewyck
 Eyre
 Eyrich
 Eyson
 Eytoun
 Ezel
 Ezle



Faas
 Faber
 Fagan
 Fair
 Fairbairn
 Fairbrother
 Fairclough
 Fairfax
 Fairfield
 Fairlie
 Fairweather
 Falck
 Falconer
 Falk
 Falkner
 Fall
 Fallowes
 Fane
 Fanning
 Fanshawe
 Farley
 Farlow
 Farmer
 Farnham
 Farquhar
 Farquharson
 Farrant
 Farrar

Farrell
 Farren
 Farrington
 Farrow
 Farwell
 Fassett
 Faulkner
 Faunce
 Fauntleroy
 Faure
 Faust
 Fawcett
 Fay
 Feake
 Feder
 Felden
 Fell
 Felle
 Feller
 Fellows
 Felt
 Felton
 Feltz
 Fenn
 Fenner
 Fenton
 Fenwick
 Fer

Ferdnandt
 Ferguson
 Fernandez
 Ferrand
 Ferrer
 Ferrier
 Ferris
 Fersler
 Feuerstein
 Fevry
 Fey
 Fidler
 Fife
 Fifield
 Figueras
 Filbert
 Filmore (also Phil-
 more and Phili-
 more)
 Finch
 Finck
 Findlay (also Find-
 ley)
 Fink
 Finkel
 Finlay
 Finney (also Phin-
 ney)

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Firman (also Fir- min)	Fluck	Frederick
Fischbach	Fogg	Freeland
Fischborn	Fogge	Freeman
Fischer	Foley	Freer
Fish	Foller	Freidel
Fishborne	Follett	Freiss
Fisher	Folliot	Fremont
Fiske	Foner	French
Fitch	Fones	Freundt
Fitchett	Fontaine	Frey
Fitz-Alan	Foote	Freytag
Fitzalwyn	Forbes	Frick
Fitzgerald	Ford	Friedman
Fitzgibbon	Fordham	Friend
Fitzherbert	Forman	Fritsch
Fitzhugh	Forney	Fritz
Fitzmaurice	Forrest	Frölich
Fitzpatrick	Forrester	Frolick
Fitzrandolph	Forst	Frost
Fitzsimons	Forster (also Fos- ter)	Frothingham
Fitzwalter	Forsyth	Fry (also Frye)
Fitzwilliam	Fort	Fryer
Flanagan	Fortescue	Fuchs
Flanders	Forth	Fuhrman
Fleck	Forth	Fulham (also Ful- lam)
Fleet	Forward	Fuller
Fleetwood	Foss	Fullerton
Fleischer	Foulke	Fulton
Fleischmann	Fournier	Funck
Fleming	Fowke	Funk
Fletcher	Fowle	Funké
Fleury	Fowler	Funston
Flick	Fox	Furness
Flinn (also Flynn)	Foxcroft	Furst
Flint	Foxwell	Fuss
Flood	Frances (also Fran- cis)	Fyers
Florence	Frank	Fyfe
Flower	Frankland	Fyler
Floyd	Franklin	
Flubacke	Fraser	

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Gabel	Garvin	Geris
Gabriel	Gary	Gerlach
Gachon	Gaskell (also Gas-	Gerling
Gadsby	kill)	Germain
Gadsen	Gass	German (also Ger-
Gage	Gasser	mann)
Gaines	Gassman	Gern
Galbraith	Gassner	Gerner
Gale	Gast	Gernet
Gall	Gaston	Gernon
Gallagher	Gates	Gerr
Galland	Gatschet	Gerrard
Gallatin	Gattermayr (also	Gerry
Galler	Guttermeyer)	Gerst
Galloe	Gattler	Gerster
Gallop	Gatz	Gerthner
Galloway	Gaul	Gescll
Galt	Gautier	Geselle
Gamage	Gay	Gessner
Gambier	Gayer	Gether
Gamble	Gaynor	Geyger
Ganet	Geary	Geyler
Gans	Gebhardt	Geyman
Gantt (also Gaunt)	Geck	Gherardi
Gantz	Gedney	Gibb
Garcia	Geer	Gibbard
Garden	Geest	Gibbes
Gardiner (also Gard-	Geiger	Gibbins
ner)	Geisendorf	Gibbon
Gardner	Geist	Gibson (also Gib-
Garfield	Geistweit	sonne)
Garland	Gell	Giest
Garlick	Gelston	Gifford (also Gei-
Garner	Genet	ford)
Garnett	Genost	Gilbert
Garnier	Geoghegan	Gilchrist
Garrett	George	Gilde
Garrison	Gerald	Giles (also Gilles,
Garth	Gerber	Gillies, and Gyles)
Gartner	Geres	Gill
Garvey	Gerhardt	Gillam

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Gillespie	Goldsmith	Grace
Gillett	Goldstone	Grady
Gillingham	Goldstrop	Graeme
Gillis	Goltman	Graff
Gilman	Gomer	Graffenried
Gilmore	Gomez	Grafton
Gilpin	Gönner	Graham
Gilson	Gonzales	Grall
Girard	Gooch	Gramm
Gische	Goodale	Grammer
Gist	Goode	Grandison
Givodon	Goodenough	Graner
Gladstone	Goodhue	Grange
Glaner	Gooding	Granger
Glass	Goodman	Grant
Glasscock	Goodrich	Grantham
Glasser	Goodwin	Granville
Glazebrook	Goodyear	Grattan
Gleane	Gookin	Gratz
Glen (also Glenn)	Goos	Grau
Glesser	Gordon	Gravatt
Glover	Gore	Grave
Gluck	Gorgi	Graves
Glug	Gorham	Gray
Glynne	Goring	Greeley
Gobel	Gorman	Green
Gobert	Gorton	Greenback
Gobin (also Gobyn)	Gosline	Greenbury
Goddard	Gosnold	Greenhalch
Godding	Goss	Greenham
Godfrey	Gossel	Greenhill
Godwyn	Gossler	Greenleaf
Goffe (also Goff and Gough)	Gott	Greenough
Gohr	Gottlich	Greenwald
Gold (also Goold and Gould)	Gottschalk (also Gottschalck)	Greenway
Golden (also Golding)	Goulding	Greenwood
Goldenberg (also Goldenberger)	Gouverneur	Greer
Goldner	Gove	Gregg
	Gover	Gregory
	Gower	Greif
		Greiffenstein

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Goldsborough	Graber	Greiner
Greisinger (also Gressinger)	Groll	Gulden
Grell	Groller	Güll
Gresham	Gronan	Gullman
Gretter	Gronde	Gulmar
Greulich	Groome	Gulston
Greveuradt (Graven- rode)	Gross	Gummere
Greville	Grossman	Gunn
Gridley	Grosvenor	Gunter
Griffin	Grout	Gunther
Griffith	Grover	Gurney
Griggs	Grubb	Gustin
Grigsby	Gruber	Guthrie
Grimbald	Grun	Gutmann
Grimes	Grundell	Gutte
Grimm	Grymes	Guttredge
Grin	Guerraude (also Guerrant)	Guy
Grindle	Guernsey	Guyon
Griswold	Guest	Gwatkin (Probably the same as Wat- kin)
Groenendyke	Guilford	Gwynne
Groesbeck	Guion	
	Gulcher	
	¶	
Haacke	Haem	Hague
Haag	Haff	Haight
Haak	Haffner	Hain
Haan (also Hahn)	Hagadorn (also Hag- erdorn)	Haines (also Hains)
Haas	Hagaman (also Hageman)	Hair
Habberton (also Heb- erton)	Hagar	Haise
Haberlandt	Hage	Haldane (also Hal- den)
Habersham	Hagedoorn (also Hagedorn)	Haldeman
Haberstock	Hageman	Halder
Hacan (also Hacon)	Hagenbach (Hagen- back)	Hale
Hack (also Hacke)	Haggard	Hales
Hacker	Haggen	Haliburton
Hackett	Haggerty	Hall
Hadden (also Had- don)	Hagi	Hallam
Haddock	Hogman	Hallberg
Hadley (also Had- leigh)		Halle
		Haller
		Hallett

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Halliday	Harby	Hartz
Halloway	Harcourt	Hartzell
Halm	Hardcastle	Harvard
Halsell	Hardee	Harvell
Halsey	Hardenburgh	Harvey (also Harvie)
Halstead (also Hal- sted)	Hardenbroek	Harwood (also Her- wood)
Ham (also Hamm)	Hardiman	Hasbrouck
Hamaker	Harding	Hase
Hame	Hardress	Haselrigg (also Haz- lerigg)
Hamer	Hardwicke	Hasell
Hamersley	Hardy	Haseltine (also Hes- eltine)
Hames	Hare	Hasidon (Hasidoun)
Hamill	Harford	Haskins (also Hos- kins)
Hamilton	Hargill	Haslet
Hamlin	Hargou	Hass
Hammaken	Hargreave	Hassell
Hamman	Harison (also Harri- son)	Hassett
Hammel	Harkness	Hassler
Hammond	Harlakenden	Hastings
Hampton	Harlan (also Har- land)	Haswell
Han	Harley	Hatch
Hanan	Harlow	Hatfield
Hancock (also Hand- cock)	Harman (also Har- mon)	Hathaway
Handley	Harmer	Hatherley
Handy	Harnett	Hattenbach
Haner	Harney	Hatton
Hanet	Harper	Haubert
Haney	Harrington	Hauck
Hanf	Harris	Hauff
Hanford	Harrold	Haug
Hanger	Harsch	Haughton
Hanham	Hart	Haupt
Hankinson	Hartford	Haus
Hanks	Harthing	Hausknecht
Hanley	Hartley	Hauseman
Hanmer	Hartlieb	Hausser
Hannum	Hartman	Haust
Hanson	Hartshorne	Haut
Harben	Hartwell	
Harbin		

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Havemeyer	Hefferman	Henne
Haven	Heffner	Hennequin
Haviland	Hegelle	Henner
Hawes	Hegeman	Hennessy
Hawke	Heger	Henning
Hawker	Heiber	Henrick
Hawkes (also Hawks)	Heids	Henry
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Hawksworth	Heilman	Henshaw
Hawley	Heim	Hensley
Hawthorne	Heimback	Henson
Hay	Heine	Hepburn
Haycock	Heintzel	Hepp
Hayden	Heintzelman	Hepworth
Haydock	Heinze	Herb
Hayes	Heiss	Herbel
Haynes	Heister	Herbert
Haywood	Heitz	Herborth
Hazard	Heldman	Herd (also Herde)
Hazlehurst	Helfenstein	Herdt
Hazlett	Hell	Hereford
Hazlewood	Heller	Herford
Heacock	Hellon	Hergoz
Head	Helm	Hering
Headley	Helt	Hermans
Heald	Helwig	Herold
Heale	Hem	Herr
Healey	Hemmingway	Herreshoff
Heap	Hemphill	Herrick
Heard	Hempstead	Herring (also Her- ron)
Hearne	Henderson	Herry
Heath	Hendley	Herschberg
Heathcote	Hendricks (also Hendrick)	Herschel
Heaton	Hendrickson	Hersey
Heber	Hendry	Hert
Heberling	Hendy	Hertel
Heborn	Hengel	Hertlein
Heck	Hengst (Van)	Hervey
Hedges	Hening	Hess
Hedley	Henkkel	Hester
Heermans	Henley	

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Hetzel	Hinkley	Hohn
Hetzer	Hinman	Holbeck
Hewes	Hinson	Holbein
Hewett (also Hewitt)	Hinton	Holbrook
Hewlett	Hinxman	Holcombe
Hewson	Hipp	Holden
Hey	Hippel	Hole
Heydecker	Hippesley	Holl
Heydon	Hirsch	Holladay (also Hol- liday)
Heyer (also Hiers)	Hirschfeldt	Holland
Heyl	Hirschman	Holler
Heym	Hirst (also Hurst)	Hollett
Heyman	Hirt	Holley
Heyne	Hirtzel	Hollingshead
Hiatt	Hitchcock	Hollingworth
Hibbard	Hitching	Hollis
Hiccox (also Hick- cock)	Hitz	Holloway
Hickes	Hoadley	Hollowell
Hickey	Hoar (also Hoare)	Hollywood
Hickmann	Hoard	Holman
Hicks	Hobart	Holmes
Hickson (also Hix- on)	Hobbes	Holstein
Hide	Hobby	Holt
Higginbotham	Hobson	Holtz
Higgins	Hoch	Holtzapfel
Higginson	Hochstetter	Holtzel
Hildebrand	Hocking	Holtzhausen
Hill	Hodge	Holtzman
Hiller	Hodges	Holton
Hilliard	Hodgkins	Holyoke
Hillis	Hodgkinson	Homan
Hillman	Hodgson	Home
Hills	Hoe	Homer
Hilly	Hoese	Homes
Hilton	Hoey	Hone
Himmelburger	Hoff	Honnywell
Hinchman	Hoffer	Hoo
Hincke	Hoffman	Hood
Hinckley	Hofmeister	Hooglandt
	Hogan	Hook
	Hogar (also Hoger)	Hooker
	Hogg	

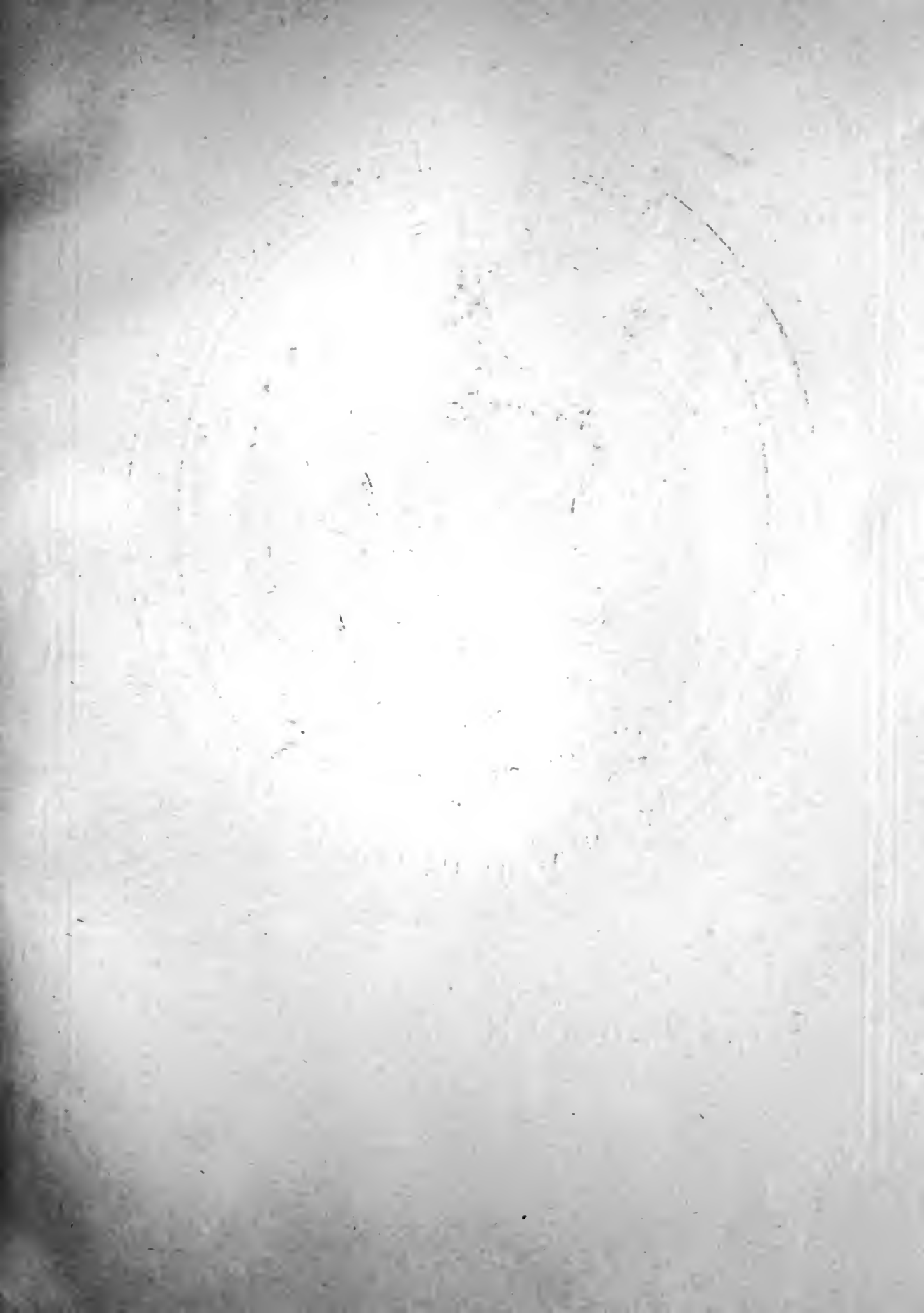
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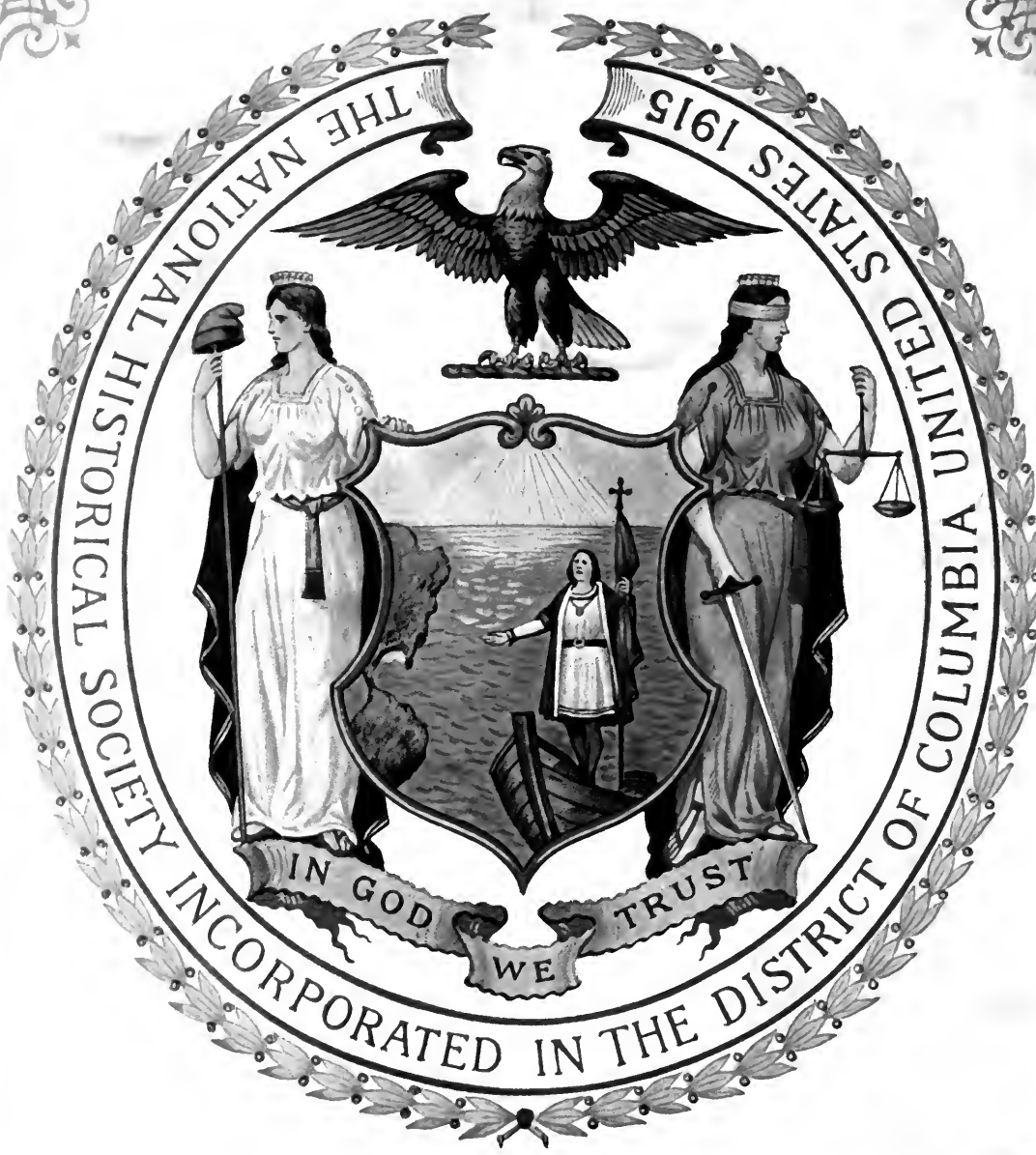
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Hooper	How	Hungerford
Hoops	Howard	Hunkin
Hoot	Howe	Hunlock
Hooten	Howell	Hunt
Hope	Howes	Hunter
Hopkins	Howeston	Huntingdon (also
Hopkinson	Howland	Huntington)
Hopman	Howlett	Huntley
Hoppen	Howson	Hunton (also Hun-
Hopson	Hozier	toon)
Hopton	Hubbard	Huntting
Hora	Huber	Hurd
Horch	Hubner	Hurdt
Hord	Huckel	Hurley
Horloge (also Hor-	Hubschmann	Hurry
logh)	Huby	Husband
Horn (also Horne)	Hudson	Huse
Hornbeck	Hueffnagel	Huso
Hornberger	Huet	Hussey
Hornby	Huger	Hust
Horner	Huget	Huston
Horning	Hughes	Hutchings
Hornsby	Hughson	Hutchinson
Hornsman	Huidekoper	Huter
Horseall	Hulbert (also Hurl-	Huth
Horsefield	but)	Hutler
Horsley	Hull	Hutt
Horst	Hüller	Hutter
Horton	Humbert	Huttner
Hosford	Humbly	Hutton
Hosie	Hume	Huyck
Hotchkiss	Hummel	Huydecoper
Hough	Humphrey (also	Huygens
Houghton	Humphreys)	Hyatt
Houlton	Humphreyville	Hyde
House	Hundt	Hylton
Housman	Hunecker	Hyslop
Houston		

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Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

The Membership body of The National Historical Society consists of—

(1) Original Founders, contributing five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, thus enrolling as pioneer builders of a great National Institution;

(2) Original State Advisory Board Founders, contributing twenty-five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected the Members of the State Advisory Boards;

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(5) Annual Members, who pay two dollars, annual dues, receiving The Journal of American History.

(6) Sustaining Members, who contribute five dollars, annual dues, receiving The Journal of American History.

(7) Sustaining Life-Members, who contribute one hundred dollars annually.

(8) Sustaining Contributors, who contribute annually any sum between five dollars and one hundred dollars.

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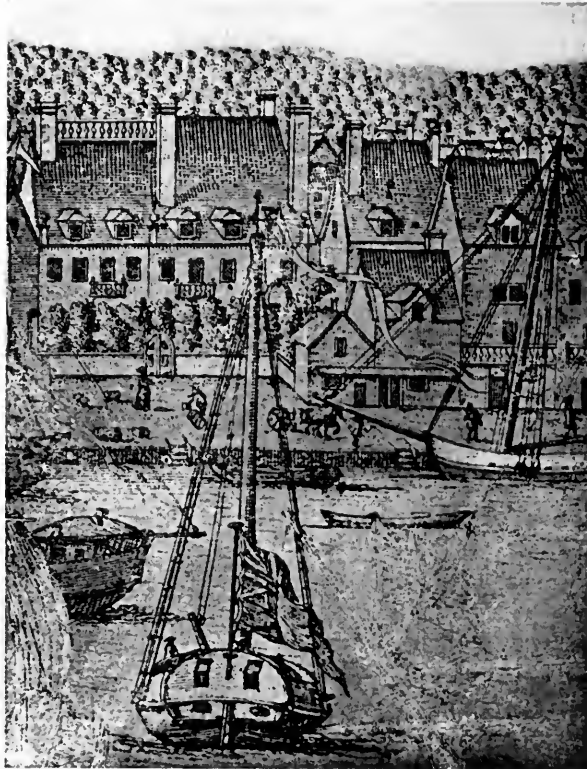
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THE PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE, YONKERS, NEW YORK

Residence of the Philipse family, conspicuous for its wealth and social position in colonial times. Owing to the adherence of the family to the British cause in the Revolution, its great estates were confiscated. The Manor House is now the City Hall of Yonkers.



THE OLD DE PEYSTER MANSION, NEW YORK

Rear view, looking out on Burnet Key (now Water Street), East River shore, on Queen (now Pearl) Street, opposite Cedar. It was built by Colonel Abraham de Peyster in 1695, when he was mayor. From an engraving published in 1717.



THE CLIFFS, SAN FRANCISCO

This rugged outlook on the Pacific Ocean is thirty-one minutes by street car from Kearny Street.



THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES

Sir

Camp near Behrens's heights
27 Sep^r 1777

According to your desire I send a list of the prisoners taken the 19th Instant, & likewise of those taken some days before & since that period.

I understand that the discourse which passed between Doctor Potts & Doctor Wood respected a mutual leave for a surgeon or physician to visit the wounded prisoners after an action. I have not the least objection to that idea: & if you have an inclination, Sir, upon the present occasion to send Doctor Potts or any other medical gentleman to my camp he shall meet with due working.

I am obliged to you for your attention in sending back the servant & the servant's wife & am

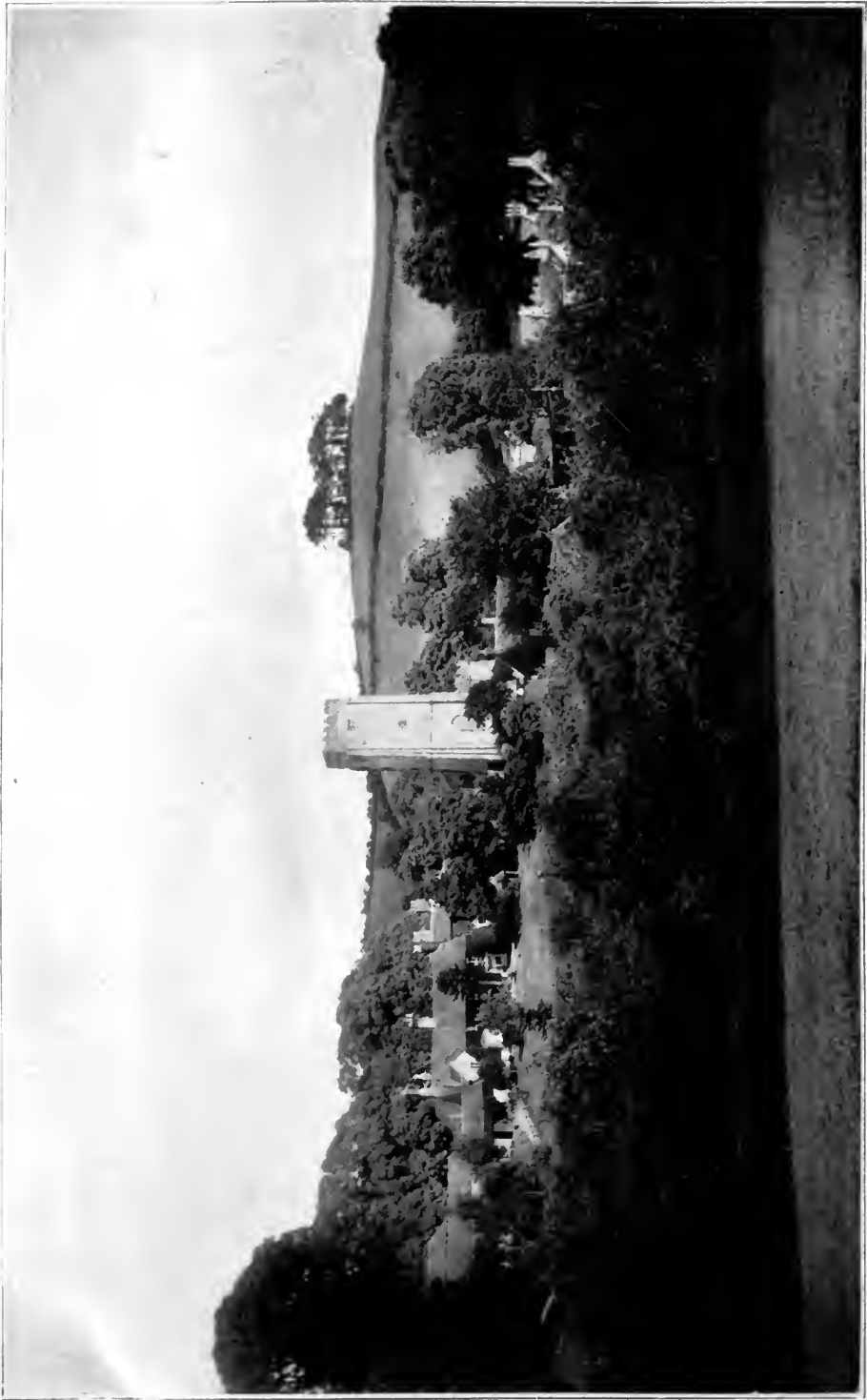
Sir

Your obedient
Attendant
J. Burgoyne

P.S:
Burgoyne promised my enclosing your letter sooner which you will excuse

W. Gen^l Gates

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER BY GENERAL BURGoyNE



THE VILLAGE OF BERRY-POMEROY, DEVONSHIRE

The Journal of American History

VOLUME XI
NINETEEN SEVENTEEN



NUMBER 3
THIRD QUARTER

A Genealogical Cause Celebre

An Analysis of Some Interpretations Which Obscure the
Ancestral Genesis of the American People

BY
FRANK ALLABEN

[Concluded from THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, Volume XI, Number 2]

VI

Colonel Pomeroy's Pedigree



IN THE preceding number of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY we discussed at some length the astonishing attack which the *New England Register* launched first upon the Pomeroy family in America, and then upon the Pomeroy Genealogy and its compiler, Colonel Pomeroy. We analyzed the *Register's* solemn argument that Eltweed Pomeroy of America could not be descended from armorial ancestors who had lived centuries before him because the names of two of his alleged relatives had appeared in an English "Poor Book." We also examined the contention that the

American Pomeroy's have no right to use the ancient coat armor of their family without first establishing by documents every step of their exact line, in spite of the most conclusive evidence that all who bear the name spring from the baronial Pomeroy's, as this particular surname has never been used by any other tribe of descendants.

We found that when Colonel Pomeroy protested to the *Register* against the "Poor Book" argument, the chairman of the English Research Committee of the New England Genealogical Society, Mr. Bartlett, sent over an order to the searcher in England to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree." We are now about to weigh by critical analysis the animus and force of this "smashing" campaign, and shall prepare ourselves to understand the issue by briefly looking again at Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree, and particularly at the alleged "weak point" in his chain of evidence, since here the "smashers" claim to have made a complete breach.

As we have seen, Colonel Pomeroy had a splendid foundation to build upon in establishing the British pedigree of the Pomeroy's, since in the judgment of English experts "there is scarcely a baronial family in England whose early pedigree has been so clearly and satisfactorily worked out step by step as that of the Pomeroy's in Devonshire." These materials the Colonel used skilfully in nearly one hundred and twenty-five pages of his book, devoted to the English ancestry, correcting and amplifying the accepted pedigrees for the earliest English period by means of critical researches published in the *Victoria History of the County of Devon*. Coming down, the skeleton furnished by the most reliable printed pedigrees of the Devonshire Pomeroy's is everywhere filled out, confirmed, and corrected by a constant resort to new documentary sources, Colonel Pomeroy's researches having produced a valuable body of evidence which his book exhibits in full and often in fac-simile. The work is altogether admirable, in the space given to such documents and to excerpts from printed works, enabling the reader to weigh the evidence for himself; and this method is continued down to the so-called "weak point," which is the parentage of Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster, County Dorset, England, father, as the Beaminster record shows, of Eltweed, who came to America.

Of all above and below the "weak point" I need not speak further, since it would ill become me to pick flaws where the searching flame of the *Register's* hostile eye has gazed and seen none. There is no doubt that at the "weak point" Colonel Pomeroy rested his case upon elements of fair probability, deduced from the evidence known at the

A GENEALOGICAL CAUSE CELEBRE

time he went to press; yet in spite of the *Register's* utmost efforts to discredit the Colonel's conclusions, a strong argument must still be advanced for the Colonel's view, which is rather confirmed than weakened by all the new evidence so far brought to light.

The names of children are significant in a large percentage of cases, and where no better clue offers itself skillful genealogists frame working hypotheses out of the family names. I do not know how Colonel Pomeroy reached his conclusion, but I recognize that my experience would have led me in a similar direction. My reasoning and procedure might have run thus:

According to the parish register, Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster had at least three sons, Eltweed, Edward, and Henry, who probably bore family names, including that of their grandfather; therefore search through the right period for every Eltweed, Edward, and Henry Pomeroy who had a son Richard.

But since the most striking feature of the case is the singular name Eltweed, search high and low for its explanation. This name apparently takes us clear back to Ethelweed or Ethelward de Pomerai who, Dugdale tells us, in Henry I's time became re-founder of Buckfast Abbey near Totnes and Berry-Pomeroy, County Devon, the Pomeroy arms being reported by Prince as in his day still visible in several places in the Abbey ruins.

Therefore keep an eye on Totnes and vicinity, seventy miles from Beaminster, since the name of Richard's son, Eltweed, establishes a high degree of probability that Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster knew himself to be linked with the same old family as Ethelweed.

Finding no Eltweed with son Richard who might be grandfather of Eltweed the emigrant, nor any available Edward with son Richard, but finding a Henry of Totnes (near Buckfast Abbey) with a son Richard, apparently not otherwise accounted for, all dates and known facts being also consistent, why should we not begin to hope that we have located our man, and so subject the appearance of probability to every test within reach? The further we could go without finding contradictory evidence, the greater would seem the probability that Richard of Totnes was grandfather of Eltweed of Beaminster.

No sane scientist works without hypotheses, and the "weak point" in Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree is this very Henry Pomeroy of Totnes, to whom our name-hypothesis has thus led us. I also call attention to the notable point that no evidence advanced by anyone to date shows the death or continued residence in Totnes of a Richard Pomeroy who

could have been the son of Henry of Totnes; while the *Register* itself claims, as we have seen, that "there was but one family in Beaminster," that of Richard, father of Eltweed. Although this statement is one of the *Register's* errors, no Pomeroy family of Beaminster is known antecedent to that of Richard, father of Eltweed. Thus Colonel Pomeroy found the striking coincidence that Richard, son of Henry of Totnes, evidently left Totnes and settled elsewhere, while Beaminster's contemporary Richard evidently *came* from elsewhere and settled at Beaminster.

In a case of this kind the appearance of probability should of course be tested by exhaustive research to secure the highest degree of probability by a process of elimination of all other possibilities, and if funds are not available for such a search, any publication of the probability reached should define its exact nature and indicate the work still undone.

But if Colonel Pomeroy can be criticised for printing his conclusions before exhausting the uttermost possibilities of research, the *Register's* experts should not be his critics, for in this respect and in this very connection they themselves have erred far more grievously; while their offense is greatly aggravated by its occurrence in an attack upon another's work, where honor and prudence alike demanded the utmost care and caution. We have seen that their first assault, on the wretched basis of the Beaminster "Poor Book," had to be covered by a further search to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree"; and we shall presently find that this "smashing" campaign led them into a premature publication involving them in so many new errors that in 1914 Mr. Bartlett prosecuted a *third* Pomeroy research in England, the results of which he for some reason has not yet published to the world.

Finally, if Colonel Pomeroy can be criticised because he did not emphasize the fact that his one "weak point" rested on probability, what shall we say if we find that in their work his attackers openly declare mere possibilities to be positive proof?

VII

The Suppressed Evidence

Critics believe that the value of historical testimony almost disappears where strong bias selects and manipulates the witnesses. More or less unconsciously a biased mind first selects carefully what suits its purpose, ignoring the corrective value of all that is of a dif-

ferent tenor. Then by misinterpretation and exaggeration the selected materials are further twisted until with necks stretched awry their distorted faces assume in the play of false lights the desired complexion.

We are all so prepossessed that none, perhaps, wholly escapes bias. He who constantly guards himself may reduce prejudice to a minimum; but can one who sets out under the guidance of bias hope to be an impartial judge?

We are about to test these canons of criticism. We have watched the *Register's* workers, under the strongest bias, set out to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree." With the most honest intentions can they pursue historical tasks in such a spirit without paying toll to error and unfairness? I propose these tests:

1. Will the prosecuting attorneys give us *all* the Pomeroy data they collect, or ask the jury's verdict on a carefully selected portion only?

2. Will injudicial haste to reach a predestined conclusion disclose itself in defective, unreliable, and erroneous testimony?

3. Will prejudice reveal itself by attempting to impeach the honesty and good faith of those it attacks?

4. Will unmistakable bias finally appear in distorting the force and exaggerating the weight even of so much of the testimony as we are permitted to hear?

The result of the research to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree" occupies pages 47-56 of the *New England Register* for January, 1914; and at once we see that our first test question is answered in the affirmative. On page 55 we read:

"Eighty Pomeroy estates previous to 1650 are referred to in the calendars of the various probate courts at Exeter, co. Devon, but the documents pertaining to thirty-four of these estates are missing; abstracts have been made of the papers relating to the remaining forty-six estates. The general probate records for co. Dorset, now preserved at Blandford, do not begin until about 1660. Wills of many testators, belonging to various families of Beaminster, Netherbury, Symondsburys, and other neighboring parishes, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Peculiar Court of the Dean of Sarum, have been read. Some work also has been done in searching the registers of parishes around Beaminster. No definite results have been obtained; but the region around Beaminster teems with yeoman families named Pomeroy."

The data here referred to are not given in the *Register*. Thus suppression of evidence is practiced by those who are attacking another for his use of evidence. Will it be said that the data withheld are immaterial? Every experienced genealogist knows this is not possible in a case of this kind. Desperate cases require a process of

elimination by gathering exhaustively all evidence on a surname, and not till this is done and the evidence laid before us can we sift and weigh the possibilities and probabilities. The prosecuting attorneys in this case give *themselves* the advantage of private examination of much evidence which they keep from the jury, from whom, nevertheless, they demand a verdict of "guilty" against the defense.

The reader will recall the original argument: Eltweed could not belong to an armorial family because his immediate relatives were poor; and the poor Pomeroy of Beaminster were his mother and brother because only one Pomeroy family lived there. This was the claim made; but in the paragraph just quoted, telling us of suppressed testimony, the ground of this original attack is completely destroyed in the words: "the region around Beaminster teems with . . . families named Pomeroy." If the prosecution's casual allusion to the suppressed testimony thus so greatly aids the defense, what would the complete evidence tell us?

Again, should it transpire that our fourth test question is also answered affirmatively, with the prosecution misinterpreting and exaggerating the force of so much of the testimony as is made public, how could we trust their bias in choosing what should be suppressed?

Furthermore, as the first attack broached the absurd notion that poor people never have armorial ancestors, the paragraph I have quoted subtly conveys the equally ridiculous idea that English "yeomen" never have armorial antecedents—as if the best blood of England had not recruited these landed freeholders from the Conqueror down!

This error concerning the antecedents of yeomen and poor men would in all probability be exposed by publication of all the suppressed Pomeroy evidence. Let us have light on all the "yeoman families named Pomeroy." To trace any one of these back to the baronial stem would as effectually dispose of the *Register's* snobbish theories as to trace Eltweed's line back; and if the Pomeroy of America should gather and publish complete data of all persons of this name in Great Britain, taking particular pains to ferret out all who were yeomen or poor, they not merely would overwhelm such misconception and false interpretation, but would make the whole world their debtors for an illuminating worked-out example of time's distribution of the blood of kings and nobles among descendants in humble circumstances.

Those who assert that Beaminster's vicinity "teems" with yeoman families of Pomeroy should give us the facts. We are entitled

A GENEALOGICAL CAUSE CELEBRE

to them, after such an attack. We should thus have abundant evidence that Eltweed's family, even were it as poor as has been falsely asserted, was not exceptional, but simply had followed the normal average which correct theory could predict in advance of any baronial family in England which had continued to multiply descendants from the Conqueror's time down to 1635.

Finally, the suppressed evidence bears directly upon Colonel Pomeroy's conclusion concerning the parentage of Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster. All the "smashing" researches of the *Register's* experts have so far utterly failed to find a better solution of this problem. Thus they cannot prove a positive, have attempted to prove a negative, and are hard up against the well-known axiom that "you cannot prove a negative." They deny that Richard was son of Colonel Pomeroy's Henry, yet have found no evidence for placing Richard elsewhere. Is it not plain that if they go on to the bitter end without finding another ancestry for Richard, reaction will naturally set in toward the view they have denounced? Meanwhile, as jurymen appealed to for a verdict, we have a right to demand the suppressed evidence, so as to see how far biased workers have already gone without success in establishing their contentions.

The suppressed records have apparently been turned over to Mr. Bartlett, who also made a further research in England in 1914, as I gather from his "open letter" to Colonel Pomeroy (15 October, 1915):

"The new records sent from England by your 'Efficient Professional Genealogist' are not new to me, as last year I secured all of them in England, and I have many more besides, much more important. . . . After your 'Efficient Professional Genealogist' has grappled with this problem in his next article, which I await with interest, I shall then supply the Pomeroy family with my own pamphlet already compiled, containing the *correct account* of this Pomeroy family."

The aggressor throughout, Mr. Bartlett here develops considerable ability in "adding insult to injury." Does he hold back the documents to "annoy the animals"? And after taming the whole Pomeroy tribe, and teaching them that he is infallible, will he at length feed their famished curiosity with the only genuine pabulum? My own notion is that Mr. Bartlett will have to revise some of his theories of English history before the "correct account" of this or any similar baronial family can come from his portfolio. Meanwhile one year and a large part of another have rolled around, and although our enlightenment is "already compiled," the "correct account" still remains in cold storage, while suspense goes tortured and apprehension slinks terrified under these awful cryptic hints.

Has the intervening time witnessed yet another Pomeroy search in England? If so, as late as 16 March, 1916, the elusive "positive" was still artfully dodging the exploring "smashers," for Mr. Bartlett then wrote me that "the ancestry of this Richard Pomeroy of Bea-minister is still *totally unknown*." Alas, does this mean that even the "already compiled" "correct account" leaves the vital issues a dis-heveled and unraveled dangle in the vacant air? The Pomeroy's have the consolation of knowing, however, that theirs has become a *cause célèbre*, and that in their interest southwestern England is being raked and harrowed with the undying resolution of a fine-tooth comb.

In passing from this section, in which we have learned that the *Register's* "bias" has practiced the fine art of suppressing much of the Pomeroy evidence, after carefully selecting the portion on which the jury's verdict was asked, I call attention to one point which may introduce the next division of our subject. It will have been noticed that in the foregoing extract from his "open letter" Mr. Bartlett asserts that "the new records sent from England" by Mr. Hoppin to Colonel Pomeroy "are not new to me, as last year I secured all of them in England, and I have many more besides, much more important."

Does not this throw a vivid light upon Mr. Bartlett's policy in suppressing Pomeroy evidence? It happens that the "new records" sent over by Mr. Hoppin revealed error after error in the little Pomeroy pedigree set up in the *Register* as a means of destroying Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree. In October, 1915, Mr. Bartlett acknowledged that he had obtained all these new records, and thus himself could have corrected the errors in the *Register* during the preceding year. Why then was he silent as the tomb until others brought out the damaging facts? Nor has he even yet made the corrections in the pages of the *Register*. Moreover, he adds that in 1914 he obtained "many more [records] besides, *much more important*." Is he suppressing these records for the same reason he suppressed the others?

I refuse to judge what I cannot see and analyze; yet I must accept Mr. Bartlett's own account of his method. Can he blame me, therefore, for a fear that his bias in this case is such that we dare not trust the fairness of his judgment in concealing the evidence he withholds?

VIII

Errors in the "*Register's*" Pomeroy Pedigree

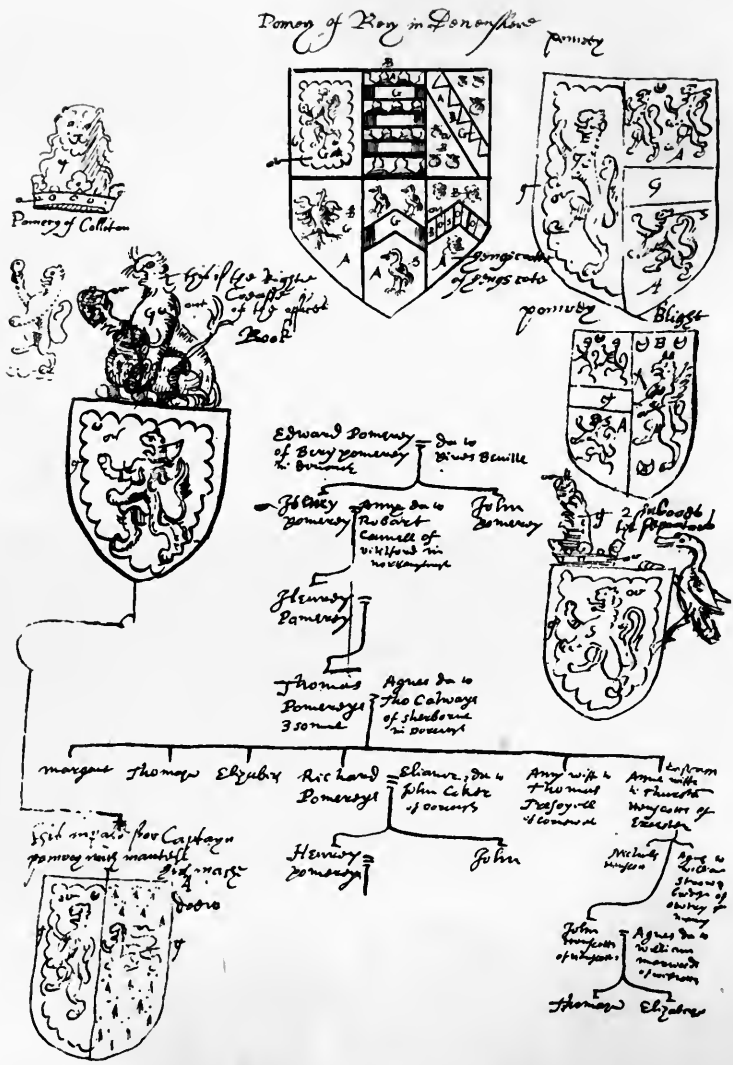
We now seek the answer to our second test question. The result of the search to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree," so far as yet "commu-



VILLAGE OF BEAMINSTER, DORSET, BIRTHPLACE OF ELTWITT (ELTWEED)
POMEROY



VILLAGE OF CREWKERNE, SOMERSET, WHERE ELTWEED POMEROY AND MARGERY ROCKETT WERE MARRIED

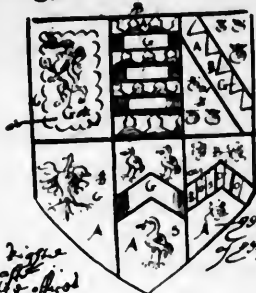


THE FALSE PEDIGREE, PRESENTED IN THE "NEW ENGLAND REGISTER," JANUARY NUMBER, 1914, FACING PAGE 47, AND CONTINUED EVER SINCE THEN WITHOUT A WORD OF CAUTION OR QUALIFICATION AS TO ITS UTER INACCURACY; GIVEN TO THE READERS OF THE "REGISTER" AS THE TRUE PEDIGREE

Pomroy of Boy in Doninglow pomroy



Pomroy of Colleton



Sir Henry de la Pomroy Thomas de la Pomroy
 Edward Pomroy of Boy pomroy of Doninglow
 Thomas de la Pomroy Margaret de la Pomroy
 John Baille



Nice de la Pomroy Anna de la Pomroy
 John de la Pomroy Robert de la Pomroy
 John Raleigh of Fardel in Dorsetshire



Thomas Pomroy Agnes de la Pomroy
 Thomas Pomroy of Doninglow

Margaret Thomas Elizabeth Richard Eleanor, dau of
 Thomas son of John Coker
 Pomroy of Raydon Pomroy of Dorset
 Henry Pomroy = Anne de Pomroy of William
 Son & heir living 1551 Huckmore



Richard Pomroy = son of Edward under age at father's death - ward of Richard Pomroy
 Edward Henry

John = Elizabeth = Margory Rocke
 Pomroy son of Edward
 Apr July 4, 1585
 Bampton Dorset

I certify that the above is a True reading of the words shown in the photograph of Harleian MS 2893 submitted to me this day, and that the heraldic interpretation is correct, after the representations in the said photograph supplied to me by Col A.A. Pomroy.

CA Hoppin London
 May 15, 1911

THE CORRECTED AND EXTENDED PEDIGREE, USED IN THE "HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE POMEROY FAMILY"

.iii.
xxx
R. TERRA RADULFI DE POMEROY.
Radulfus de pomeroi tenet de rege Willelmo Alunard
0 tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb p dimid v. iij. tra. e. v. car. In dno
e. i. car. 7 u. serui. 7 iii. uilli 7 iij. bord cu. ii. car. lbi. xxx.
de pra. 7 xii. ac pastur. 7 ii. ac silu. p.
Al. i. xl. solid. Modo uat. l. solid.

Iple. Ra. tenet Duncwinesdowe. Loui tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb
p. iij. vng. tra. e. xij. car. In dno fe. u. car. 7 x. serui.
7 vi. uilli 7 viij. bord cu. iij. car. lbi. xl. ac pra. 7 lx. ac pastur.
Valer. c. solid. Olim uat. iij. lib.
De his. iii. vng. tra. ablata e una vng. hanc tenet com mo
roni. tra. e. ii. car.

Rageri tenet de Ra. Tidetord. Wadels tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb
p dimid ferling. tra. e. i. car. Val. iij. solid.

Iple. Ra. tenet Alwinesclauuels. Leduin tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb
p dimid v. dim ferling. tra. e. ii. car. q. ibi fe cu. i. seruo.
7 ii. uillis 7 iij. bord. lbi. xx. ac pra. 7 xxx. ac pastur.
Olim. xv. solid. modo uat. x. solid.

Iple Rad. tenet Aissa. Lemar tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb pro
una v. tra. e. iii. car. lbi. iij. uilli 7 ii. bord hinc. ii. car.
lbi. x. ac pra. 7 ac pastur. Oli. xx. sol. modo uat. x. sol.
Hanc muat. Rad. ut franci angli testant. Lemar lib ho fut.

Iple. Ra. tenet Braunodufe. Loui tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb
p. iii. ind 7 una v. tra. e. xii. car. In dno fe. iii. car.
7 x. serui. 7 xx. uilli 7 x. bord cu. viij. car. lbi. xl. ac pra.
7 pastura. iii. leu lg. 7 una leu lac. Olim. c. sol. m. uat. viij. lib.

Rageri tenet de Ra. pusestord. Ledmar tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb
p dimid v. tra. e. ii. car. q. ibi fe cu. i. seruo. 7 ii. uillis
7 iij. bord. lbi. xii. ac pra. 7 ii. ac silu. Pastura dimid
leu lg. 7 ii. qe lac. Olim. xv. solid. modo uat. x. solid.

Iple. Ra. tenet horswode. Alunard tenet i. h. t. 7 geldb

THE FIRST OF SEVEN PAGES OF THE DOMESDAY BOOK, REPRODUCED
FROM THE "HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE POMEROY FAMILY."
NAMING THE FIFTY-TWO MANORS BESTOWED UPON SIR RALPH DE
POMEROY BY THE CONQUEROR.

nicated," appeared in the *Register* for January, 1914. In this article the "smashers" undertook to handle only seven generations of the Pomeroy line, where Colonel Pomeroy had handled twenty-eight generations. Yet shall we find bias in the *Register* so eager to arrive at its predestined conclusion that it is guilty of gross carelessness and serious errors even in handling a pedigree of seven generations?

Facing page 47 of the *Register's* article is a half-tone print from a photograph of a page of a Harleian manuscript in the British Museum. At my request Colonel Pomeroy has furnished the accompanying line-cut of the same. It will be noticed that this pedigree shows six generations of Pomeroyes, beginning with Edward and ending with Henry. The latter both Colonel Pomeroy and the *Register* identify with Henry of Totnes, but whereas the Colonel makes him father of Richard of Beaminster, the *Register* claims he was father of Richard of Cornworthy.

This makes seven generations in the pedigree adopted by the *Register* and published with its plainly-printed approval. Yet in this little pedigree, set up to expose the carelessness and incompetence of Colonel Pomeroy, the following errors have already been pointed out:

1. Robert Camell, father-in-law of Henry Pomeroy, second generation, is styled "of Vitilford in Northamptonsh," although "there was neither then, nor since then, such a place in that shire. Neither was there such a place in England; nor was Robert Camell of any other place in Northamptonshire" (Hoppin). Yet the Pomeroy Genealogy which they were attacking, accessible to Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Scott on a shelf in their Society library, had corrected this error, reading (p. 58), "Henry de la Pomeray . . . m. (2) Anna, dau. of Robert Cammel of Tittleford, County Dorset, widow of Henry Barrett of White parish, County Wilts; m. before 10 Sept. 1478."

2. The *Register's* pedigree makes "Amy" (Anna) Camell mother of Henry, son of her second husband, Henry Pomeroy, whereas the latter had no children by her, but had issue by his first wife, of whom the *Register* gives no hint. The Pomeroy Genealogy, at the elbow of Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Scott, had all this correctly, stating (p. 58) that Henry de la Pomeray "Married (1) Alice, dau. of John Raleigh of Fardell, County Devon."

3. Worst of all, the Henry Pomeroy who constitutes the *Register's* third generation *never was*. No such person, nor generation, ever existed. Here again the Pomeroy Genealogy (p. 58), so acces-

sible to Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Scott, gives the descent correctly, naming six children of Henry de la Pomeray and Alice Raleigh, including two knights, but not the *Register's* fictitious Henry, and leaving out, of course, the *Register's* interpolated generation. Mr. Hoppin has since produced from the Public Record Office, London (Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem, Series II, Vol. 30, M. 14, Devon), a document confirming no less than six generations of this part of Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree, as against the *Register's* corrupt authority.

4. The *Register* (p. 53) states that Thomas Pomeroy "married Agnes Calwaye, or Kelloway, daughter of Thomas of Sherborne, co. Dorset," citing p. 607 of Vivian's "Devon Visitations" as authority, though Vivian says "John" Kelloway, not Thomas—a good example of the errors in transcribing which I have spoken of as infesting documentary evidence. While the 1565 Dorset Visitation gives an Agnes, daughter of a Thomas Keilway, of Sherborne, Dorset, she was too late. Thomas Pomeroy "died before she was born." Hutchin's "Dorset" (iv, 194) and the Devon Visitation of 1531 probably state correctly, as against the *Register's* pedigree, that Thomas Pomeroy's wife, Agnes, was daughter neither of John nor Thomas but of William Cayleway of Sherborne, Dorset, agreeing with Mr. Hoppin's discovery of a will of William Kayleway, senior, of Sherborne, 1469, which mentions "Agnes, daughter of my son William."

Is this not an astonishing record in seven generations for experts who think it reprehensible in Colonel Pomeroy to disclose one "weak point" in twenty-eight generations? Were the Colonel's workmanship like theirs, they would be right—his pedigree would be "destroyed." Nor have I yet given their full record of haste and carelessness.

5. The *Register*, p. 53, says Thomas Pomeroy and Agnes Calwaye had "Thomas, b. abt. 1481; named as son and heir of his father as aged twelve years at the death of the latter, 29 Dec. 1493 (Inquisitions Post Mortem, Chancery Series 2, Vol. 9, no. 61, 9 Henry VII); not mentioned in the Visitation pedigrees of 1564." Mr. Hoppin afterward read and transcribed this document, and in his copy the essential part reads, "that the same Thomas died on Saturday next after the feast of the Nativity of the Lord (29 December, 1493), in the above written year of the reign of the King aforesaid, and that Henry Pomeroy is son and next heir, and is of the age of 12 years and more." The heir, then, was Henry, and not Thomas, as the *Reg-*

ister asserts! No wonder "Thomas" is not mentioned in the Visitation, while the *Register's* genealogy lacks the "Henry" of the document, whose testimony it attempts to give us! Let the reader again put a mark of approval beside my complaint against copyist's errors in documentary evidence. Had the original been destroyed before Mr. Hoppin consulted it, the *Register's* erroneous transcript would have perpetrated an error which no one could correct! Does the *Register* contain much work of this kind?

6. The *Register*, p. 47, states that the corrupt pedigree to which it adds a generation is from "the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, this MS. containing the Visitation of Devon in 1564 by William Harvey, Clarenceux King-of-Arms." Mr. Hoppin points out that the genuine Manuscript of the Devon Visitation is in the Herald's College, and that the British Museum's manuscript is "copied," "done by Jacob Chaloner," living 1620, "with additions by Mr. John Saunders," living 1652, "and others," living we know not when.

Thus our second test question is answered in the affirmative. The carelessness and errors so apt to occur when a strong bias hastens toward a predestined end are abundantly manifest in the little pedigree which the *Register* threw together to discredit Colonel Pomeroy's careful work. The exposure of the *Register's* errors naturally has called forth some ingenuity of explanation from the chairman of the committee which had "communicated" the erroneous pedigree to the *Register*. Hence we must carefully consider Mr. Bartlett's defense, in his "open letter" to Colonel Pomeroy, as follows:

"The photographed pedigree in Harleian MS. 1091 given opposite page 47 of the 'Register' article of January 1914 was not claimed to be a correct pedigree, or to be an authority, and the 'Register' was perfectly aware that the first three generations were incorrect; and for this reason when the 'Register' compiled the Pomeroy Genealogy on page 53 of its article, it purposely commenced with Thomas Pomeroy who married Agnes Kelloway, 'the earlier generations given in the photograph of Harleian MS. 1091 being omitted,' as there stated."

This defense is so extraordinary, involving implications so serious, take it how we may, that we must examine it with great care.

Who is "the 'Register,'" that "was perfectly aware"? This question is the more urgent because the article in the *Register* plainly shows a hand which was *not* "perfectly aware." To think otherwise is to believe some one guilty of a carefully calculated misuse of language in order to mislead the readers of the *Register*.

Let us consider this last point first. Accepting Mr. Bartlett's testimony that some one, whom he designates as "the 'Register'"

was "perfectly aware," the *Register's* article itself plainly shows that some one who had much to do with it unquestionably *did* consider the photographed pedigree "to be a correct pedigree" and "to be an authority," for the following reasons:

(1) Some one wrote in the *Register's* article, p. 47, "The Pomeroy pedigree which faces this page is a photographic reproduction . . . of Harleian MS. 1091 . . . this MS. containing the Visitation of Devon in 1564 by William Harvey, Clarenceux King-of-Arms." This is an incorrect statement of fact, as we have seen; but did the writer know it was incorrect at the time? Certainly not. The writer of these words was *not* "perfectly aware."

(2) The article states, p. 47: "*It has been proved that the Pomeroy family of this photographed pedigree was a younger branch of the very ancient armigerous family of Pomeroy of Berry-Pomeroy, co. Devon.*" Was the writer of these words "perfectly aware" that "the Pomeroy family of this photographed pedigree" was not a family at all, with "the first three generations . . . incorrect" and one non-existent out of six generations? Certainly not.

(3) The article states, p. 47: "In this photograph . . . the pedigree ends with two brothers, Henry and John Pomeroy . . . and to the name of Henry Pomeroy a symbol indicating marriage is attached, with a depending line that suggests that he had descendants whose names are not given in the pedigree. *The following records show who some of these descendants were.*" Had the writer been "perfectly aware" that the first three generations were incorrect, and one generation non-existent, would descendants have been attached to the last generation without a word of warning against the first part of the pedigree, and without a single critical remark to show that the last generations were more reliable than the first? Certainly not.

(4) The article states, p. 53: "From the foregoing material and from other sources referred to below the following Pomeroy pedigree has been compiled, *the earlier generations given in the photograph of Harleian MS. 1091 being omitted.*" Were the writer "perfectly aware" that "the earlier generations given in the photograph" were incorrect and one non-existent, would they have been thus treated as if omitted for mere convenience, because there were no new data to add to that part of the pedigree? Certainly not.

(5) The article, p. 53, in the next line after the words last quoted reads, "I. Thomas Pomeroy (third son of *Henry*)." Would

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the writer thus have attached Thomas to this Henry if "perfectly aware" that this Henry of the photographed pedigree and his generation were non-existent? Certainly not. Let me put it in another way. If "perfectly aware" that the Henry of the third generation was non-existent, would the writer, without a word of warning or explanation, have attached Thomas to a Henry, mentally intending the Henry of the second generation, though conscious that all readers must necessarily think the non-existent Henry of the third generation shown in the photograph was intended? Certainly not.

The author of all this part of the article, self-consistent throughout and writing in evident good faith, was not at the time "perfectly aware," nor in any degree aware, that the photographed pedigree was incorrect, or that it had ever been called in question. It was explicitly described, and used, as having such authority as an official "Visitation" can confer, being presumably correct. There is no doubt, therefore, that this writer was the searcher in England, without access to the Pomeroy Genealogy, which is referred to in such terms as "I am informed" (p. 55). These inferences from analysis are powerfully confirmed by my personal knowledge of the work of this searcher, assuring me that this photographed pedigree would not have been accepted without thorough testing had there been knowledge of the danger signals against its reliability which appear in Colonel Pomeroy's Genealogy. Thus the searcher in England, not having been "perfectly aware," is not the *Register*, for "the '*Register*' was perfectly aware."

Who, then, is the *Register*? Mr. Scott and Mr. Bartlett in conjunction, or one of them alone? Analysis might feel much less secure in weighing Mr. Scott's claims were it not for his reputation for prowling over contributors' manuscripts with compound microscope directed against the smallest bacterium of error. Not even a phrase escapes punishment, 'tis said, if it jars the delicate compass of his taste in splitting a hair 'twixt south and southwest side.

I may go out of my way for a moment to suggest that, apart from the correction of grammatical slips and ambiguous awkwardness of style, an historical magazine, and in particular a technical genealogical magazine, is the last place for the editorial steam-roller. For the first requirement in such a periodical is exact historical information, not literary style. Nine-tenths of genealogical testimony is interpretation; and it is important that we should have the reports of those who originally select and handle the evidence given us, in the precise terms,

with the very inflections, which they instinctively employed. Does not our present attempt to fix responsibilities and weigh values fore-shadow tasks inevitable to posterity in reappraising the published reports of to-day in the light of new knowledge? And does not the necessity of such analysis as we now are attempting reveal the mischief of any anonymous meddling of the editorial finger which will make it difficult to distinguish the voice of Jacob from the hand of Esau? Yet if Mr. Scott errs in the direction of an unwise tampering with his contributors' language, his failing gives our present inquiry strong evidence that the language we have cited from the *Register's* article could not have escaped his censorious scrupulosity were he "perfectly aware" that the photographed pedigree was inaccurate, not an authority, and "the first three generations . . . incorrect."

We must conclude, therefore, that Mr. Scott left to Mr. Bartlett the full responsibility of comparing the English searcher's results with the Pomeroy Genealogy, himself receiving and printing in the *Register* what the Research Committee's chairman "communicated," in good faith and with complete confidence in the chairman's discretion. In the opinion of Mr. Bartlett, therefore, Mr. Scott is not the *Register*, for "the 'Register' was perfectly aware."

Thus the inexorable logic of critical analysis conducts us, palpitating and frightened at the apparition, to the identity behind the awful veil. Who and what is the *Register*? Analysis replies: "The 'Register' was perfectly aware"; Mr. Bartlett "was perfectly aware," or he could not bear witness to the fact of awareness; while analysis vainly searches the sky for any other star above the horizon which at that time stood in this particular constellation. Insatiable logic forces us to go on, yet in the august presence of the dread phenomenon shrinking criticism may at least avoid the form of terrified affirmation and robe her inevitable conclusion in the more seemly horror of the appalling question, *Is Mr. Bartlett, then, the New England Historical and Genealogical Register?*

Thus, confining itself to Mr. Bartlett's own testimony, our criticism establishes the following facts: (1) that upon the *Register's* receipt of Colonel Pomeroy's protest against the assault upon the ancestral claims of the American Pomeroyes made on the ground of the poverty of Eltweed's relatives, Mr. Bartlett, as chairman, instructed his committee's searcher in England to "investigate" a "weak point" in Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree in the Pomeroy Genealogy; (2) that when the case made out in obedience to this instruction reached him,

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Mr. Bartlett, as chairman, "communicated" it to the *Register*, without a word to guard the *Register's* readers against the searcher's explicit language accepting the photographed pedigree as of Visitation authority, and presumably correct, although "the 'Register,'" alias Mr. Bartlett himself, "was perfectly aware that the first three generations were incorrect," that the basis of the *Register's* attack was not therefore "a correct pedigree," and that what the searcher had cited and used as authority was not "an authority."

I do Mr. Bartlett the justice of believing that he looked at everything in this case through the blinding squint of a tremendous bias; yet what end could he think of sufficient moment to justify the use of such means? What tremendous gain to genealogy required the "communication" to the *Register*, without hint or warning, of an article assuming as correct a photographed pedigree known to be corrupt, thus compromising the honor and reputation of the searcher in England, of Mr. Scott, of the *Register*, of the Society publishing it, and most of all of Mr. Bartlett himself?

This question also Mr. Bartlett has explicitly answered, and we therefore proceed at once to examine what he himself declares to have been "the sole reason" of "the 'Register'" for inserting the false pedigree in its pages.

IX

A New "Detecktative School" of Genealogical "Deteckating"¹

Having admitted that "the photographed pedigree . . . given opposite page 47 of the 'Register' article of January 1914" was not "a correct pedigree," nor "an authority," and having asserted that "the 'Register'" (his *alias* for himself?) "was perfectly aware that the first three generations were incorrect," in his open letter to Colonel Pomeroy Mr. Bartlett explains "the 'Register's'" use of this pedigree, without warning concerning its known errors, in the following remarkable statement:

"The sole reason for inserting this photograph in the 'Register' was to show the additions in simulated old writing which you appended at the *bottom* of your alleged photograph of this same MS. which you inserted in front of page 109 of your Pomeroy Genealogy. You thus made it appear that there was old evidence for your erroneous claim that Richard Pomeroy of Beaminster (father of the emigrant Eltweed) was identical with Richard Pomeroy, son of the last Henry Pomeroy of this Harleian MS. pedigree. These differences are now rendered more apparent than ever to your subscribers, as in your Supplement you place the two photographs opposite each other."

1. In this section I assume that the reader is familiar with the recently-published chronicles of the immortal "Philo Gubb," graduate and exemplar of "The Rising Sun Detecktative School of Deteckating."

Thus the whole truth comes out. The Rising-Sun-Stove-Polish-Deteckative - School-of-Genealogical - Deteckating had "deteckated" Colonel Pomeroy in the felonious act of attempting to forge a blank check under which he could carry away the entire baronial family of Pomeroy of Berry-Pomeroy with all its armorial bearings, and no doubt including all the family silver secreted behind the Beamister "Poor Book." It matters not that Colonel Pomeroy and the other descendants of Eltweed Pomeroy already had this ancestry and these arms securely bagged and under the lock and key of much better evidence. To the well-ordered mind of a Philo Gubb this but added a darker feature to the heinousness of the attempt. Nor can the School of Genealogical Deteckating be flabbergasted by Colonel Pomeroy's cunning in rendering his crime "more apparent than ever" to his "subscribers" by placing "the two photographs," the genuine pedigree and his alleged counterfeit, "opposite each other" in his "Supplement." Nor can Philo be hoodwinked by the further fact that the Colonel has furnished the same two telltale engravings to me, thus making his felonious intent yet "more apparent" in these pages. Such furtive devices only superimpose the deepening darkness of some desperate marplot upon the gloom and mystery of the original contrivance.

Yet Philo should explain one thing. If Colonel Pomeroy's use of the discredited pedigree is so dark and devious, how can the *Register's* wholly misleading use of it be justified? Why was it necessary to conceal from the *Register's* readers the fact that the photographed pedigree had been discredited? *Was this because Colonel Pomeroy himself was the very man, and his Genealogy the very book, that had done the discrediting by exposing and correcting the errors and avoiding the fictitious Henry of the fictitious generation?* The plot indeed thickens, requiring all the disguises of a Philo to convince those unfamiliar with the Rising-Sun methods that Colonel Pomeroy really tried to purloin his own family by "simulated old writing" on a pedigree which his own book exposes as corrupt. If the Colonel's contrived ingenuity in a fearful plot seemed as clear as noonday to Philo, it was equally clear that if the great deteckative had let the *Register's* readers know all the facts, they might have doubted the Colonel's criminal intent and thus have let a tremendous malefactor go scot-free.

Let us briefly summarize some of the appearances of innocence which the great Philo had to overcome in order to "simulate" a case of pedigree-forging against Colonel Pomeroy.

1. Philo faced the almost fatal difficulty, just mentioned, that

Colonel Pomeroy's printed pedigree openly impeaches the "alleged photograph" as genealogical evidence by rejecting its testimony in vital points. This fact Philo had of course to conceal completely from the knowledge of the *Register's* readers.

2. Philo knew that Colonel Pomeroy used the "alleged photograph" in a section of his book entitled, "Pomeroy Coat-of-Arms and Crests," and that the reproduction was there referred to only in connection with its drawings of arms. This, too, had to be kept from the *Register's* readers.

3. Philo knew that the "alleged photograph" was *not* used in the part of the Pomeroy Genealogy treating of the pedigree on which the photograph had a bearing, pages 57-69, for, as Mr. Bartlett has already informed us, the reproduction faces p. 109 of the printed book (really p. 108). This fact the new school of detectaking had to withhold from the *Register's* readers.

4. Furthermore Philo knew that page 108 of the Colonel's book, facing the "alleged photograph," contains a discussion of the Pomeroy arms by Mr. Hoppin which expressly alludes to the "alleged photograph" in these words, "*The photograph I enlarged and corrected from the manuscript in the British Museum at your order constitutes all the proof that can be reasonably demanded by any Society as to the Pomeroy arms.*" Certainly the criminal could never have been caught had Philo let the *Register's* readers know that Colonel Pomeroy thus openly had informed his "subscribers" that the "alleged photograph" had been "corrected."

5. Again, in the *Register* for January, 1914, page 55, we read, "Immediately preceding p. 109 in the History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family is a facsimile of a manuscript pedigree which is certified to be 'a true reading of the words shown in the photograph of Harleian MS. $\frac{1091}{21393}$ submitted to me this day,'" while on page 56 it is repeated that the reproduced pedigree "was certified as has been stated above."

Here again it was Philo's task completely to conceal from the *Register's* readers the fact that "the Register" actually *suppressed* a part of the certificate it pretended to quote, suppressing, of course, that particular part which showed that the Harleian MS. had been used as heraldic, not genealogical evidence, the genuine certificate continuing, where "the 'Register's'" counterfeit ends, with these additional words, "*and that the heraldic interpretation is correct, after the*

representations in the said photograph supplied to me by Col. A. A. Pomeroy. C. A. Hoppin, London, May 15, 1911."

Thus our third test question is very sadly answered in the affirmative. Behind his order to "smash the Pomeroy pedigree" worked a bias which soon launched Mr. Bartlett into a subtle attempt to reflect upon Colonel Pomeroy's character and give him the reputation of a pedigree-"faker," using as a means to this end a pedigree which without warning he "communicated" to the *Register*, knowing it to be incorrect, where a warning concerning its errors would have called attention to the evidence in the Pomeroy Genealogy that Colonel Pomeroy had *not* used the corrected document as genealogical testimony, thus delivering the *Register's* readers from Mr. Bartlett's insinuation and their own natural inference under it.

I call attention also to the successive steps by which the nasty insinuation against Colonel Pomeroy's integrity was fully developed. (1) In the *Register* for January, 1914, pages 55-6, Mr. Bartlett carefully guarded his language, leaving his suggestion simply to unavoidable inference. (2) In his "open letter" to Colonel Pomeroy he more boldly suggested an evil motive, speaking of "additions in simulated old writing," and adding, "You thus made it appear that there was old evidence for your erroneous claim." (3) In a letter to me Mr. Bartlett finally drew the full-length portrait of the ugly charges for which he had prepared the ground, writing that "the Pomeroy pedigree published by Col. A. A. Pomeroy in 'The History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family' is a *worthless fake*," and alluding to it again as "the Colonel's fake pedigree," as "his fake pedigree," and to other "fake pedigrees, like the Pomeroy."

I recall the infant days of my genealogical experience, when from some of the first volumes published by the Harleian Society I took notes amalgamating several pedigrees, which notes afterward I found of little use because I could not cross-examine the witnesses, having forgotten where the testimony of one pedigree ended and that of another began. I suppose our redoubtable Philo would have promptly jailed me as a pedigree-"faker," although I was unconscious of any intent to burglarize a baronial family or even steal a coat of arms.

Soon taught by hard experience, proper note-taking became a hobby with me, although I ever have found myself sterner with others about it than with myself. I became, too, a severe critic of the Harleian Society for publishing volumes which amalgamate pedigrees of different "Visitations" and even interlard these with modern addi-

tions, thus impairing the value of historical evidence, each part of which can only be weighed on the lips of its own witness. Yet I never quite believed the Harleian Society adopted this injurious policy out of depths of deliberate wickedness.

Thus Colonel Pomeroy was not prudent in using in his magnificent Genealogy, even as an heraldic illustration, the fac-simile of an old document combined with his own emendations; for while this made the application of his heraldic point simpler to his readers, unskilled in following historical evidence, the Colonel might have known that some pessimistic Philo with suspecting second sight would look down into the most secret caverns of his soul, read fearful portents there, and withdraw his horrified gaze full of the awful anguish of an interminable scandal.

But when a professional genealogist with Mr. Bartlett's experience out-Philos Philo Gubb, having no better excuse than Colonel Pomeroy has given him, is it not time to call a halt? Not yet has the hour struck wherein dictators of the New School of Genealogical Deteckating can with impunity undertake to tie a genealogist of Colonel Pomeroy's calibre to the whipping-post of their wrath, put him in the stocks of their public condemnation, and brand him to the world's scorn as a "faker." Nor will they ever succeed in such an exploit until wise enough not to begin "deteckating" by disguising their own case under a discredited pedigree.

Had Mr. Bartlett undertaken to expose real "fakers," like a certain scoundrel of high-sounding name known to him who actually forges records, I should wish him grand success. But I wonder if Rosinante can keep her feet, and this new genealogical lance and chivalry avoid splintering against windmills, when I survey the ambitious program to which Mr. Bartlett seems committed by these words in his letter to me:

"I propose to wage a hot campaign on fake pedigrees, like the Pomeroy. Eben Putnam has revived his 'Genealogical Magazine,' and in each number I intend to expose them. In the December 1915 number I showed up a fake Grant pedigree, and in the March 1916 number a fake Baker pedigree. Others will follow."

"Others will follow." Mercy on us! As soon as Colonel Pomeroy and Mr. Hoppin have gone up in smoke, must the rest of us, one by one, be dragged out by the heels and delivered up to flame? Assuredly 'tis high time I started this mournful Martyrology. And even as here I drop a solitary tear upon the memory of Colonel Pomeroy, I hope that after my own scorching exit some trembling culprit may still be left

to scratch the rude epitaph of my genealogical sins—with one line of extenuation,

“After all, he might have done worse.”

As for poor Mr. Hoppin, I understand that not alone has he been singled out for condign bodily torments, but that he has been eternally excommunicated from the gentle paradise on Beacon Hill, a bull against him having been promulgated in the closing paragraph of Mr. Bartlett's “open letter” to Colonel Pomeroy as follows:

“The New England Historic Genealogical Society and its periodical the ‘Register,’ for seventy years the leading genealogical society and publication in America, still hold their foremost position as authorities on the English ancestry of immigrants to New England, and observe with amused equanimity the harmless and futile aspersions of an ‘Efficient Professional Genealogist’ not admitted to its membership.”

“Alas, poor Yorick!” Mr. Hoppin, I imagine, spends all his time wringing his hands just outside the sacred portals, weeping, wailing, and gnashing his teeth over the hard fate of exclusion from the amiable company of Mr. Bartlett; while the latter, in this second revelation of his true estate, wears the purple robes of austere sublimity. Some time ago we tremblingly peeped at him as “the ‘Register’”; we now pale before him as the Society itself. Does the Society admit to its membership? The decree is Mr. Bartlett's, and he serenely issues advance notices of what his *alias*, the Society, will or will not do. We also notice that the one thing on which, by his modest confession, both the Society and the *Register* “still hold their foremost position as authorities,” is the one thing in which all authoritativeness notoriously is invested in and personified by Mr. Bartlett—“the English ancestry of immigrants to New England.” The only difficulty in this identification of the Society is the allusion to “seventy years”; but this no doubt is explainable either as successful concealment of Mr. Bartlett's real age, or as one of those elegant figures of speech that our rhetorics call hyperbole.

At any rate, mystery bursts his swaddling-clothes: not alone is Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, but apparently he also is the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. From the daunting presence of this awful apocalypse our frightened analysis flees into her next section, anxious to be done with her perilous task.

X

Proving a Negative

After the appalling personal mysteries we have had to solve, the simple analysis of genealogical evidence, which yet remains, should not long detain us. Though we laugh at the Beaminster "Poor Book" and all "poverty" theories; dump the "yeoman" and "serf" hypotheses down the back-stairs of British history; marvel at the "invincible ignorance" which cannot receive the broad historical evidence of the exclusiveness of the Pomeroy surname, and throw out in disgust the plotted concealments to cast an appearance of pedigree-forging upon Colonel Pomeroy, thus pitching the grotesque attempt to galvanize Philo Gubb into Bostonian actuality out of the camp of the muse of history and back into the dream-land of the muse of fiction where Ellis Parker Butler discovered the great character; though all these things we do, yet still will the unconquerable Mr. Bartlett claim possession of one remaining battery of guns that "destroy the *particular heraldic line* of ancestry that has been claimed for Eltweed Pomeroy." Therefore let us see about it.

We jump to the heart of the matter, the most exploited argument in the *Register's* case. This "Big Bertha" consists of two wills, and the shell she casts is their *silence* concerning surviving issue. But before even this noiseless explosion can wreck the "weak point" in the Pomeroy pedigree, the caterpillar wheels of "Big Bertha" must be dragged within historical range of the said "weak point," and in getting there must test trembling planks of mere probability in several bridges of large assumption.

We must assume (1) that the makers of the two wills were husband and wife (bridge number one); (2) that the maker of one of these wills was the Richard Pomeroy who was son and second administrator of Henry of Totnes, and not some other Richard (wobbly bridge number two); and (3) that the Henry Pomeroy whom the *Register* makes father of the will-making Richard of Cornworthy is the same Henry whom Colonel Pomeroy makes father of Richard of Beaminster—the last Henry shown in the heralds' 1564 Devon pedigree (bridge number three).

We of course must test these bridges; but first of all, for the sake of knowing the worst, let us temporarily assume that they are sound, that "Big Bertha" is over, stands within range, and has just belched forth her tremendous cartridge at the "weak point," charged with

10,000 tons of profound silence. Is all lost? Here is the shell (*Register*, January, 1914, page 54): "In his own will . . . he [Richard Pomeroy of Cornworthy] neither names nor refers to any children. . . . The will of his widow . . . neither names nor refers to any children. It is, therefore, perfectly evident that *this Richard Pomeroy left no issue.*"

Alas, what wretched aim! What does the "weak point" in Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree care whether Richard Pomeroy of Cornworthy and his alleged widow had forty children or no issue? Eltweed was son of Richard of Beaminster, not Richard of Cornworthy, and Colonel Pomeroy's "particular line of ancestry" is as much concerned with the question of the Cornworthy Richard's *issue* as with the tremendous question in physical science as to whether or not the moon is made of Roquefort.

The "weak point" and entire crux of the *Register's* case lie at bridges two and three, in the questions whether Richard of Cornworthy was the son of Henry of Totnes, and whether this Henry was the man of that name in the herald's pedigree. The *Register's* sole problem is to rob Richard of Beaminster of the ancestry Colonel Pomeroy claimed for him, and not to divert our minds from this by setting up for our amusement and breathless admiration an elaborate spectacle of determining a question of issue which is absolutely irrelevant, incompetent, and immaterial to the real question before the court and jury. The fixing of our marauding eyes in a wrong direction by drawing such a red herring over the trail is either a bit of humbuggery or evidence of lamentable weakness in the logical faculty of those who do it.

Not for the sake of the Pomeroy pedigree, therefore, but in behalf of sound historical interpretation, I pause here to ask, Has even the immaterial question of surviving issue of Richard Pomeroy of Cornworthy been actually settled by the *Register's* experts? Is it "*perfectly evident,*" even on the silence of two wills, that he had none? Certainly not. No negative has the value of a positive, no silence the force of affirmation. The silence of two wills, in absence of anything contradictory, can only establish a high degree of probability even on such a point as that of surviving issue. Such a silence, coming down to us from historical periods whose living witnesses all are dead, generally defines the limitations of evidence available to research, forcing us to *assume* that the high degree of probability thus obtained represents historical fact; and this habitual and necessary assumption in such

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cases the *Register's* experts have mistaken for, or have attempted to erect into, absolute proof.

But no canon of interpretation can stand which denies the possible exception in historical experience, however overwhelming the percentage of probabilities against it; for we never know in advance behind which particular case the exception hides, while we do know that this troubler bobs up unexpectedly, often inopportunistly, the skeleton in the closet and the spectre at the feast of all our highest hopes. In the kind of case at issue, while we know from human experience that in a vast majority of instances wills are silent because there is no surviving issue, yet from the same experience we also know that in a relatively small but aggregatively large number of instances wills are silent for other reasons in spite of existing issue.

An ounce of historical example is worth a ton of theory. I recently had an astonishing experience, illustrating not alone the occurrence of the silent will, but also the extremely freakish appearance of the exception, unexpectedly popping up, not singly, nor in a double, but as a triplet. Lately broaching this question of silent wills in our offices, I was amazed to hear a friend of years exclaim, "Why, my will leaves everything to my wife without the faintest allusion to the existence of either the children or the grandchildren I now have living both by her and a former wife! Moreover, my wife has made in my favor a will exactly similar in its total silence concerning her and my surviving issue! Furthermore, my father, survived by children by both of his two wives, left everything to his widow in a will absolutely silent concerning the existence of any of his surviving issue!"

These exceptional silent wills actually cast a majority vote in our office. Three in conjunction! Yet had I gone out to canvass New York City, I wonder how far I should have traveled before finding the next example. The gentleman who exploded these silent bombs at my feet is a Vice-President of The National Historical Society, while his brother is a well-known Episcopalian bishop of Michigan. Perhaps some disciple of the new school of genealogical "deteckating" and interpreting, stumbling in Ohio upon the will of the father of these gentlemen, will "permanently destroy" their pedigree, startling the world with the demonstration that they, like Topsy, never had parents but "jest growed."

Thus our fourth test question is affirmatively answered, the well-developed bias of the *Register's* experts in the Pomeroy case leading

them to boast of demonstration where only a minnow has been laid across the trail, the negative silence of immaterial documents being exploited as absolute proof.

XI

Collapae of the "Register's" East Bridges

"Big Bertha," set up at Cornworthy and loaded with the smokeless powder of silence concerning the issue of a Richard Pomeroy, not of Beaminster, has entertained us with a grandiose spectacle of harmless fireworks around the untouched "weak point" of Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree. We must get back to the *Register's* bridges to see if there is any emplacement for a smaller but less silent cannon that can really shoot a loaded shell.

1. Again it is immaterial to the alleged "weak point" whether bridge number one of the *Register* is sound or not. What does Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree care whether or not Richard and Ealse Pomeroy of Cornworthy were husband and wife?

Yet were anything depending on it, the planks of this conclusion would support the weight of only a very moderate degree of probability, and only so after they had been publicly tested in the light of all the additional evidence now suppressed by Mr. Bartlett. "Richard Pomeroy," will of 1621, appoints his unnamed wife as executrix, while as such, "Alice Pomery" exhibited the inventory (*Register*, January, 1914, pages 49-50). "Ealse Pom'ye," widow, left a will made and proved in 1623. Was she Alice, executrix of the other will? Who knows? The *Register* assumes the point without giving its grounds—a method which, of course, would be criminal if practiced by Colonel Pomeroy! Yet the two inventories disclose no common property indicating identification, while, very oddly for a husband and wife dying two years apart, not a single name in common appears among the two sets of legatees in the two wills. Both testators lived in the parish of Cornworthy, but the *Register's* experts thought it unnecessary to tell us if there were other Cornworthy Pomeroyes or to attempt to strengthen their assumption by a process of elimination of other possibilities. We should not be over-critical of such slipshod work where nothing material hangs upon it, although it has never been our own method; but does the *Register* imagine that such carelessness will overthrow the reputations of more careful workers?

2. Bridge number two, which is absolutely essential to the mak-

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ing out of any case whatever by the *Register*, is much weaker even than bridge number one. *The Register contains no proof that Richard Pomeroy, of Cornworthy, will of 1621, was the Richard, son of Henry of Totnes, 1575, named in the latter's administration record.* This leaves the *Register's* fundamental theory of identification only a mere possibility. It is indispensable for this theory to assume, first, that Agnes Harris, of Cornworthy, widow, will of 1601, was mother of Richard Pomeroy, same place, will of 1621, in favor of which we have only the same parish and the fact that Agnes Harris's will mentions a son, Richard Pomeroy, and the latter's wife, Alice. The strength of the probability here lies almost wholly in this naming of the daughter-in-law; but a point so weighty, where coincidences could occur, we cannot suspend from so slender a thread until the suppressed evidence, which the *Register's* experts have withheld, permits a thorough process of sifting and elimination.

But a still greater weakness of bridge number two lies in total lack of proof that Agnes Harris was widow of the Henry of Totnes of the 1575 administration. The Heralds' Visitation of Devon does not name this Henry's wife. Vivian's modern pedigree states that the Henry Pomeroy he supposed to be the one of the heralds' pedigree married Agnes Huckmore, widow of Edward Harris. Vivian may have reversed the true order of marriages; otherwise, Agnes Harris of Cornworthy must have married a Harris, then a Pomeroy, and afterward another or the same Harris. Her will shows that at some time she had a Pomeroy as a husband, and that she had lands at Totnes, but does not show that her Pomeroy husband's name was Henry. Vivian still further complicated the case by changing his testimony, in his "Addenda," to the statement that Agnes did *not* marry the Henry Pomeroy of the heralds' pedigree, but this Henry's great-grandson Henry, the ground for which change of judgment we do not yet know.

A final complication presents itself to our bewilderment in the person of the Henry Pomeroy, miscalled "Thomas" in the *Register's* article (page 53), who was born about 1481, and who, according to the *Register's* "genealogy," was great-uncle of Henry of Totnes, who died before 1559. But might not these two Henrys be the same, or one the son of the other, or the Henry of the heralds' pedigree different from both and yet the father of Richard of Beaminster? The necessity of considering such possibilities seems not to trouble the *Register's* guess-workers.

If the Henry, dead before 1559, was the Henry born about

1481, it is improbable that Agnes of 1601 was his widow, unless she, a very young girl, married a very old man. Even the gap between 1559 and 1601 reminds us of the popular, "It's a long, long way to Tipperary," and if Agnes really married a Henry Pomeroy, was he son, grandson, or great-grandson of the fourteen-eighty-niner, or of the before-June-fifteen-fifty-niner, if indeed they were different men? While if her Pomeroy marriage involved some Pomeroy other than any of these, who will tell us whom, where, why, and when? For myself, I think Vivian showed great sanity in hoisting a distress-signal of doubt on the flag-pole of his "Addenda."

But we are not yet through with collapsible bridge number two. There yet remains a mystery of *Richards* to vex whatever hypothetical solution we give to the mystery of Henrys. Whoever or whatever Henry Pomeroy of Totnes was, the commission of administration issued, 5 July, 1575, "to Richard Pomeroye, natural and legitimate son of Henry Pomeroye, late of Totnes," also tells about "letters of administration . . . elsewhere granted to a certain Richard Pomeroye now or formerly of the aforesaid Totnes." If Richard of Cornworthy was *either* of these two Richards, which one was he? Quite possibly, if Richard of Cornworthy was son of Agnes, he was neither of the Richards of the Totnes administration, but born in a later generation. In that case, who were the two Richards, administrators? So far as the indeterminate methods of the *Register* are concerned, bridge number two is at present one of those diverting structures across which almost any unchallenged assertion may be made to appear to gallop, but which breaks beneath the weight of the first step of critical analysis.

3. Life is too short to exhaust the possibilities of bridge number three—whether or not the Henry Pomeroy of Totnes who had two administrators named Richard was the last Henry of the heralds' 1564 pedigree. The *Register* builds its bridge out of airy assumption, although a solid structure here is absolutely essential to its attempt to discredit Colonel Pomeroy's pedigree. But, as we have seen, the point is not essential to the weight of solid historical evidence on which rests the claim of the Pomeroyes of America to baronial and armorial ancestry in the line of their surname.

My questions, which anyone may multiply at pleasure, but not one of which the *Register's* experts have definitely answered, show the true nature of that wonderful thing which Mr. Bartlett alludes to when he says, "the 'Register' compiled the *Pomeroy Genealogy* on page 53 of

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its article," a "genealogy" vastly superior, of course, to Colonel Pomeroy's "pedigree." "The 'Register' compiled" this "Pomeroy Genealogy," and what a brilliant thing of the imagination it is! What splendid resting-places for credulity repose in its great unshakable bridges, reared upon the infallible judgment, or even more secure pronouncements, of those Sublime Pillars that "still hold their foremost position as authorities on the English ancestry of immigrants to New England"—far from the madding crowd, high up beyond the flight of all "harmless and futile aspersions."

Our analysis of the *Register's* case is thus finished; but I must note a further development brought to my knowledge after this paper was written. When Jupiter Pluvius began to rain down genealogical pitchforks on the long-suffering Pomeroy's, at the suggestion of Colonel Pomeroy the intrepid Mr. Hoppin, attempting to get to the bottom of this sea of troubles, donned a diving suit and presently fished up in England several new documents. Contrary to all the prognostications of the augurs of Mount Olympus, all this new data amazingly—although of course very improperly—confirmed Colonel Pomeroy's sagacity as a genealogist, while leaving the *Register's* smoking pyrotechnics like a vanishing phantom in air. How cruel are the blind Fates! Yet at the risk of lese majesty I must briefly note the significance of the new finds. Colonel Pomeroy's *Genealogy*, pages 60, 62, 65, and 67, gives the following line of descent:

(1) .046 Thomas Pomeroy, married Agnes, daughter of John (or William) Kelloway, of County Dorset, and held lands in Cheriton, Fitzpaine, etc., settled on him and wife, 20 September, 1478. Inquest p. m. 9 Henry VII. No. 61. Among other children they had:

(2) .061 Richard Pomeroy, of Rousdon, County Devon, living 1531; married Eleanor, daughter of John Coker of Mapowder, County Dorset. They had two sons:

(3) .077 Henry Pomeroy, of Totnes. .078 John Pomeroy, living in 1531.

(4) .088 Richard Pomeroy, of Beaminster, County Dorset.

(5) .0106 Eltweed Pomeroy, of Beaminster and America.

Henry above (.077) is the now famous Henry of Totnes, of whom we have said so much. But it will be noticed that he had a brother, John, who is mentioned in the *Genealogy* merely as living in 1531. Mr. Hoppin, however, by a process of elimination, concludes that this John (.078) is the John Pomeroy, Gentleman, of Netherbury, County Dorset, a parish adjoining Symondsbury, where the father and mother of Eltweed died in 1612. Now if Eltweed descends from this John (.078), instead of from John's brother, Henry of Totnes, the previous ancestry will be just the same, while this John fits into

the genealogical reasoning which led Colonel Pomeroy to select John's brother, Henry, and which would have led me in the same direction, as I have already explained in this paper. I mention another fact for what it is worth. Eltweed Pomeroy, become a Puritan, gave his children the customary Bible names, instead of old family names; but his second son was John Pomeroy.

Thomas above (.046), grandfather of Henry (.077) of Totnes and John (.078), held the leasehold estate of Bowden, in Totnes, but married a lady of County Dorset, from whose father they had properties. Thus we have a first link between Totnes and Dorset.

Richard (.061), son of Thomas, just mentioned, and father of Henry of Totnes and of John, perhaps transferred his interest in the leasehold of Bowden, in Totnes, to his brother, Henry, in whose hands it expired or was diverted from the family. It will be recalled that the administration of the estate of Henry Pomeroy (.077) of Totnes, in 1575, to his son, Richard, annuls a previous grant of administration to another Richard Pomeroy "now or formerly of the aforesaid Totnes." Mr. Hoppin propounds the very intelligent theory that this first administrator was Richard (.061), grandfather of the last administrator, acting to safeguard the property from his son's widow in favor of his grandson, then a minor. In any case this Richard (.061) also married a Dorset lady, daughter of John Coker of Mapowder, forming another link between Totnes, County Devon, and County Dorset. Indeed, if there be anything to show that this Richard and his wife, Eleanor Coker, one or both, did not themselves eventually settle and die in County Dorset, I have not been informed of it.

Certainly John Pomeroy, Gent. (their son, in Mr. Hoppin's judgment), settled in western Dorset, and in a chancery suit, muster roll, and lay subsidies, 1525-1543, appears there as of Netherbury and Stoke Abbot. He was thus not far from his mother's old home, at Mapowder, while in the adjoining Symondsbury, John Coker was bailiff about 1543-47, and Eltweed Pomeroy's parents had their last home and died. Seymour, Lord Protector, who from the Pomeroy took Berry-Pomeroy, also had Symondsbury. Lack of space forbids discussion of many interesting features, like the petition in chancery of this John Pomeroy showing his contract in 1527 with Sir Thomas Chylde concerning land attached to the vicarage of Stoke Abbot and many significant Pomeroy items from parish registers in this vicinity.

The historical point of chief interest to me is the fact that this John Pomeroy, Gentleman, provides the earliest known link between

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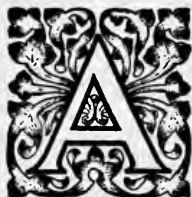
the Pomeroy of western Dorset and of Totnes and Berry-Pomeroy, County Devon. Netherbury, where John lived, adjoined both Symondsbury, where Eltweed's father and mother died, and also Beaminster, where both they and Eltweed lived. John was apparently the first Pomeroy to settle permanently in western Dorset, but for him the way was prepared by the fact that both his grandfather and his father had taken Dorset wives, the Dorset home of his maternal grandparents being not far from where John located. At that period two John Pomeroy lived in Devon, one at Sidmouth and the other at Sidbury, both near the Dorset border; but Mr. Hoppin has carefully eliminated the possibility of identifying either with John of Netherbury. Thus the latter is left to his expected place, as the John of the pedigrees, born about 1500, brother of Henry of Totnes and son of Richard and Eleanor Coker; while this Richard was at one time of Bowden, in Totnes, the market-place of which was only about a mile from that of the adjoining Berry-Pomeroy.

Thus ends the fiasco of the *Register*, whose flopping contortions have contrived to throw around this very clear case of strong probability the illuminating ink of a cuttle-fish. As pedigree-"smashers" the Grand Authorities must hitch up their loins with a tremendous girding. A few more examples like this, and the towering infallibilities of the Bartlettian constructive genius will trek off like mountain-mists, leaving the face of nature plain and simple as before. But let my protest end, for evidently my strictures can never pierce the impervious aura of the deep serene whence "Amused Equanimity" looks down upon our feeble efforts.



La Pommeraye in Normandy

Communicated by C. A. Hoppin to Colonel A. A. Pomeroy



IS NO LIVING American Pomeroy has visited this place, so far as I know, may I add something to what you have printed about it in your "History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family"?

The present very small village of La Pommeraye, developed slightly from some estate or "orchard" from which the English family of Pomeroy derives its surname, is situated near the right bank of the river Orne, in Normandy, opposite Clécy, on the Caen and Laval railway. The exact location of the place is indicated on Fremin & Donnet's map of the Département du Calvados of France, by a small dot with the name "La Pommeraye" attached. It is one of the smaller of the one hundred and twenty-four communes in the greater modern arrondissement of Falaise.

Pomeroy descendants, when visiting France, should endeavor to see this little hamlet, its church and ruined castle, not merely for historical reasons, for the district in which the objects will be found is, perhaps, as beautiful as any in inland Normandy. Half way between Caen and Fleurs there are two railway stations for the village of Clécy, either station being about an hour's journey by railway due south from Caen. The station called La Severie Clécy is about a mile from the village, while the other, called Clécy, is about twice as far. The latter station is nearest to La Pommeraye, but no houses exist there; hence it is best to leave the railroad at La Severie Clécy and then walk or ride to the village, where a good inn will be easily found; also, some person to act as a guide and to answer questions and to explain the objects to be noted on the ride to La Pommeraye, about six miles distant to the eastward. The innkeeper will provide the conveyance as well as some amusement. It is a slow drive by horse to La Pommeraye, for the hills are steep and five of the six miles are up hill. The country around Clécy is very picturesque, as well as a purely agricultural district, with much woodland.

LA POMMERAYE IN NORMANDY

The river Orne is broad and clear, winding among the lofty wooded hills and around the bases of many perpendicular cliffs of a reddish stone, several hundred feet high, and resembling in shape the famous cliffs at Cheddar in Somersetshire, England. The ruddy color of the stone is singularly like that so marked a feature of beauty around Torbay in Devonshire, immediately back of which nestles the ruins of Berry Castle, the home amid the Devonian hills of the Pomeroys who went there from Normandy. A mile or two from Clécy, on the opposite side of the river, there are forests upon the hills; and from the high ground the traveller has already reached, on the way to La Pommeraye, the views are magnificent (as also are those from Blagdon hill at Berry Castle in Devon, of which I am so fond).

La Pommeraye village consists of only seven or eight scattered cottages in the neighborhood of a very small, simple, and ancient church, built of stone, on the left side of the road. I believe the church is called, or was dedicated to St. Clair, but is or has been confounded with St. Sauveur in connection with the name of the commune of La Pommeraye. There is nothing about it readily indicating that it is as old as the eleventh century.

Saint-Sauveur-de-La-Pommeraye is mentioned but briefly in the "*Histoire Ecclesiastique du Diocese de Coutances*" (by Rene Toustain de Billy, Vol. I, p. 275), the item referring to the twelfth century and proving the existence there then of a religious establishment.

Translation: "The Memoire of Mont-Saint-Michel furnishes us with a chart containing an agreement made before Guillaume, bishop of Coutances, by which the abbot and the monks of the monastery ceded all the tythes of St. Sauveur de La Pommeraye to Robert, parish priest of this place, during his life, because he gave them annually eight quarters of wheat, which the said lord bishop ratified by affixing the seal, all carried out in the presence of Robert de Tournebu, archdeacon, and Raoule de Talvende, canon." (Page 167.)

Here is a summary of the principal donations which were made to this hospital by the help and following the example of Hugues de Morville (bishop of Coutances). "There was given In 1218, the patronage and two-thirds of the tithe of St. Sauveur de La Pommeraye."

The "*Dictionnaire Géographique et Administratif de la France*" (Paul Joanne, 1899) states that the present chapel at La Pommeraye is dedicated to St. Clair, and in its present form dates back to 1670. From this it is to be inferred as not unlikely that the chapel was re-

built at that time, and may then have received its present name. It was a common custom for a church or chapel to be re-dedicated (particularly after the Reformation) to a different saint than the one that served as its name originally. I find an example of this fact in Paignton, Devonshire (where your Pomeroy ancestors were landlords), where in the sixteenth century the parish church was called "Sts. Peter and Paul," but became re-dedicated in the next century to "St. John the Baptist." Paul Joanne also states that the ruins of the chateau at La Pommeraye are known to date back, at least, into the twelfth century; and he adds what I have omitted to state heretofore, *i. e.*, that from near the present chapel of St. Clair a grand and beautiful view is to be seen over the plains of Caen and Falaise, and of the sea beyond, and of the mouth of the river Seine, and of the coast at Havre. Thus with such an outlook daily before them, is it not natural, indeed, that the Pomeroyes were inspired to share in the greatest event that history records of the people of those plains and that coast, visible from La Pommeraye? And how could any one ever doubt that this La Pommeraye was the Norman ancestral home of all the Pomeroyes of Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall?

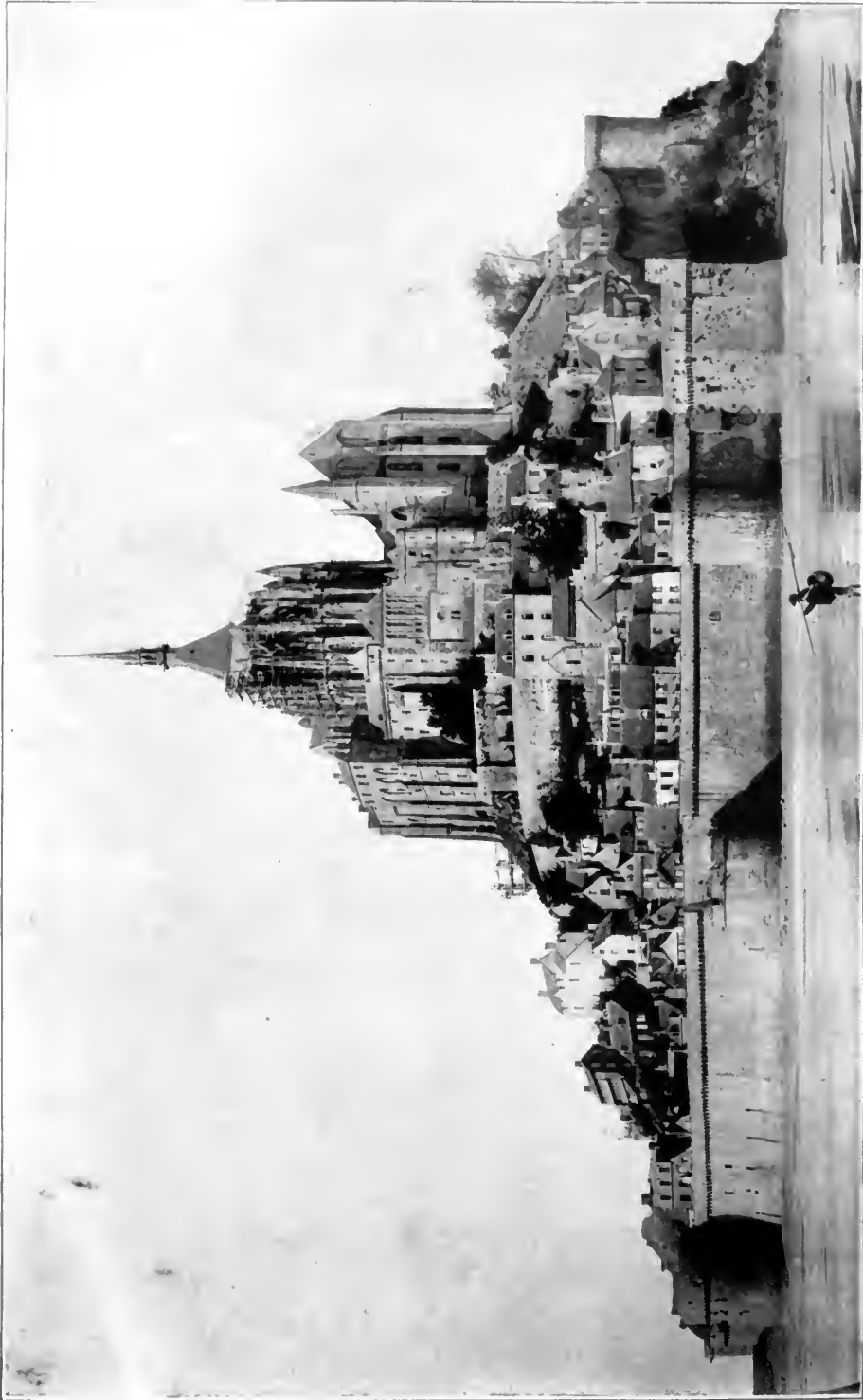
The cottages of La Pommeraye are also ancient, and simple are the lives of the very few villagers. There is no visible evidence that there anciently ever were more cottages and inhabitants here than now; in all probability there were less. It is highly probable that when Ralph de La Pommeraye left there for England he took most of the cottagers with him, for they were his servants. A few hundred yards past the church is a modern dwelling formerly owned by a Madame Vauxville. It is a good country house with a well-kept garden; stables and kennels are on the opposite side of the highway. At this point of the road we are in a hollow, with little or no view. A quarter of a mile farther on, up a steep hill, one comes to a path leading into a wood on the right; and following this path for a few hundred yards, along the high ridge of the hill, we reach all that is left of the castle of La Pommeraye.

Ruins of the Castle of La Pommeraye in Normandy

The ruins are not extensive, merely consisting of three semi-circular arches, some crumbling walls and surrounding earthworks. Much of the stone that was erected here has been removed for use elsewhere in times past. The arches have no particular architectural feature indicative of their date, except, perhaps, in the masonry, which is in the herringbone style, as met with in England in various



RUINS OF LA POMMERAYE CASTLE IN NORMANDY, CIRCA 1639



MOUNT SAINT MICHEL, NORMANDY

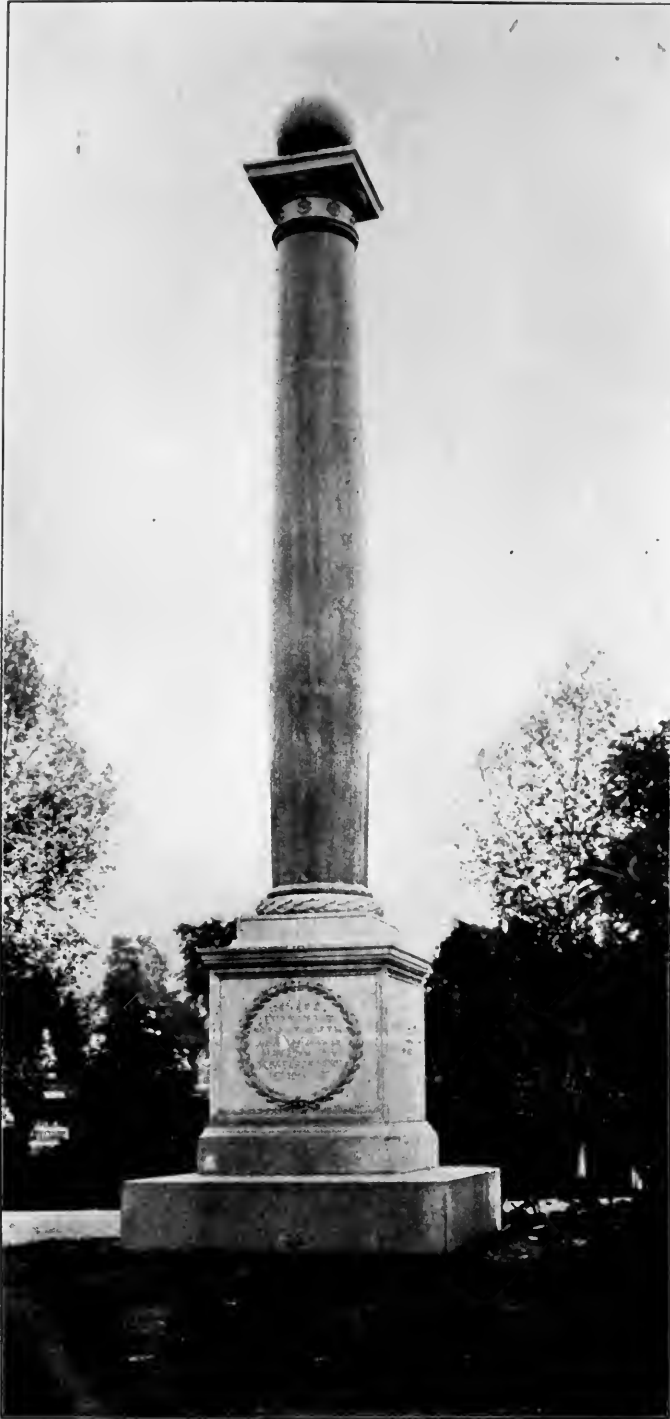
The last stronghold remaining to King John in Normandy, and intimately touching the Pomeroy history. Mount Saint Michel was acquired by Rollo (Holfanger) of Norway in A. D. 911.



BRONZE STATUE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AT FALAISE,
NORMANDY



COLONNE COMMEMORATIVE ELEVEE EN SOUVENIR DU DE-
PARTE DE LA FLOTTE DE GUILLAUME LE CONQUERANT A
LA CONQUETE DE L'ANGLETERRE EN 1066



MONUMENT ERECTED AT PEEKSKILL, NEW YORK, BY THE
SONS OF THE REVOLUTION IN NEW YORK, TO THE HONOR OF
GENERAL SETH POMEROY

Commissioned First Major-General of the Massachusetts Army October
27, 1774; commissioned First Brigadier-General of the Continental Army
June 22, 1775. General Seth Pomeroy occupied the same relative posi-
tion in America in 1775 that Sir Ralph de Pommeroy did in England
in 1066.

buildings erected before the year 1066. The walls and arches are built of small flat stones about two inches thick; scarcely any of the "facing stone" being left. The arches are about sixteen feet wide, and, taking the three together, form what may once have been a large room about fifty feet long, and somewhere near twenty feet high. That the ruins are very old is apparent in every way; and were a casual visitor to be told that they are believed in Normandy to be as ancient as the eleventh century one could not easily disagree. I append a little sketch, roughly done, of the first arch. The whole ruin is so overgrown with brushwood and brambles and surrounded with trees that it is difficult to make a satisfactory picture, or even to walk around the ruins, which are completely hidden from the world without. As a few yards down the hill, outside of the wood, one gets a fine view of the adjacent country, the site of this castle was a commanding one.

You have already quoted, Colonel Pomeroy, in your "History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family," five distinguished English and French historians to the effect that the "Pomeroyes of England were castilians of La Pommeraye in Normandy" (holders of a castle there); and you have quoted from the Devonshire historian of Berry Castle: "A fragment of this Norman stronghold still remains in the Cinglaise, not far from Falaise. . . . It is really the Chateau de La Pommeraiie, and here no doubt was the original Pomeraiie, or orchard which gave name to the stronghold of the family." It is this fragment that I have attempted briefly to describe.

Testimony from Normandy Establishing the Beginning of the Distinctive Pomeroy History

As it must be illogical (to say the least) that a man removing from this estate to England to immediately become of record in England as a great landlord, possessing there in one county fifty-eight manors or lordships, solely by virtue of the gift (for fealty only) of King William I of England (whose chief-of-staff Ralph de La Pomeroy is said to have been), could very well have been a mere serf or tenant upon this Norman estate, we are left to the sole contemplation of him as having been the possessor of this Norman estate or orchard property and the residence upon it; and as well, that its name of Pommeraye (however spelt) was likewise his own surname (as recorded on the bronze tablet in the ancient church at Dives with the companions of William the Conqueror), and probably used in Normandy in the

eleventh century by no other man, if any, than his own son or one of his own immediate family. I find myself unable to disengage my mind from this understanding and belief. I know of no reason to restrain me from now saying: We who have stood upon the very spots of the beginning of the Pomeroy history have not only been thousands of miles nearer to them, geographically, than the inadequate individuals of the *New England Register* in Boston, but far nearer the truth concerning the origin of the Pomeroy family.

The town in the county of Tyrone, Ireland, named Pomeroy, after the Pomeroy family had settled in Devonshire, had no more bearing upon the Pomeroy surname in Devonshire and Dorset than has the modern town of Pomeroy in Ohio. The same is true of the modern estate formerly called both "Pumbrey" and "Pomeroy," once located in the parish of Winkfield, Wiltshire, for it became so named after the name of a family and not vice versa. Those names of this small property have long since become obsolete. The estate was not of sufficient size to be mentioned in the histories of Wiltshire and Winkfield. The earliest, the latest, and the only references to it that I have found occur only in two private deeds, covenants, or assignments dated 1585-6 and 1687, respectively. By the same token, the villages in France now known (whether also so known in the eleventh century we do not yet know) as La Pommeraye near Fontenay-le-Comte and La Pommeraye near Cholet, cannot be considered in any connection with Ralph de La Pommeraye and William the Conqueror, or the early Pomeroyes of Devonshire and Dorset, because those two other places of La Pommeraye are geographically apart from, and entirely different from, that province of France wherein William the Conqueror and his Normans were born and lived, and wherein they organized their army of followers, and wherefrom they invaded England, and their Norman kinsmen after them. The La Pommeraye of Ralph de La Pommeraye was in the very heart of the seat of Norman power, being in the district of Falaise, the birthplace of William the Conqueror, the duke of Normandy, afterward William I of England. The Falaise and Caen districts were the scenes of the Norman movement, while the other two places called La Pommeraye were not only not in the ancient district of Normandy (then a dukedom independent of France), or in Brittany, but remote from both regions of Falaise and Caen.

Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae (The Great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy under the King of Eng-

land) show that in the year 1180 Odo, the son of Vitalis, accounted for the ferm (a rent in lieu of all other payments) of the Prevoté of Falaise, the fixed rent of which was then £480. Out of this amount there was payable annually £200 to Richard Gifford for the custody (maintenance) of the castle of Falaise, and £30 to Robert de Pierre-fite¹ for the custody of the castle of Pommeraye. Thus it is shown that this castle had either passed from the possession and occupancy of the Pomerai (Pomeroy) family before 1180 or, at least, was not in its custody about that year. The £30 of that year would to-day amount to somewhere near £450. A footnote by the editor of these rolls refers to the castle of La Pommeraye: "The ruins of this castle are pointed out in the commune of La Pommeraye, between the chapel of St. Clair and Le Bourg, now a hamlet; local tradition, as usual, attaches to them the name of the traitor of romance, the warrior Gannelon or Ganne."

In the Register of Fiefs (feudal estates) for the year 1220 (among several other entries) under the title "*Feoda Ballivie Gaufridi de Capella*," occurs the item: "*Cressi et La Pomerei I feod de quo Reginaldus de Bosco habet XV S. pro Pomercia*."

Cressy was a village in the bailiwick of Caux in Normandy, and held of the Honour of Bellencombre, along with La Pommeraye in the year 1220, of Gaufridus de Saio (Geoffrey de Say) by Reginald de Bosco, for the fief of one knight.

Though the Pommerayes appear to have been quit of all possessions at La Pommeraye in, if not before, 1180, I find by these same rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy [Vol. II, page lxxvii] that Henry de la Pomeraye (fourth generation) of Berry in Devonshire held, about this time, by some form of lease, the feudal estate of Hérouville in Normandy, which right came to him through his marriage to Rohesia "Bardolf." Just how she came to have an interest in this estate I have not attempted to determine² (doubtless, Colonel Pomeroy, you know) but I note that Dodo "Bardulf" held of Richard de la Haie,³

1. This man's surname was taken from the small commune of Pierrefitte, adjoining the commune of La Pommeraye.

2. Hérou, the original name of the estate referred to, was granted to his daughter Rohesia by Thomas Bardolf with the consent of his son Dodo on her marriage to Henry de la Pomeroy of the fourth generation. Thomas Bardolf had recovered the estate from his chaplain at his death. Until the publication of "The Victoria History" there was some confusion concerning the marriage of Sir Henry Pomeroy of the third generation to Rohesia, daughter of King Henry I, and that of their son Henry of the fourth generation to Rohesia (his second wife), daughter of Thomas Bardolf. Rohesia (Bardolf) Pomeroy had a suit-at-law with her stepson, Henry de Pomeroy, of the fifth generation, concerning her dower. Some interesting details about these two marriages may be found on pages 46 and 48 of the "History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family." Several grants in Normandy made by Henry de Pomeroy and his son Henry are recorded in the "Monastic Anglican."—A. A. P.

3. The remains of the tombs of Richard de la Haie and his cousin and wife, Mathilde de Vernon, "dame de Varanguebec," are still to be seen in the ruined abbey of Blanchelande, as also the site of the chateau de la Haie-du-Puits, situated between the parishes of Varanguebec, Lithaire, and Neuf-Mesnil in the arrondissement of Coutances. References to the "Camville" and "Verdun" families also appear in this neighborhood.

constable of Normandy and seneschal of Henry II, king of England, the manor of Blanchelande. The said Richard had founded the Premonstratensian Abbey, in the diocese of Coutances, called the church of the Blessed Nicholas of Blanchelande; and I note that on the day of the dedication of this church (14 Jan. 1185) Dodo "Bardulf" gave to it a rent of four marks of silver issuing out of his manor of Fillingham in Lincolnshire, England, by the hand of William, bishop of Coutances; and that he, Dodo Bardulf, also had land at Putol-en-Auge, Normandy; and that he is mentioned in a charter of Blanchelande as having given the said church of H rouville⁴ to Michael, the chaplain of Thomas "Bardolph." The latter, as you have evidence in your "History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family," was, doubtless, the father of Rohesia Bardolph. In the Dorsetshire Pipe Rolls of King John, circa 1200, Rohesia is mentioned as sister of "Doun Bardolf," she being then the wife of her second husband, John Russell. Your book also states that her first husband, the said Henry de la Pomerai, "held the castle of La Pomerai and the Prepositura" (the office of chief or overseer) "of the duke of Normandy"; this may have been before the said year of 1180 (or possibly some time later), when Robert de Pierrefite held the custody of the castle. It may be assumed that before the Pomeroyes of Devonshire terminated their realty interest in Normandy, probably circa 1180, they made occasional visits thereto.

On the 3d day of April, in the year 1826, the eminent Norman antiquary, M. de Gerville, read, before a meeting of the distinguished *Soci t  des Antiquaires de Normandie*, his Second Memoire on the ancient chateaux in the department of the Manche, Normandy, in which he referred to the castle of La Pommeraye.

Translation: "Saint-Sauveur-de-la-Pommeraye. If I give uncertain indications of a castle in la Meurdraquiere, it is at any rate unquestionable that this parish is the only one in Normandy which bears a name indicative of the infancy (origin) of Meurdrac; but we have not this resource to indicate the first persons of the Pomerays, who for a long time were distinguished in England and Normandy; for there are in our (modern) Normandy two other parishes of the name of la Pommeraye, one in the diocese of S ez, the other in that of Rouen. Nevertheless I shall relate what I know of this family if only for the sake of promoting research as to its infancy (origin).

"It is given as de Pommeroy in the Brompton list [apd. Twysden collect. X-script.—Apd. Norman script, antic.] and in that of

4. H rouville, a commune adjoining Escoville (from which the surname of Scoville derives), both near and northeast of Caen.

Duschesne, and that of la Pommeraye, which is the same as in the Hollingshed catalogue.—[Raphael Hollingshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland; published in 1577.]

"*Henricus de Pomaria terciam partem mil. de feodo de Vado et tenet castrum de Pomaria . . . de Rege* [Traduct de Ducarel, p. 233, *de honore de mort, de balliva de Hosa* (of the Honor of Mortain and of the bailiwick of Héuze)]. There is in this passage proof of the existence of a castle of la Pommeraye and a strong presumption in favor of la Manche, since it was subject to the bailiwick of La Héuze and to the Honour of Mortaine."

From this it is clear that M. de Gerville was strongly inclined to the belief that the Pommeraye from which the Pomeroyes of Devonshire had sprung was the Pommeraye which I have described, and from which, in this connection, I find it impossible to sever the Pomeroyes of England. M. de Gerville, of course, was not interested in the Pomeroy family to any such extent as others have been since.

The exact date of the holding of the castle of Pommeraye by the said "Henricus de Pomaria" is not specified in the Latin record other than as being in the reign of King Henry II of England; but as this reign extended from 1154 to 1189, the probability increases that the Pomeroy interest in the castle expired by or before the year 1180, as I have previously suggested.



Democracy's Struggle for Existence

The Part and Duty of the United States in This War, from the
Viewpoint of Patriotic Americans

BY

HENRY CLEWS, PH. D., LL. D.

An Address Delivered under the Auspices of the Society of
the Cincinnati in the State of Rhode Island and Providence
Plantations, at Representative Hall, Colonial State House,
Newport, Rhode Island, July 4, 1917.



IT IS ALWAYS an enviable honor to be called upon to address a gathering of people assembled to celebrate Independence Day, but I consider it a very high compliment to be chosen to speak in behalf of the Society of the Cincinnati. I know of no body more worthy to take a leading part in the affairs of this country than the society formed shortly after the close of the War of the Revolution by the officers of the continental army and of our then allies, the French. In forming the society it was declared that, "To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and, in many instances, cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and in failure thereof the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members."

George Washington was its first president, and he has been succeeded by a long line of honorable successors. While the society is organically one for convenience, it is subdivided into State societies, and in this old colonial State of Rhode Island this Colonial State House is a most fitting place to hold a meeting in behalf of patriotism.

DEMOCRACY'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

Nearly five centuries before the dawn of the Christian era, old Cincinnatus left his plow to become the ruler of Rome. In the near future thousands of our young men will go from the fields where the harvests are gathered to the fields of battle, where, we hope, the harvest of death will be light, and that they may soon return as Cincinnatus did to the peaceful but no less worthy task of tilling the soil and thus adding to the material wealth of our country.

The year 1917 has been a momentous year for our great country, and the greatest events have been, first, our entrance into the arena of war; second, the flotation of the Liberty loan of upwards of two billion dollars; third, the raising of one hundred millions and over for the Red Cross.

We did not declare war merely because we wanted to fight. The time had come when it would have been dastardly on our part to refuse to fight. We had been smitten on the right cheek and on the left cheek. We had suffered insult and humiliation in our desire to remain neutral. Finally the day arrived when the last straw made our load too heavy to bear, so we cast our lot with the Allies in the struggle for democracy against arrogant Prussian autocracy.

We have no desire to profit by the war. We have no wish or intention to seize or be granted additional territory when the settlement day arrives. All that we want, and, indeed, all that we are fighting for, is the preservation of the rights of our fellow-men. We have no personal antipathy toward a German because he is a German. We have the highest regard for German scholars, musicians, composers, scientists, and mechanics. In fact, they will profit by our victory over the autocratic rule of the few over the many. It is not the German people whom we consider our foes, but their autocratic rulers and their satellites.

Every day we hear the roll of the drum and the call of the bugle, and they stir our hearts as they stirred the hearts of our ancestors in 1776 and in 1861. Washington and his forces founded the Union; Lincoln and his forces saved the Union. The theme in both these eras was really the same—Life, Liberty, Justice. These represent the heritage so dear to the people of our beloved country, and we propose to give the lives of our sons and the savings of a lifetime, if necessary, to extend to others the blessings we enjoy. Not all of us can fight, but non-combatants have just as good and serious work to do as those who do fight.

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It is our duty to provide all the necessities to enable our brave soldiers to keep their health and strength unimpaired.

To those who are well we must furnish food, raiment, and equipment. To those who are sick or wounded we must provide all the loving care that they deserve as martyrs who shed their blood and suffer wounds as our representatives.

Thank God, the women of our country are as wide awake as our men, and the grand work they are doing, and will do, will gladden the hearts of those who are well; will ease the pains of the wounded, and steel the hearts of those who have to die, to die like men.

I am glad indeed that the Fourth of July has ceased to be a day for blinding and crippling our children, and has become a day for safe and sane enjoyment of public demonstrations to commemorate the birth and life of the United States, one and indivisible. Efficient work counts more than noise and brings happiness instead of misery.

When this Republic was formed in 1776 modern democracy was born. Some foreign nations, even after we had won the war of the Revolution, predicted that as a government we would not last twenty-five years. Thank God, we have lasted nearly a century and a half and are now looked upon as the savior of the world from autocratic rule.

As the oldest democracy in the world, we have had a long struggle toward freedom. And in that long struggle we have had many a great man come forward, on a great occasion, and make a great speech or statement, that has lived in history. To create a mile-stone in the march of history usually requires three elements: A great man, crystallizing the thought of his time in a single dramatic, great statement on a great occasion.

Nathan Hale, the Revolutionary patriot, having been sentenced to death, at that supreme last moment of his life, when the eyes of all his compatriots were upon him, showed his patriotism and love of country by his last words—"I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." What an inspiration these words have since been to the thousands of patriots who have sacrificed their lives for their country's salvation!

In our Civil War much life and treasure flowed for the attainment of individual freedom. One of the great leaders in that struggle, General Sherman, enunciated the now historic statement that war is hell.

As we have been wantonly forced into the present world war, we

DEMOCRACY'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

propose to make it hell for those who brought on this dreadful European slaughter.

Colonel Roosevelt said recently, "When this war is over we want to say to our Allies, as we look them in the eyes, 'We also have looked our enemies in the eyes.'"

Before the end of the war we hope to have the flower of our youth looking our enemies in the eyes, and we hope that our boys will, figuratively speaking, knock the enemies' eyes out.

One of the greatest of England's statesmen said not long ago that the United States had never engaged in a war except in and for the cause of Liberty.

This statement from the mouth of one who represents the country with whom we have waged two wars is the greatest compliment that has ever been paid to us. I rejoice that France, our old friend, and Great Britain, our old enemy of over a century ago, are now joined with the United States and our other Allies in the most righteous war of history. We are fighting for the right of the weak and oppressed against the strong oppressor, and to this country will be given the credit of settling the war, as our help will most surely bring victory to the Allied forces. A sweeping victory over the German alliance will benefit all nations in the end, the German nation no less than others.

A comparatively bloodless revolution has unseated the czar of Russia, and the Hohenzollern family are near the end of their reign. Moreover, the future rulers of Europe will be those favored by the masses instead of by the classes. Either republics or limited monarchies will supersede the autocratic regimes, and divine right to rule will be superseded by fitness to rule, in the interest of all the people.

Our Allies have virtually impoverished themselves in men and money and have really been fighting our battles. Now that we have joined them, it is our duty to act and to act as quickly as possible to defeat our common enemies and make democracy the heritage of this as well as of future generations. We have talked for two years. Talk is cheap. Now has come the time for action, and preparations are under way for active participation by our troops in actual warfare.

Furthermore, our country needs to wipe out the submarines which are playing such havoc on the Atlantic. Yankee ingenuity has always been able to cope with difficulties, and I predict that the time is not far distant when the world will be startled by the good news that a Yankee has perfected a sure detector and destroyer of submarines. Both the submarine and the aeroplane, which are playing such an important part

in the present war, were our inventions and were the marvels of this generation. It is fair to assume that a chemist who concocts a new poison can suggest an antidote, and likewise a mind that can conceive and build a submarine can suggest an invention to successfully combat the submarine as a war instrument.

We all cannot take up arms for our country, but there is none too old or too young within the sound of my voice to do his bit to help the cause.

A few days ago two boys under ten years of age, and evidently poor, called at the home of a friend of mine who is actively interested in Red Cross work. When the maid ushered them into the presence of my friend she asked what their errand was. They each tendered her a dime, saying at the same time that they had earned the money for the Red Cross. My friend accepted the contribution and told the boys that she thought more of their gift than of any larger amount that she had received. Drops even as little as these soon fill the bucket to overflowing. They are as sweet as the nectar gathered in minute particles from the flowers by the bees which produces honey. Every one can give something to prove his loyalty. Some will give their life. Some their wealth, and hundreds of thousands will give their spare time to any work that will further the interests of their country. The crisis always produces the leader in this country, and leaders will be needed to advise and instruct those willing to work to serve in the most effective way.

My friends, our beloved country stands on the brink of an abyss. The time has come when Americans who are too proud to fight must go to the rear and stand up where they may be seen and watched. Let our motto be, "United we stand; divided we fall."

President Washington once said, "Let us have no entangling alliances."

With changed world conditions we now have to go Washington one better and make mutually beneficial alliances with the new republics of the world. We must send our commissions and men skilled in government to give help and encouragement to the young republics in their struggle for individual freedom. We must help Russian democracy to live. The Almighty has ordained that the Russian government is hereafter to be a government after our own hearts—of the people, for the people, by the people; and that other nations engaged in the present war will follow the example of Russia is "a consummation devoutly to be wished" for the good of the human race. A gov-

ernment that permits a man like Abraham Lincoln to rise from the ranks of the common people to become the greatest leader of the American people, through the great gifts with which God endowed him, is a grand and glorious one, and should be an example for all other nations to follow.

In this critical hour of our nation's history let us not forget that there is a silver lining to every cloud. We are seeing to-day an exhibition of patriotism that has not been equalled since the Civil War. In a time like the present patriotism is rekindled and the discordant elements in our commonwealth are either eliminated or absorbed by the pure metal in the national melting pot.

One of the earliest mile-stones in our nation's history is Patrick Henry's dramatic oration in which he said, "Give me liberty or give me death!"

That epitomized the struggle for political liberty, and it is the banner under which the Allies are now laying down their lives on the altar of freedom.

Our great Civil War for personal freedom having ended, the greatest warrior of them all, General Grant, voiced the sentiment of the whole nation in his utterance of those four words, "Let us have peace!"

Primarily, the present world war is a war of democracy against autocracy, but it is also unmistakably a war against war, and its vigorous prosecution will make for early and permanent peace.

It is well to remember one thing, that is, that our country can take care of itself, come what may, better than any other nation on earth, in time of peace or in time of war. Thanks be to the Almighty for giving us a superabundance of everything for self-support, with some to spare. The entire nation views the situation with composure, confident in the wisdom and strength of our government, as well as in the resources and patriotism of the American people.

In conclusion, my friends, let us all realize how truly fortunate we are to be citizens of this nation, this land of golden opportunity, of liberty, equality, progress, and high national ideals—where the lowliest by birth may rise to the height of their ambition, and themselves become rulers, governors, and administrators, under the most magnificent constitution ever devised by the brain of man, and in this the greatest republic of all the ages, the glorious United States of America!

Before the Battle

An Ode

BY

FRANK ALLABEN

I



FREEDOM-ANOINTED, battle-summoned Land!
While marshalling judgment knits the crashing blow,
Shake out the scabbard's unintriguing brand,
And bid our blade and Nation's purpose go
For knighthood, where
Our broad, green, fertile sod
Drinks suns and rains from azure domes of God,
To plant a fruitful vow, and sow the prayer
That Prescience our glaive prepare
To hew the times with serviceable power
As carved an epoch in our father's hour!
O leave us, hundred-million-hearted, prone
Till Everlasting Justice bless
The obedient sword of Righteousness,
Dipt image-glorious in the Eternal Throne,
Whence sovran conscience shapes in us his own,—
Till, ringing beauteous out of the Tempering Hand,
Upright in ours light's jeweled weapon stand!

II

How gaily gave the brazen-helmed autocracy
To devastation his irrupting horde!
How slowly draws laborious democracy
Regretfully his rust-encrusted sword!
God take it!
God make it
An edge of flaming light,
Freedom's evangel,

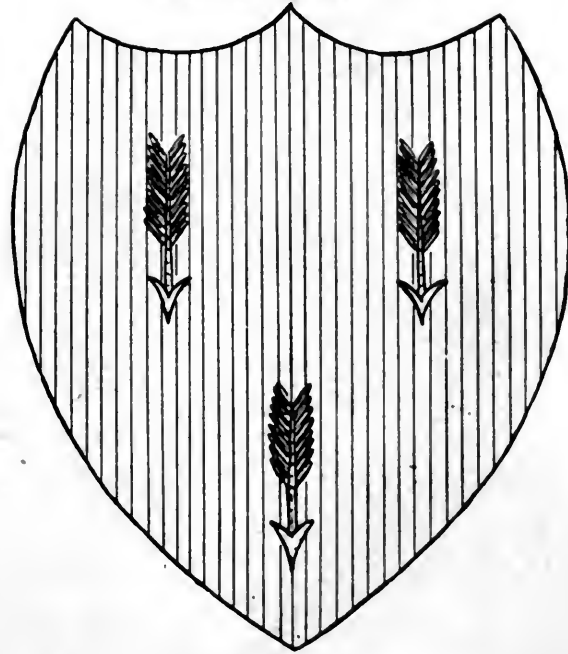
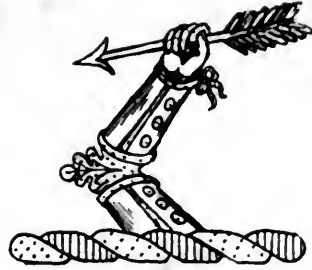


CINCINNATUS H. MILLER (JOAQUIN MILLER)



DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

As the representative of the great Hudson's Bay Company, he was conspicuous in the early history of the Pacific northwest.



Hale



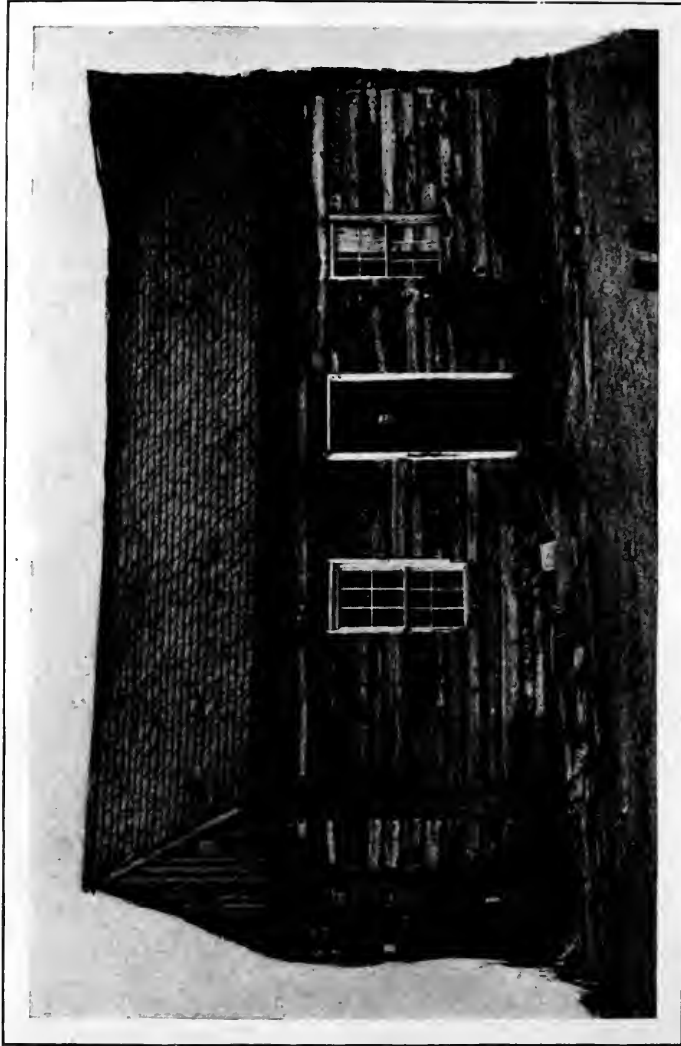
FORT STEILACOOM

This was the first military post established on Puget Sound. Although known as a fort, it was scarcely more than a military camp. The officers and soldiers first occupied the buildings owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, more commodious and substantial structures being erected in later years. After the soldiers were withdrawn in 1868, the buildings were purchased by the Washington Territorial Government for an insane asylum.



FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

This pioneer church was built at Stellacoom through the enterprise of Rev. John F. Devore. Its site is now marked by a monument.



FIRST HOUSE AT PORT TOWNSEND, WASHINGTON

Built by A. A. Plummer in 1851. It was for a time the home of all the first settlers.



HOME OF DR. WHITMAN, THE CELEBRATED PACIFIC COAST MISSIONARY

It was on the south bank of the Walla Walla River, about six miles below the present city of Walla Walla. Dr. Whitman and his family occupied it for eleven years, and it was the scene of the massacre by the Indians on November 29, 1847.



THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" AND THE BRIG "HANCOCK"

These were vessels celebrated in the early navigation of the north Pacific.
From an original drawing by Robert Haswell, found among the papers of
Captain Robert Gray.

BEFORE THE BATTLE

A guardian angel,
The minister in earth of liberty and right!
And, slow to battle, while our legions kneel,
Vowing our dedication in devoted steel,—
That comes, as to our fathers' hope the brand
Came and stood upright in the people's hand,—
God take us!
God make us
Light,
Its consecrated knight,
In golden armor, glory-girt, to quench the dragon's night,
A shining strength descending through us to the task before us,
A shining banner starry-spangled waving holy o'er us!

III

Justice, we hear through dark's entangling hour,
Triumphant over all,
Thy trump, imperious, call
The honest borrowers of thy loan of power
To pay in glittering shekels of the unsheathed sword
Earth's tribute to the Lord,
The sacred price the unawed free
Out of the wealth of liberty
Owe Righteousness, our liegelord bold,
To have and to hold
Freedom in fealty!
And as, when lightning's golden writ
Renders the inky sky,
Divine conviction leaps to sit
His burning throne in the beholder's eye,
So straining nations see
The finger of deliverance indict,
In charges blazoned in condemning light,
Murder's shield of lying art
In all the black of satanry
In Hohenzollern's sable heart!
Wilson speaks: a battle's won,
If quickening thought hath spiritual power to run
Over the earth and fight
Madness entrenched in might!

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For crime is branded by our Captain's call
As mystic fingers blazed Belshazzar's wall;
As if the sentence, brooding Heaven begat,
In Wilson in a glorious patience sat,
Glowing with wrongs in trembling ire
Over fair lands submerged in blackest hell
That up through wickedness of kings can well,
Till out of wrath of man, uplifted higher
Into the prophet's purging fire,
Through white-hot furnaces from Wilson's soul
At the set time its molten words should stream,
Retribution's aureole
Shooting a fiery gleam
To torch the girth
Of flaring earth,
And scorch and roll
Darkness to a cindered scroll,
And in a hissing spear
Plunge through the frantic tyrant's cringing fear,
Like dooming tongues of tolling bells through highest heaven swung
down from throne to throne to crash against earth's guilty ear!

IV

Then up, our justice! up, our blade of her!
Let sharp and biting, cutting deeds aver
This kindling Bugler our interpreter!
For not with avid clutch at gold,
Nor envious squint at quivering prize
An imperilled people hold
From its inverted image in a darkling kingdom's eyes,
Nor itch to wrack another's acre,
Nor swoop at glory, nor
With thirst to kill, march we to war:
Bear witness, Thou, our falchion's Maker!
Walked not our souls the tumult's hate with slow, reluctant feet,
Reluctant to shed blood,
To clutter fagots in the ravening heat,
Through murder, ambushed in the flood,
Our wives and children scuttled in ocean's oozy mud?
But, as the unholy spirit's word,

BEFORE THE BATTLE

That Ahab in his prophets heard,
Sold his judgment to a lie,
Now this murder's augurs show
Startled earth her iron foe,
Challenge heaped on victims' cry
Till even Teuton scruples know
Right must fight or die,—
All the nations whimpering go
In a suffocating sigh
Beneath the brute, or rise, defy,
And wrath-annihilate his blow.
O Heaven, if there be
Law, government, or right with Thee,
If gleaming shadow of Thy ray
Our rod in conscience sway,—
In human ruth and wrath divine strike we,
A drafted squad of world-police,
To wrest from thugs earth's stolen gift of peace,
And every wicked would-be-over-all o'erthrow,
And under all lay low!

V

To bear these clamps of blackness would betray
The morning star of hope, all glint of day
The earth hath-known till now!
Up, sword! mailed midnight palls!
Up! up! the blare of Wilson's bugle calls!
Up, Nation! in a knighted vow,
A consecrated thing, leap thou
Where newly-hallowed sings our sabre's shining way,
And glory in a music falls
Around our freedom's far-flung proclamation
Of world-emancipation!
Up, freemen! till our weapon, her righteousness upon her,
The war-wrung nations guidon into a League of Honor!

VI

Heed, bleeding Belgium! panting Serbia, hear!
List, Montenegro! prostrate Poland, hark!
And in your dust, ye towns of France, give ear!

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Morning hath flung his challenge through the dark,
And blows the trumpet of deliverance near!
Cry Life, each fainting knee,
To stretch the candle's spark,
Fan smoking flax, and hew in, stark
Through death, our track to thee!
And as the Angel of the Lord
Led Joshua's with a kerub's sword,
Jehovah, this day be it so:
A winnowing Blast, a covering Ward,
Buckle Thy strength, and go!
And while our sinews fight
The muscled foe,
Deliver through their blight
Thy secret blow
That wounds a land's obsession
Of demoniac possession!
As banners healing lightnings throw,
Light's promissory colors in Thy flying storm-cloud's bow
Flagging with all the tints of life our wrestling flesh and blood,
Thy sapphire chariot's wheeling height
With fertile rains of truth and right
Their droughty conscience drenching in an amber flood
Whose drops, as two-edged rapiers, thrusting through
Their body's maddened brain and gross heart's leathery thew,
Transfix the blinded spirit's baffled soul of night
With ultra-violets of invisible light!
April 4, 1917.



An American Sea Captain in the Revolution

The Personal Narrative of Captain Luther Little Before, During, and
After the Revolutionary War



IT IS NOT often that we get a new glimpse at the activities of our infant merchant marine and navy at the Revolutionary period by following the personal narrative and thus looking at events through the eyes of one of the actors in the scenes described. But this is precisely what we have in the reminiscences of Captain Luther Little, never before published, the first installment of which immediately follows. It is the story of a boy who shipped before the mast at the age of fifteen, leaving his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts; who was following the sea when the war of the Revolution broke out, during which he served as an officer in our young navy and also as a privateersman; and who afterward long continued as a captain in our national merchant service between Boston and Spain, Russia, and other foreign ports.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. John Mason Little, of Boston, who very kindly furnished his copy of the narrative of Captain Little, his ancestor, for reproduction here, together with interesting pictures. The manuscript was taken down by Jane Montague, at the Marshfield home of Captain Little, who dictated it in his old age and signed it, "Luther Little January 5th 1841." This signature is followed by a memorandum signed by the amanuensis, Jane Montague, and reading:

"The subject of the foregoing memoir, was born at Marshfield, Mass., April 15, 1756, and when he recalled the events of his past life, and related them to me, he had arrived at the advanced age of 84 years. His memory retained all the vigor of youth, and the accuracy with which he recalled dates was truly astonishing."

In the summer of 1916 I had a most delightful experience, being entertained in Captain Luther Little's old home, at Sea View, Marsh-

field, by his grandson and granddaughter, Mr. Luther Little and Miss Joanna W. Little, of Boston, who still own the old Marshfield home-stead and keep it as a summer residence. It is a quaint, interesting old place, solidly built like the Little character, and seems to have clinging about it still something of the earlier generations which had the place long before it passed into the possession of Captain Luther, some of whom lie buried, along with Captain Luther, in the Littles' picturesque old burying-ground near by. As for Captain Little's own personality, it is everywhere impressed upon the whole house. The oil portraits of himself and his first wife gazed down upon me proudly from the parlor walls from above a most interesting old piano which the captain brought over from Paris, and which is supposed to have been Marie Antoinette's. His old easy chair, moreover, with his desk, his chest of drawers, his swords and great pistols, and many like things, also stand greeting one, along with the fireplace of quaint Dutch picture-tiles, brought over by him, and the crude outlines of a ship boyishly traced on a panel of one of the upper chamber-doors; while Miss Little has many of his autograph letters and old papers carefully preserved, which she has very kindly furnished for reproduction here. Through her kindness I was also able to compare the original copy of Captain Little's narrative with the one furnished me for reproduction by Mr. John Mason Little, to whose initiative and invaluable assistance I am primarily indebted for the ability to reproduce this interesting contribution to our early history—a quaint chapter which attracts us with peculiar fascination now, when the little American merchant marine and navy, nursed by the pioneering hardihood of men like Captain Little, is bursting into a new and undreamed-of development to rescue and preserve the liberties of the democracy of the whole world.

Another feature of the greatest interest is the fact that Captain Luther Little belonged to a family of Revolutionary seamen, being one of four brothers, all of whom followed the sea and played their parts in the naval and privateering exploits of our War for Independence, the fore-runner of the present great War for Independence throughout the world. One of these four brothers was the famous Captain George Little, who not merely served during the Revolution, but as commander of our gallant frigate, "Boston," captured in 1800 the only French frigate taken in American waters during our unofficial war with France.

For this reason a genealogical study of this family will follow the narrative of Captain Luther Little, to show the ancestral making of

these four brothers;—a study having the greater interest because this notable stock has not disappeared or waned, but in descendants of these men remains in full vigor to-day, still promoting the work of the world in conspicuous and representative ways. I have already made general acknowledgment of my great indebtedness for most cordial assistance and great kindness to three of Captain Luther Little's descendants, Mr. John Mason Little, Mr. Luther Little, and Miss Little, to whom more particular acknowledgments will also be found in connection with portraits and views reproduced from time to time; while obligations to others will be gratefully mentioned in tracing this typical Massachusetts family back to the source of its strength in a blend of the blood and character of the Pilgrim and the Puritan.

FRANK ALLABEN

The Beginning of Captain Little's Narrative



AT THE AGE of ten years, 1766, I recollect going to swim in the North River, a stream that runs between Scituate and Marshfield, accompanied by several boys in the neighbourhood. While we were thus amusing ourselves the tide rose and took off my clothes. Aided by the boys, I chose the least conspicuous path home, two miles and a half; got into a chamber window, and instead of the fig leaves chosen by Adam and Eve for a similar purpose, I took to my bed and feigned myself sick. I lay there quietly until my mother came up, who, hearing my story, gave me herb-tea, &c., and by this means I escaped a good whipping.

The following sketch of my life will show that I have been exposed to danger, and eminently so, both by sea and land, but never have I felt any depression of spirits so sensibly as at the loss of this suit of clothes.

I worked on my father's farm until I was fifteen years of age, when I shipped in Boston on board a sloop commanded by Cap. Joseph Oakman, which was in the coasting trade from Kennebec river to Boston. On the 1st of July we loaded at Hallowell on the Kennebec, for Charleston, S. C., with lumber; and from thence to New York with a freight of rice—the remainder of the season I was on the same coast.

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The summer following I shipped on board the sloop Two Sisters, Oliver Porter master, for N. Carolina. On the voyage I was taken sick with a fever. When we arrived at N. C., up Pamlico river, the Captain sent ashore for a Physician, who pronounced the small pox to be on board, which obliged us to ride at quarantine; none were allowed to go on shore, and even the Doctor was detained on board. In two weeks there was a committee chosen to come on board, and make examination, who pronounced the disease not to be the small pox. I was then taken on shore to a Mr Thomas Jones' dwelling, opposite where we lay. The fever was so violent that I lost my hair and most of my skin. The fever subsided, but I was left without the use of my limbs, entirely helpless. Mr. Jones was a small planter, with a wife and two daughters, who used to assist me about the house as they would an infant.

The last of the summer Mr Jones had a Reaping-bee, as was customary among this class of people—the afternoon of the day brought together a good share of young company at the house. After the reaping was finished, they all came in and partook of the “iat things” prepared for the occasion, and then the evening amusements began. Mr. Jones performed on the violin, and the young people commenced dancing. I was brought down stairs by one of the daughters, and placed in a chair in one corner of the room to witness their sports. They got so merry in the dance, that I was unheeded; they came so near and whirled so hard against me as to knock me from my chair. One of the young women caught me in her arms, and carried me to the chamber, and laid me on my mat. They held their frolic until twelve at night; and eight or ten of the girls tarried till morning. My mat lay in one corner of the garret; they were to occupy another, on the opposite side. When they came up stairs, they commenced performing a jumping match, after making preparation for the same. They were performing with much agility, when one of the stranger girls observed me in one corner of the garret, and exclaimed, with much surprise, “Who is that?” The answer was—“It's only a young man belonging to the North, that is here sick, and won't live three days—never mind him!” They continued their jumping much to my amusement until, fatigued, they retired to rest.

These people were extremely kind to me, notwithstanding I was entirely destitute. A few days after this, I had gained so as to be able to crawl on my hands and feet. It was the season of green apples and blackberries. Night after night, successively, I dreamed that I must



ABOVE—FRONT VIEW OF CAPTAIN LUTHER LITTLE'S OLD HOME AT SEA VIEW, MARSHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, NOW OWNED BY HIS DESCENDANTS, LUTHER LITTLE AND MISS LITTLE

BELOW—SIDE VIEW OF THE LITTLE HOMESTEAD, FACING POND NEAR THE OLD GRAVE-YARD



FIREPLACE IN THE OLD LITTLE HOME, SHOWING THE DUTCH TILES BROUGHT OVER BY CAPTAIN LUTHER LITTLE; MISS LITTLE IN THE FOREGROUND



ABOVE—THE SITTING ROOM IN THE OLD LITTLE HOUSE, WITH THE PIANO BROUGHT OVER BY CAPTAIN LUTHER LITTLE AND THE OLD CLOCK
BELOW—ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SITTING ROOM, SHOWING PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN LUTHER LITTLE; IN THE CHAIR, HIS DESCENDANT AND NAMESAKE, LUTHER LITTLE



JOHN MASON LITTLE, OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, WHO COMMUNICATED
TO THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY THE NARRATIVE OF HIS ANCES-
TOR, CAPTAIN LUTHER LITTLE

go to a certain orchard some rods from the house, and there I should find an abundance of this fruit—to eat of the same plentifully, and I should recover. I felt determined to follow the dictates of this dream. Accordingly, after sleep had closed all eyes around me, I lay planning my midnight ramble. While the stillness of death pervaded the whole house I succeeded in crawling from my mat, and got down the stairs, and attained the outside door; with difficulty I got a chair and made out to ascend the same—to unbolt the door; then out I crawled, and continued in the direction I had dreamed of; where I really found the same fruit which had refreshed me so much while asleep. I ate accordingly—and then crawled back again, got into the kitchen, where, exhausted, I lay on the floor, until the old lady made her appearance in the morning. Perceiving my stained face and mangled hands, she asked me where I had been. I told her. She exclaimed, as she cast on me a look in which both commiseration and wonder were mingled—“Now you have killed yourself!” But it was not so. From that time I began to amend, and in about two weeks could walk quite well.

Captain Porter was then there, and loading for the West Indies. Being anxious lest I could not get an opportunity of getting away, I left Mr. Jones' before I was sufficiently able to work, and went on board the sloop. I parted with this kind family with much feeling—telling Mrs Jones that she had been to me the good Samaritan indeed, and that I regretted exceedingly that I had nothing with which to remunerate her; but should fortune ever favor me, her kindness should not be forgotten. And I did not fail to recollect her; about ten or fifteen years after, I sent her the value of sixty dollars, by a gentleman going directly to that section. Not long after I went on board the sloop.

One day I was assisting in towing a raft of lumber to the vessel; when within a mile of her we discovered the mast head to be on fire from lightning; we cast the raft away and rowed to her assistance. When we reached her we found the ship keeper asleep, having heard nothing of the thunder. The mast being shivered, we cut it away, and let it fall over; we then proceeded to get a new mast; we broke the main boom, and down came the shears. After this with strong shears and purchase we tipped the new mast, and got a new boom. After completing her loading, we set sail for the West Indies.

We arrived at Martinique in fourteen days, where the committee of N. Carolina sent for powder and ball. While we lay here, we were obliged to observe the law which required us to have a French Captain

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on board. An English Frigate lay near, who sent her barge and Lieutenant on board to make prize of the sloop. The Lieutenant ordered the anchor up to tow her alongside the Frigate. Our French Captain drove him forward with a handspike, and would have knocked out his brains, had he not retreated.

After we had taken the powder and ball, and other articles for which we had orders, we proceeded on our return to North Carolina. The news of our expected arrival had been noised abroad, and the King's tender lay within the bar in wait for us. When we reached within a few miles of the bar, it became calm. Twelve pilot boats from Ocracoke came off to us, and informed us that the tender was coming out to take us. We loaded the twelve pilot boats with powder and they pushed off for Ocracoke, and arrived safe. The balls, which were in kegs, we hove overboard. By this time the tender made her appearance; it being calm, with their sweeps they rode alongside us, and ordered us all on board; made prize of the sloop, and ordered her for Norfolk, where lay the English fleet. The pilot on board the tender begged the Captain to discharge him. He refused, telling him he should keep him for a coasting pilot. He pleaded that he had a wife and eight children dependent on him, and begged hard for his release, which, through the influence of a lady on board, was finally granted. When the pilot and his crew went to take the boat, I mingled with them, and walked orderly on board without being observed, and immediately took one of the oars and went hard to rowing. The Captain and the rest of the crew were taken to Norfolk, prisoners.

The pilot boat landed at Ocracoke, where I found that the pilots who took the powder ashore, had embezzled ten casks; which induced me to borrow an old musket, and keep guard over it that night. I had eaten nothing the whole day; at ten in the evening I discovered a light in the woods about half a mile's distance. I directed my course, by a foot path, to the light. When I got near the house, a large dog issued from it, and jumped upon my shoulders, and I feared would have torn me in pieces. I tried to coax him, by patting him, but he still hung to my clothes, until I reached the door. There I knocked and called loudly; two women came to the door, who appeared the only inmates; they said it was a wonder the dog did not tear me in pieces. Here, for the first and last time in my life, I begged for something to eat. They gave me some hominy and milk, for which I was very thankful. After requesting them to detain the dog until I was clear, I returned to the powder, which I faithfully guarded the remainder of the night.

The next morning the pilots finding they could plunder no more of the powder, agreed to carry it up the Pamlico river, to the several County committees for whom it was destined; myself accompanying them. We landed this powder in three Counties. I was invited by the several committees to take up my abode with them while I stayed; I gladly accepted their invitations, having left everything I had on board the sloop taken by the British. I stayed chiefly with the overseers of their plantations.

While crossing the woods one morning, I was chased by a wild boar, and was obliged, he being close to my heels, to climb a tree; here I remained half an hour, he biting the trunk the while, and then disappearing. I descended and made the best of my way to Col. Simpson's, where I lived with his head overseer some time.

It was the time of harvesting, Col. Simpson wished me to take a freight of corn in a small schooner down the Pongo river, and deliver it to one Mr. Jordan. He offered me slaves to assist me, which I refused, choosing to go alone. I arrived safe in two days, and delivered the corn, Mr. Jordan's house standing near the bay. The evening after discharging the corn, there came on a hurricane, the tide rising very high and the sea breaking over the schooner. I anchored and shut myself down in the cabin. In the course of the night I found the vessel adrift; not daring to go on deck, I waited the result, and soon felt the vessel strike, and continue bumping from one side to the other; she then keeled on one side, and remained still. At daylight the next morning I knocked open the cabin door, and ventured on deck. I found myself safe on terra firma, in the woods, one half mile from the water, the tide having left me safe among the trees. Taking my blanket, I shaped my course for Mr. Jordan's. After travelling some distance I came to a wide creek, which I managed to cross by some wind-fall trees; arrived at Mr. Jordan's at nine that morning. He expressed much surprise at seeing me, thinking me lost in the gale; said himself and family were driven by the tide from the lower to the upper story of his house. I enquired if the vessel could be got off—"It would cost the price of ten such vessels," he replied; "let her remain." I then wrote to Col. Simpson, that I had delivered his cargo safely to Mr. Jordan, and that he would find his schooner, half a mile in the woods, anchored safely among the trees.

At twelve o'clock that day I saw a sloop coming down the Pongo river, which I took to be from the North. I walked abreast and got set off and put on board of her; I enquired of the Captain if he wanted

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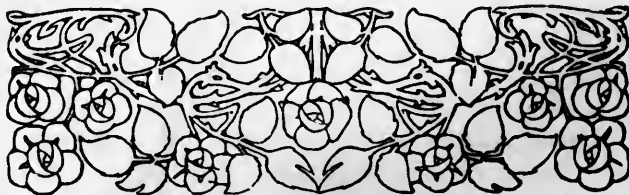
a hand; he did, as he had just dismissed one. I immediately signed the shipping paper. The sloop was loaded, and we sailed the next morning for the West Indies. Arriving off the Islands we were chased by an English Frigate, and ran into St. Eustatia, under the protection of the Dutch fort, the English giving up the chase. We immediately landed the cargo, the vessel being sold. I took passage in a small sloop bound to Rhode Island and arrived safe, after passage of eleven days.

I took my pack and travelled to Little Compton, where I had an uncle; here I stayed one week, and then marched home on foot, the distance of 70 miles, without one cent of money in my pocket. I had been absent eleven months.

NOTE BY EDITOR

We pause at this point, because Captain Little next takes up his service in the well-known Penobscot Expedition, his account of which we wish to supplement at some length by other papers left by him and by some additional data.

The opening section of his narrative, above given, is the only one where Captain Little's chronology seems to be in confusion, his sea-life from the age of fifteen onward apparently emerging into Revolutionary events too soon. Some one familiar with the history of the persons and events Captain Little locates in North Carolina may be able to supplement this part of his narrative.—F. A.



The Grand Old Man of Scranton



FOLLOWING this note of introduction will be found the first installment of the Recollections of William Henry Richmond, of Richmond Hill, Scranton, Pennsylvania, dictated for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, at my strong solicitation, in the fall of 1916, just before his ninety-fifth birthday. The part now published includes his earliest experiences as a boy in Connecticut, and as a young man in locating in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and a little later at near-by Carbondale, at both of which places his activities were mercantile in the early days, although from the latter he branched out into other enterprises, becoming one of the notable and most original coal operators of the great anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania. The next installment of the Recollections will include his experiences as an operator; in connection with which I hope to call attention to the significance of his great service to the economics of our country in practically enlarging our available supply of anthracite coal—the prospective exhaustion of which has been the theme of much speculative concern—by demonstrating the usability of the smaller sizes, which had before been thrown out as waste. An amazing result would stand before us were we able to estimate exactly the amount added to the available energy for the world's work by this single reform.

Mr. Richmond is one of those enumerated as “the twelve great builders” of the famous Lackawanna coal district, from Carbondale to Nanticoke, including the city of Scranton, of such phenomenal growth and development that the rest of the country has scarcely yet awakened to its significance. Of these “twelve builders” Mr. Richmond is now the sole survivor, having long outlived all the others, lacking now a few months only of being within four years of the honors of a centenarian, with memory, reasoning faculties, and his lifelong interest in every up-to-date question little if any impaired—the only living recollection of an active participant which spans practically the whole period of the beginnings and wonderful extension of the use of anthra-

cite in our country. He has thus witnessed the entire marvelous growth of our tremendous industries—the last survivor of the pioneers who dug up the black candle containing over ninety per cent of pure carbon and from it released the stored-up sunshine of the ages to do our work for us.

When this scion of the old Connecticut breed of men went into the Pennsylvania woods, a modest vision of the possibilities of anthracite had just dawned on a few of the brightest minds, leading to the cutting of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, with its western terminus in the forest at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, named after one of the projectors, Philip Hone, one-time mayor of New York City. From Honesdale the slim finger of an old "gravity" coal-road stretched westerly over the mountain to Carbondale, significantly named, where the first anthracite was commercially mined in this country; while from Carbondale the mining operations spread gradually down the valley southward to Scranton and beyond. At Honesdale, in its infancy, Mr. Richmond made his modest contribution toward the general development in a mercantile way; three years later crossed over to Cabondale and set up his own establishment in the heart of the mining, where, besides the activities he himself speaks of as merchant and proprietor of a planing mill, he was the projector and chief stockholder of the Crystal Lake Water Company and an organizer and original stockholder of the Carbondale Gas Company; while presently he became one of the great operators who carried the anthracite industry down the valley to Scranton.

I must leave it to our imaginations to try to compute the economic value of the contribution of the use of anthracite to American life and industry; but in a very practical way, in the following reminiscences, Mr. Richmond brings home to every man and woman the personal nature of the revolution wrought by showing that a ton of anthracite, now delivered at one's cellar in New York City for from \$6 to \$7 in normal times, has the fuel value of two tons of the Connecticut cordwood which in his boyhood used to cost New Yorkers about \$24—when money, too, was much more valuable than now.

If THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY had an ancestor, it was the *Connecticut Magazine*, an original and charming periodical which, struggling to subsist within the limited constituency of one State, passed through precarious times of almost constant financial drought and famine. Its editor, Dr. Miller, once told me that in moments of great stress, when his enterprise seemed about to crash upon the rocks, a

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telegram to Mr. William Henry Richmond of Scranton never failed to obtain the assistance needed to enable the magazine to continue its useful career. Many of its former readers will now perhaps for the first time learn how largely they were indebted to Mr. Richmond for their continued enjoyment of that periodical. He has also always been much interested in *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, and became one of the most helpful Original Founders of The National Historical Society, of which he has made several persons Life Members, a number Founders, and a large number Annual Members. All the members of this Society, therefore, will have a special interest in the career and remarkable personality of this grand old man.

My personal interest was aroused by some correspondence we had, which seemed to me astonishing when I learned Mr. Richmond's age from a valuable genealogical pamphlet he had just issued, a copy of which he very kindly sent me; and this was greatly increased by receipt of a number of his communications to newspapers, which not merely showed his unremitting grasp upon the practical questions of the day, but that he was still leading public opinion with ingenious practical suggestions which showed that his mind continued to work ahead of his times. With great pleasure, therefore, I accepted a kind invitation to visit him in his beautiful home at Richmond Hill, in the northern limits of Scranton, where, upon a picturesque estate of some seventy-five acres, he had forty-two years before built a magnificent house, of the best materials, solidly put together, like his own character.

His venerable age and remarkable faculties, standing like a rock against time; with what I learned from various sources of his career, his lifelong habits and manner of life, and the development and ripeness of his Christian character; joined to the nature of his ancestral lines, worked out in almost all cases to his first progenitors in America—these things in remarkable conjunction offered a most tempting opportunity for a scientific study of heredity; and Mr. Richmond, with his customary grasp of and interest in everything of scientific and sociological value, heartily agreed to further my desires in this direction in every way possible.

The reminiscences which here begin are the first fruits—at my earnest request dictated and committed to manuscript at Richmond Hill in the early fall of 1916. I hope to supplement them later by pointing out features in Mr. Richmond's career, ideas indicating powers of thoughtful concentration and ingenuity of mind, and ideals of moral worth and Christian faith, not merely held in the mind but

quietly and steadily worked out in life into imperishable character, which together seem to me to be of special note and value; after which I hope to present a study in ancestry, along lines quite new, in an attempt to trace scientifically, so far as we may, the part probably played by the forces of heredity in laying the foundations for the character of the grand old man of Scranton.

I may add that I was visiting at Richmond Hill in the fall of 1916, when Mr. Richmond was dictating his Recollections, at which time also occurred the week's celebration of Scranton's semi-centennial as a city. It was touching to witness the acknowledgment made to Mr. Richmond from every quarter as the last survivor of the "great fathers" of the city and entire region; while at that time the public for the first time learned that Mr. Richmond had provided for the turning over of his magnificent property of Richmond Hill as the site of a great training school or university. Added to the large fund left by the late O. S. Johnson of Scranton, this provides a secure foundation; and if other men of Scranton have the vision and generosity of Mr. Richmond, not a training school merely, but a great university, of a highly practical nature, will visualize itself at Scranton, which is ideally located for such a great enterprise. If in this vision, too, Mr. Richmond is ahead of his times, it is to be hoped that his times will arise, gird up their loins, and follow.

FRANK ALLABEN

**Recollections of Ninety-five Years in Connecticut and the Anthracite
Region of Pennsylvania**

BY

WILLIAM HENRY RICHMOND



I WAS BORN October 23, 1821, in a cottage close by the highway of the Hartford and New London Turnpike, in the southern part of Marlborough, Connecticut, where the north branch of the Salmon River is bridged. The cottage, not more than one hundred feet from the river, was long ago destroyed, the ruins still being discernible among the trees.

My father and mother, William Wadsworth Richmond and Clarissa (Bailey) Richmond, were married in 1819, and they com-

menced their married life in Marlborough in 1820, I believe at the instance of Joel Foote, Esquire, whose home was less than a thousand feet north of the cottage. Esquire Foote had the only sawmill in the town of Marlborough, and had also a fulling mill and a cloth dressing factory. Farmers used to spin and weave their wool and take it to his factory. There it was run through a machine which teasled up the nap of the cloth. Then it was sheared and put into the press for pressing it down and finishing the cloth for the tailor to make it into clothes for men and boys to wear. This was the way their clothes were manufactured in those days. Women also used to wear dresses of cloth made similarly, and also plain woven flannel.

I said that I believe my father and mother came to Marlborough at the suggestion of Esquire Joel Foote, my mother being related to the Foote family.

My father had a blacksmith shop a short distance away from the cottage. He was connected with two men by the name of Manwaring, who had machinery for circular saws and other machinery for making wagons and carts. They were also engaged for a long time in making window shades. The slats for these were slitted from soft wood timber by machinery till they were less than half an inch wide. They had cords which were furnished to the wives and daughters of the farmers to put in as warp in the common looms, and these slats were woven in, making a complete shade of the length desired for most windows. Such were made by other companies years after, and have been in use up to the present time in some sections. The power for this machinery came from the Falls after leaving the Footes' sawmill.

At my father's shops in those days he had to supply the farmers and planters about our home and some abroad with hoes, such as garden hoes and common hoes, and the large, heavy hoes that the planters in the south used in the culture of their land. At his shops were made also all the iron and steel work for the plows which the farmers of those days used. There were no cast iron ploughs at that date, those coming into use some time after. At that time there were one or more scythe factories, manufacturing such scythes as were used in fields for hand-mowing. The wooden tooth hay-rake was in use, and this and the ordinary hay-fork were all the implements the farmer had for securing his hay. The improved cast iron plough, and many other implements for the farmer, have come into use in the last sixty or seventy years. But at the time I am speaking of all the tools farmers had in our country were the simple ones described.

At my father's shops in 1823 there was made an iron fence for Captain Moseley Talcott, for his front yard, which is now standing in as good condition as when placed there. This fence was composed of about five-eighths or three-quarters inch square iron with molded head formed by tools in my father's shop, and this fence was placed upon hewn stone as a base, which stood about twenty inches high above the ground. The fence completed, and as it stands now, is about three and a half or four feet high. The base stones were in long pieces and were set in the ground so deep that the frosts of ninety-three years have never disturbed the fence as originally placed. In all, the fence is about two hundred feet in length. The property has now for some years been owned by Mr. Frank Cheney, president of the Cheney Silk Manufacturing Company of South Manchester, Connecticut. I recall visiting and taking friends to see that fence some years ago, and two years ago, while in Marlborough, I went with friends to look it over and found the date of its origin, 1823, cut in its stone base. Where is a fence like this to be found, of that period or much later?

Mr. Talcott was an advanced farmer, and had a cider mill which was superior to any in the country we knew of then. This mill was located on the side of a hill, and a farmer could drive his cart into the upper story and discharge his apples so that they could be shoved right into a hopper and reach the crushing machinery under that floor. This machinery crushed the apples, and they could then be led into a press, which would hold them, with layers of straw laid in between. As the apples came out, and when the press was built up three or four feet high, a cover was put on of sufficient strength, with screws arranged about this cover, so that with levers they could be turned down and the apples crushed as they lay there. By that method the juice was thoroughly extracted from the apples. It descended to a large wooden tub, and then to a common funnel, as big as a water pail, filled with straw. The juice was drawn from the vat into barrels and sealed up, ready to roll out on the floor, with the cart backed up ready to take the barrels to market. Capain Talcott's cider mill and farm were near the center of the town, the farm bordering on the lake.

When I was about six years old my father found it to his interest to remove from the location where he had been settled and to move about a mile and a half nearer the center of the town, a distance about three-fourths of a mile south of the Congregational Church of Marlborough. There he had a blacksmith shop and at that time an uncle,

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Mr. David Kellogg, who had married my father's oldest sister, was my father's partner in business. They had three different farms at that time, two of them a distance of a mile or two from home. The one on which father lived was called Dean Farm. This he bought in 1826, and also a foundry, which was located at the foot of the meeting-house hill. The power for driving the water wheel was from the small stream crossing the turnpike road, and a portion of that mill is still standing.

One of the men with whom my father was engaged in business, Mr. Manwaring, also moved to this location, and carried on a wagon business for many years. My father looked after the manufacturing part of his business and Mr. Kellogg looked after their farming and lumbering intrests.

In those days we used to carry large amounts of ship timber and oak and hickory wood to the Connecticut River at Middle Haddam, seven miles away. This wood was shipped to New York for household and other uses and was worth from \$5 to \$7 a cord at Middle Haddam. When it reached the city of New York and the householder, sawed to length and put in his cellar, it would cost him from \$12 to \$14. Since it has become proper and useful to use anthracite coal, one ton of good anthracite, costing the user \$6 or \$7 at his home, supplied the units of heat equal to two cords of wood.

This period was about 1835 or 1836. I remember my father had a contract with Mr. Charles Parker of Meriden, Connecticut, for manufacturing a certain lot of castings. These were applied to a wood plank, ten or twelve inches square, and composed what we called the coffee mill or spice mill. On one occasion, when I was ten or eleven years old, I went with my uncle, with a large wagon-load of these castings, hauled by four pair of cattle, to Meriden, a distance of about twenty-five miles. On our return home, at Middletown, we loaded up the wagon with pig iron.

At that time we crossed the Connecticut River on a ferry-boat. The propelling power was two horses. The journey took a week and was one of my first ventures away from home as a traveler.

Not long after 1830 silk manufacturing in the United States began to occupy people's minds, and a number of persons in Connecticut and New Jersey were engaged in raising mulberry trees for feeding the silk-worms. The raising and speculating in these mulberry trees involved many in financial difficulties, and among these were my father and uncle. Also, at this time, speculation was fostered by en-

terprising land agents, who got out handsome scripts claiming to transfer to anybody who bought them quarter, or half, or full sections of land in Texas, for about twelve and a half cents an acre. These two enterprises, the mulberry craze and the land speculation, were two of the things which brought trials and losses to the people of the United States in 1837. But the crowning effort in bringing on the panic of 1837 was the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank by President Andrew Jackson.

By reason of my father and uncle being concerned in these speculations, they, with many others, lost their property. Because of this my father had to leave the home we then occupied and move to a smaller one, on the Hebron Road, about a mile east of Marlborough Center. This was about 1839. There my father established a shop, and, with a few helpers, did the blacksmithing work of the surrounding country.

In the year 1834 a Mr. Titus Whitmore of Middle Haddam, with whom my father used to do business, made inquiry of him if he had not a boy to go into his store. My father told him that his oldest boy was only twelve and he thought it not proper to take him out of school. Not long after this, Mr. Whitmore came over to our home to see me and to talk with my father about my going into his employ. After some arguments, in which Mr. Whitmore claimed it would be well for me to be out of school a few years and then finish my education later, he finally said that he would send me to school for three months during the winters, as business would be dull after the Connecticut River was frozen up. I did get schooling for three months during one winter, that of 1835-36, in a select school taught by Israel M. Buckingham, brother of former Governor Buckingham of Connecticut. There were fourteen pupils in the school, most of them older than I was. We all attended dancing school that winter, taught by a noted master by the name of Hazen and a Mr. Peckham. The reader can imagine who was the most indolent of the pupils! The last of the fourteen pupils of the school have been gone years ago, except the writer, the last of the others being Henry L. Stewart of Middle Haddam, a son of the late Honorable John Stewart, who was a merchant and ship-builder at Middle Haddam at the time I was living there. Mr. Henry L. Stewart died only about three years ago, so I am the last of the fourteen. There was then also another shipyard at Middle Haddam, at the time I was living there, but the name I do not recall.

While I was in Mr. Whitmore's employ, one time in the early

spring, my father came over to Middle Haddam, and with him was the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Lee, who was pastor of the Congregational Church at Marlborough and lived nearly opposite my father's home. My father and he came in a one-horse sleigh, and I was permitted to return with them. I sat in the sleigh between the doctor and my father. Much of the snow was off from the middle of the road. I was the driver going home, and we had to drive in the ditch, more or less, to get the snow. I was careful to hold the lines, one in one hand and one in the other, so as to make me efficient in crossing from one side of the road to the other. Dr. Lee chided me once or twice. Finally he said to me: "Young man, hold your lines in one hand, or you'll never make a driver in your life." The doctor was then past sixty years old, and young folks did not look upon a preacher as they do in these days. Dr. Lee was a very stern-looking man, with white hair that stood up straight on his head.

In those days we went to church at ten o'clock in the morning. There was no heat in the church, save what the women brought in their foot-stoves, and at noontime the boys used to go to the neighbors and get the foot-stoves replenished with coal, if they could afford to do so. Many could not. The sermons and exercises lasted two hours, till noon. Then there was an hour's intermission. A few of the old men would go to the tavern nearby, these men not being very strict church people. The real church members, those who sustained the church, would spend the hour in the church, or down at the horse-shed, where the horses were tied, talking of church matters and home affairs, and, after reading the weekly mail, which was usually distributed at that time from the post office, they no doubt hinted somewhat of the politics of the day. Then, at one o'clock, services were resumed, of an hour and a half or two hours, according to the interest of the sermon and exercises. It was a New England Sunday. We had Sunday School later. I never went to Sunday School, but two of my sisters did.

About 1838 or 1839 they put a large wood-burning stove into that church. There was quite a good deal of opposition, many of the old people not liking the idea. The stove was located at one end of the building and the stovepipe was carried over a corridor clear to the other end and put out through a window. Unfortunately for the genius of that age and time, the church people who put up the stove put up the pipe in sections wrongly, so that whatever water was accumulated fell down into the hall, and many of the women got their

bonnets hurt. But after a while the trouble was discovered and the stovepipe changed.

Doctor Chauncey Lee, of whom I have spoken, was installed pastor of the Marlborough Congregational Church November 18, 1828. He remained there for nine years, and was followed by others until February 29, 1840, when Rev. Hiram Bell became the pastor, remaining so until 1850. It was during the pastorate of Mr. Bell that the present church was built at Marlborough. On March 11, 1841, the following, all of whom were known personally by me, were appointed a committee for arranging the plans for the erection of a new church: Moseley Talcott, Augustus Blish, George Lord, Edward B. Watkinson, Horatio Bolles, and William Finley. The last sermon was preached in the old church on June 13, 1841, the text being, "The fashion of this world passeth away." The new church was dedicated March 16, 1842.

After I went home to Marlborough I went to school between one and two years. Then the full effects of the panic caused the full loss of my father's business. In 1839 I had to go to work to help take care of the family. I worked in my father's blacksmith shop, and at various kinds of such work, till March, 1842. During those years I worked in the hayfield some three or four weeks each year. I did such work for a farmer living a mile or two from our home, by the name of Isaac B. Buell.

Mrs. Buell was so good to me that she put me in a spare bedroom on the first floor with a nice, large, feather bed to sleep on. So I did not get cool day or night. If she had given me a straw bed it would have been a great blessing to me. But then I would probably have looked upon it as an unkind act, and perhaps I would have gone home, for I had never slept on anything but a feather bed. In later years I learned to sleep on a straw bed, which was more healthful. Hair mattresses were not in vogue then in the country.

During the haying time Mr. Buell had a brother, William, to help, and a hired man, and I was the fourth in the party in the hayfield. At that time we used to be up early in the morning and ground the four scythes we were to use. It was the lot of "the boy" to turn the grindstone. Then came breakfast, and then for the field! There one of the older men would lead the party of four, with their scythes, mowing and cutting a swath around the field. The next who followed took the lead in turn, and so it went on till about nine or ten o'clock. Then Mr. Buell would say, "William, I guess you had better lay up

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your scythe and turn over the grass a little." The others kept on mowing till noon. In the afternoon we took care of the grass and got it in order to put into the barn.

All the implements we had then for such work were scythes, used by hand, wooden rakes, and forks with long handles to handle the hay. For cutting the grain, we used the sickle and an implement called the cradle, that had then been invented. I recall that when I was in Greece, in 1900, I saw them reaping just as we used to do. In other foreign lands I have seen the use of tools similar to those we employed at the period I am describing. But since 1900 they have gotten tools manufactured in this country so as to do the work of harvesting with less labor.

While I was working for Mr. Buell he paid me a dollar a day. This was the pay of "a stout man," and I was only a lad, weighing one hundred and twenty pounds.

On Monday, March 14, 1842, I left home. Previously to this date, I had been reading the newspapers, and had learned about the Henry Clay protective tariff bill, which was passed during the winter of 1841-42. The newspapers of the country at that time dwelt upon the increased renewal of business which the panic of 1837 had so devastated.

My mother had died October 26, 1834, and my interest in trying to be a merchant again was renewed by my aunt, my father's eldest sister, who encouraged me to be a merchant rather than a mechanic.

Some weeks before leaving home, I had suggested to my father that I had better go to Hartford and see if I could not get a place in a store. His reply to my suggestion was: "I shall be going up pretty soon and you can go up with me." After a short time I made a similar suggestion, and he replied in much the same manner. I knew that he felt that I was useful to him where I was. I then began to look up my resources, to go on my own account. I had a little money, and I did not ask my father for any. But I applied to Mr. Buell, on whose farm I had worked, for a loan of about fifteen dollars, as I recollect. I went to Captain Talcott and asked for a letter of recommendation. He gave me such a letter, which I took to General Enos H. Buell, a noted man of the town, who signed it also. I confided my plans to these two men.

The morning I left home, the 14th of March, I sent a small satchel of clothes over to the hotel, and in the afternoon I walked with my father to the hotel and then an eighth of a mile south, to the church,

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where he was to attend a funeral, that of an aged man by the name of Phelps. I bade him goodby at the steps of the church, and never saw him again, as I returned home the day after his death, May 31, 1843.

The Saturday night before I left home, with another young man, named Warner, who was in my father's employ, I had sat up and watched by the corpse of this Mr. Phelps.

At this time I was twenty years old—twenty-one the following October.

I went by the regular stage line between New London and Hartford. Hartford was fifteen miles to the north of us. The journey took about five hours by stage. I spent the remainder of the week at Hartford, till Saturday afternoon. I canvassed all drygoods, grocery, and other stores, applying for a place, but it was the universal remark: "Business is not yet revived, though we are expecting right along that things are going to change." One of the merchants said to me that they had young men in the stores with no salary, who were awaiting the change in business so that the merchants could afford to pay them salaries.

Having left town in a quiet sort of way, and with a little independence, it was not pleasant to think of returning without doing something. I recalled that I had an uncle living in Salisbury, Connecticut, and another living in South Amenia, Dutchess county, New York. Leaving Hartford on Saturday afternoon, on the Albany stage line, I was the only passenger in the great four-horse stage. It was snowing quite a little, and, as my only outer covering was a blue camelot overcoat, with black velvet collars and cuffs, I was pretty cold. When we arrived at Salisbury in the morning, some two hours late, it was snowing a foot deep.

I left my luggage at the hotel and walked a mile or two up to Salisbury Hill, to my uncle's. This uncle had lived in my father's family for some years, before he was married. He was John Richmond and was a farmer. His hearing was very defective. At this time they had two boys in the family, the elder seven or eight years old, and the other a year or two younger. While I had seen the aunt on their wedding trip, I had little acquaintance with her. I found the ways of the household were not in keeping with my early training.

As my uncle was very deaf, I remember that when he told the older boy to do something his wife would tell him that he need not do it.

I went from there on to my other uncle's, at South Amenia, Dutchess county, New York. This was Abner Richmond, with whom



WILLIAM HENRY RICHMOND

From a photograph taken in June, 1906, at the age of eighty-four



RICHMOND HILL, SCRANTON, PENNSYLVANIA
Residence for forty-two years of William Henry Richmond



DRAWING ROOM, RICHMOND HILL.



DINING ROOM, RICHMOND HILL,

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and with whose family I was better acquainted. When my visit was over, I was about to return home. But my uncle said: "I am going up to Albany on Saturday. Hadn't you better go with me? Possibly you will find there some place of business." The suggestion was favorable to me, and on Saturday afternoon he took his horse and carriage and drove down to Poughkeepsie. We took there the boat for Saugerties, where my uncle had some business relations.

We spent the Sunday at Saugerties, and on Monday morning he took me into a drygoods store and introduced me to Mr. C. C. Graves, the proprietor. After talking for a while, my uncle told Mr. Graves that I had started out from home with a view to getting a place in a store, and of my experience in Hartford. Mr. Graves said: "That is about the same situation as in Saugerties. We are now expecting that the iron mill will resume work soon, and also the white lead mill and other works. Well," he said to my uncle, "I rather like the appearance of your young nephew, and if he will stop with me I will do what I can toward his making a success in business. He may come right into my family."

This was said after he had learned of my three years' experience in Middle Haddam in my younger days, and after general conversation. We returned to the hotel, and, after talking with my uncle, I concluded to stop with Mr. Graves. I went into his family, which consisted of himself, his wife, two children, and the father of Mr. Graves.

The evening I arrived in Saugerties, Saturday, March 26, just two weeks less two days from the time I left Marlborough, there arrived in Saugerties, returning from a visit in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, Mr. Robert H. More. He had been in the mercantile business and was one of the sufferers from the panic of 1837, in which he had lost all his property. His friends, with the prospects of revival of business, had supplied him with money and credit to re-enter business. He had spent the previous week in Honesdale, going there to learn of it as a place for him to go into business again. He was a brother-in-law of Mr. Graves, but his wife had been dead for some years.

Mr. More reported Honesdale as a favorable place for starting business, but he was still a little in doubt about going there. Mr. Graves had a nephew living in Albany, who came to Saugerties soon after I arrived there. There was also a young man about thirty years old, who had been a clerk for Mr. Graves before the hard times, and these, with one or two others, used to meet in the store and talk about

the business prospects. This went on for a week or more. Then Mr. Graves and this young man from Albany, his nephew, started for Honesdale by stage. It took two days to go and two to come back. They stayed a week, and, on their return, spoke favorably of Honesdale as a place of business.

After their return, the nephew went back to Albany, leaving it unsettled whether Mr. Graves was to leave Saugerties or not. But one morning Mr. More came into the store and said: "Now you're going to take Gillespie and go up to Coxsackie. I'll go to Honesdale, and I want Richmond to go with me."

Mr. Graves's reply was: "I am going to do for Richmond what I can if he stays with me. But he must act on his own judgment. If he thinks it better to go to Honesdale, I won't object."

After some talk with Mr. More as to prospects of business, etc., I consented to go with him to Honesdale, as a clerk in his store. He then went to New York and bought a general stock of goods, except drygoods. He had groceries, boots, shoes, crockery, hats, etc.

While he was in New York, his father-in-law, old Mr. Graves, asked me if Mr. More was going to buy liquors to take out to Honesdale. I said no, that Mr. More had told me that he had joined the Temperance Society the last winter. The old gentleman said that Mr. More had sold liquors when he was previously in business, and probably would do so now. I said to the old gentleman that, if that was the case, I would not go to Honesdale with Mr. More.

When Mr. More returned I put the question to him, as to what his father-in-law had said. He replied to me that it would not be a proper thing for a temperance man to sell liquor. That satisfied me, and I so told Mr. Graves.

In due time we started for Honesdale, via Kingston, by stage. In one night and most of a day we reached Rileyville, about fourteen miles north of Honesdale. There was no public conveyance from there to Honesdale, but the landlord at Rileyville said: "The next morning there will be a number of teams going to Honesdale. Wait, and put your luggage on one of those teams and go that way." So we had to take that kind of a lift.

Arriving at Honesdale we spent a day or two in looking over the village and canvassing the prospects for business. We found that there were a dozen or more stores that did a general business, and they sold drygoods as well as other things. I said to Mr. More that perhaps he had made a mistake not to have drygoods. His reply was: "I

am dependent on my friends for money. I am sure I can sell groceries, but, if I get a stock of drygoods on my hands, I might not be able to turn them so easily. But," he said, "if you think best I will go back to New York and get the drygoods."

I went to the landlord whose store we were to occupy and told him of the changes that would be necessary, and he was very willing to make these. Then Mr. More went back to New York to buy drygoods.

The other goods, which he had bought before we left Saugerties, had to come to Honesdale by canal, and they began to arrive just after Mr. More left, which was about May 10, 1842.

I employed a man to aid me in receiving the goods that were arriving. In the first dray-load coming up from the public store-house I found whiskey, rum, brandy, etc., in all some twenty barrels or more. I opened the cellar door and told the cartman he could roll the barrels into the cellar. The other goods, as they came in, we began to open and display in the store, and we soon had as many customers as we could take care of and more too.

When Mr. More returned he found we were doing a business of from \$50 to \$100 a day, taking in that much money. Nothing was said about the liquor for some two months. I finally spoke to Mr. More about it, and told him that if he was going to sell that liquor he must get some one else to take my place. He said that he did not want to deal in liquors, but that the man from whom he bought them in New York told him that every one in Honesdale sold liquors, and that he could not succeed in business without them. That, he said, induced him to buy them. "You stay. I see we can do good business without selling liquors, and I will get rid of these by selling them by the barrel to the landlord of the hotel." And he did so.

We had a good business all summer, and when fall came we had to add another clerk. This clerk was a Mr. Russell, brother of the president of the Honesdale Bank, who had been in the grocery business but had given it up. He came to the store, at that time a man of about thirty-five years old. Four or five weeks afterward in came a quantity of liquors and whiskey again. I told Mr. More that if he was going into the liquor trade he must put some one else in my place, as I would not stay. He said: "You stay. I'll get rid of the liquors as I did before. I am sorry I bought them. This man Russell told me I could do better by selling liquors." He discharged Russell and got rid of the liquors.

Mr. More continued in business for ten or twelve years, and left some property at his death.

When I was in Honesdale I knew there Major Walton, a Canadian, who was treasurer and paymaster of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. He had occupied that position for some years. The family lived opposite the store of Mr. More, my employer. They were a family of more than ordinary intelligence and standing. Mrs. Walton, a friendly and worthy woman, was very kind to me, often sending me in a bit of cake or something. Two of the daughters and one son had been married, and the youngest daughter, a girl of twenty, was left at home. In the spring of 1843 or 1844 her wedding took place, to Mr. Charles Wallace, I think. A large party was given, the ceremony being performed by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Henry A. Roland, D. D., and by the rector of the Episcopal Church, whose name I do not recall.

As we were promenading about the rooms some one suggested another wedding, and said: "Here's Richmond and Miss Ludlow," with whom I was promenading. "Let's have them married." I replied that I was agreeable. But we continued to promenade, and other subjects took the place of this. A few days after, I met the rector of the Episcopal Church in the street. After the usual salutations, he said: "Mr. Richmond, do you know you pretty near got married the other night at the wedding?" "No," I said, "I knew we were just having a pleasant time." Then he asked me if I understood the laws of Pennsylvania on marriage. I replied that I did not, and he said: "An agreement of two persons before twelve witnesses is a lawful marriage ceremony, and it is possible that girl can hold you as her husband." You can imagine the condition of my feelings. I did not discard that from my mind for some time.

The county seat of Wayne county had been moved from Bethany to Honesdale by the legislature in the winter of 1841-42. A large number of carpenters and builders was engaged in putting up the new county buildings when I arrived in Honesdale in May, 1842. The population of Honesdale at that time was about two thousand, I think. Its population is now about five thousand.

We remained in that store for two years. Then we moved about two blocks west to another store. In the winter of 1844 a fire occurred in the building adjoining Mr. More's store, which consumed all of the goods in that building, and we were able to save only about a third of our goods. What were saved we moved into another building and disposed of them.

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My service with Mr. More ended in March, 1845. I had made arrangements, in the meantime, with another man by the name of C. A. Robinson, formerly of Danbury, Connecticut. We put our financial resources together and arranged to go into business on our own account. We had but a very modest capital of some \$800. While I had the larger amount, my partner gave me his note for some \$80, so that we could start as equal partners. At the time I bought his interest in the business, in 1853, I omitted to turn in this note, and I have kept it till the present time.

Before deciding on where to locate I started, one Monday morning, in the middle of March, with a horse and covered buggy, to go to Danville, Pennsylvania, fifty miles west of Wilkes Barre. The woods were frozen over the mountain until we reached Carbondale, where I found the frost was out of the ground. I did not reach Pittston till late in the evening, and there I stayed over night, at a tavern owned by a Dutch family, who gave me a feather bed to sleep on. Next morning I started for Wilkes Barre, and found the roads very heavy. At Wilkes Barre I decided to leave my carriage at the livery stable. I obtained a saddle for my horse, and started a little before noon toward Danville. I crossed the mountain on the east side of the Susquehanna River, and when about at the summit I found a house with the sign on it, "Inn." I knew the horse wanted something to eat, and I thought that I could eat something or get some milk. I hitched my horse to a sign-post, and went in the house. A woman and some children were there.

When I asked if I could feed my horse, she said yes, that she would go out to the barn and winnow out some oats. She brought the oats in a half-bushel measure and I prepared the bridle for the horse to eat. When I asked if she would give me something to eat she said no, that "the old man" had gone to town, but that, as soon as he came back, she would bake some biscuit for me. I said: "Never mind. Give me a glass of milk," for I knew she had a cow, that had tried to share my horse's food and that I had been obliged to drive away.

In the meantime "the old man" came home, with a bag slung across his shoulders. In one end of the bag was flour, and in the other end a whiskey jug. When they both had taken a drink and filled a bottle they were ready to cook something for me to eat, but I told them not to do so. The old man watched the cow for a while, as she was trying to get part of the horse's dinner. He became somewhat

excited and swore that he would be the death of the cow if she did not keep away. The old woman said: "You won't be the death of it. That's my cow."

Matters began to look rather serious, and I paid my bill and started with my horse toward Danville. I rode to Berwick for the night, crossed the river next day, and reached Danville at two or three in the afternoon. I had taken some two days and a half in the journey from Honesdale.

The principal iron works at Danville had been in operation only about two or three years. There was a nice farming section all around Danville, but, while I thought very well of the prospects, there was no store which I could rent there which was acceptable.

I returned to Honesdale by the same route, the whole journey consuming a full week's time. Then I concluded to look over Carbon-dale and see if I could find a proper store there. I did so and found a store, twenty-four feet wide by some forty odd feet long, two stories high, with two windows at the front on the lower story and a plain door between them, and two windows on the second story. I found the property had not been used for a year or two, but had been standing open to the commons. It was owned by a firm named Spofford and Tillotson, silk merchants of New York. It had come into their hands some years before in collection of a debt.

At this time it was in charge of Dr. John P. Farnham, and I went to his home but found that he was down the Delaware River with rafts of lumber and would not return for three or four weeks. I told his wife, Mrs. Farnham, my object in calling, and that I thought of trying to rent the store, and to go into business there. I told her I had been in Honesdale for three years and that I knew three of Dr. Farnham's brothers, and that they knew me very well. She said: "You go and take the store, Mr. Richmond. I cannot tell you what the rent will be, but the doctor will make it all right when he comes home." I said to her that it would be necessary to go to an expense of two or three hundred dollars in altering the store and putting it in order. She replied that she could not say as to that, but she thought, if I did not spend too much, the doctor would make it all right.

The result was that we made arrangements to put a new front in the store, and in five or six weeks we got in our goods. These were of various kinds—groceries, drygoods, etc. It was a general store, but we sold no liquor. By the 10th of May we were in full charge of business.

RECOLLECTIONS OF WILLIAM HENRY RICHMOND

We remained in that store till September 15, 1855, when a fire occurred in the next block below us. We saved a portion of our goods, but everything on the two lots I owned, and on which the store stood, was burned, except my dwelling. These lots comprised one hundred and twenty feet, facing on Main Street, with a depth of a hundred and fifty feet each on Salem Avenue. Five years before, the middle of September, a fire had occurred in the block below our store, which burnt a number of buildings on both sides of Main Street. My property was saved at that time by extraordinary exertions and aid of the people.

We had no fire company, and depended on a bucket brigade at that time, as well as up to 1855. We had no regular fire apparatus in Carbondale till about 1860.

In 1851 I went to Norwich, Connecticut, and bought woodworking machinery for making doors, sashes, and blinds for household purposes. I put it into a mill about two miles above Carbondale, owned by my brother-in-law, Mr. G. L. Morss. The mill had been built a few years before for the purpose of grinding grain, and much of the necessary machinery had been put in. But Mr. Morss had abandoned the idea of using the mill. He said to me that I was welcome to use it, and I ran that machinery till 1861.

This was the first woodworking machinery to be used in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, and woodworking men thought I was doing wrong to bring in machinery to take labor out of their hands. It was considered an unfriendly act toward the carpenters. Some went so far that they would not patronize my store on this account. But in after years a better sentiment prevailed. I sold this machinery in Carbondale in 1861. It was moved to another building and I think is in operation now.

The store which I went into in 1845 was the first store building erected in Carbondale. It was built by Mr. Solomon Lathrop in 1829. After the fire of 1855 we put up a temporary building on my house lot, for groceries, and used two rooms on the lower floor of my house for other goods. I arranged to build a new store, and while this work was going on I went to New York and bought goods and placed them in these rooms in my house.

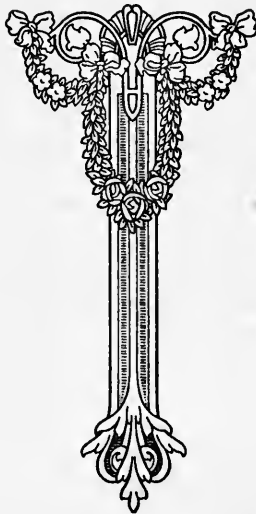
About January 10, 1856, the store part of the new building, twenty-one by one hundred feet, was in condition to use, and the balance of the building was finished soon after.

There were offices, as well as the store, on the first floor. The

second story was used for merchandise purposes, as well as part of the third story. In the third story, facing Main Street, sixty by fifty feet, was arranged a public hall, a wide stairway leading to it from the east end of the building. That hall was used for ten or more years by public speakers of the country, who delivered lectures there, among those being Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, and many others who were found on the platforms in that day. At one time the Rev. Mr. Milburn, a blind preacher, spoke there. He was afterward the chaplain of the house of representatives in Washington.

I had introduced this hall in the building, as I thought it would be for the public good, and of educational benefit, to bring public speakers there.

[To be continued]



Great American Documents

The First Charter of Virginia, Granted by King James 1
in the Year 1606

I



JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof;

II

And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, along the

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Coasts of Virginia and Coasts of America aforesaid; And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth:

III

We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so Noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires;

IV

And do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the first Colony; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty miles of English Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA

space of fifty like English Miles, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V

And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, GRANT and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plimouth in the County of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the second Colony; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; and that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the space of fifty like English Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their bet-

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ter Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land, without the express Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII

And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed, and comprised in the same instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one Side, these Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae*; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; *Pro Concilio primae Coloniae Virginiae*. And the Seal for the Council of the second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnae, Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae*; and on the other Side; *Pro Concilio secundae Coloniae Virginiae*:

VIII

And that also there shall be a Council established here in England, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our Council of Virginia; And shall, from time to time,

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA

have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, above mentioned; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae*; and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio suo Virginiae*.

IX

And moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any part of their said several Colonies, as for the said main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner or Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect to the same.

X

And that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI

And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies,

Plantations and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations; With sufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

XII

Moreover, we do by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations.

XIII

Giving and granting, by these Presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods, and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA

being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obedience, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandise, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid, WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly employed to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

XIV

And we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantation, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

XV

Also we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said

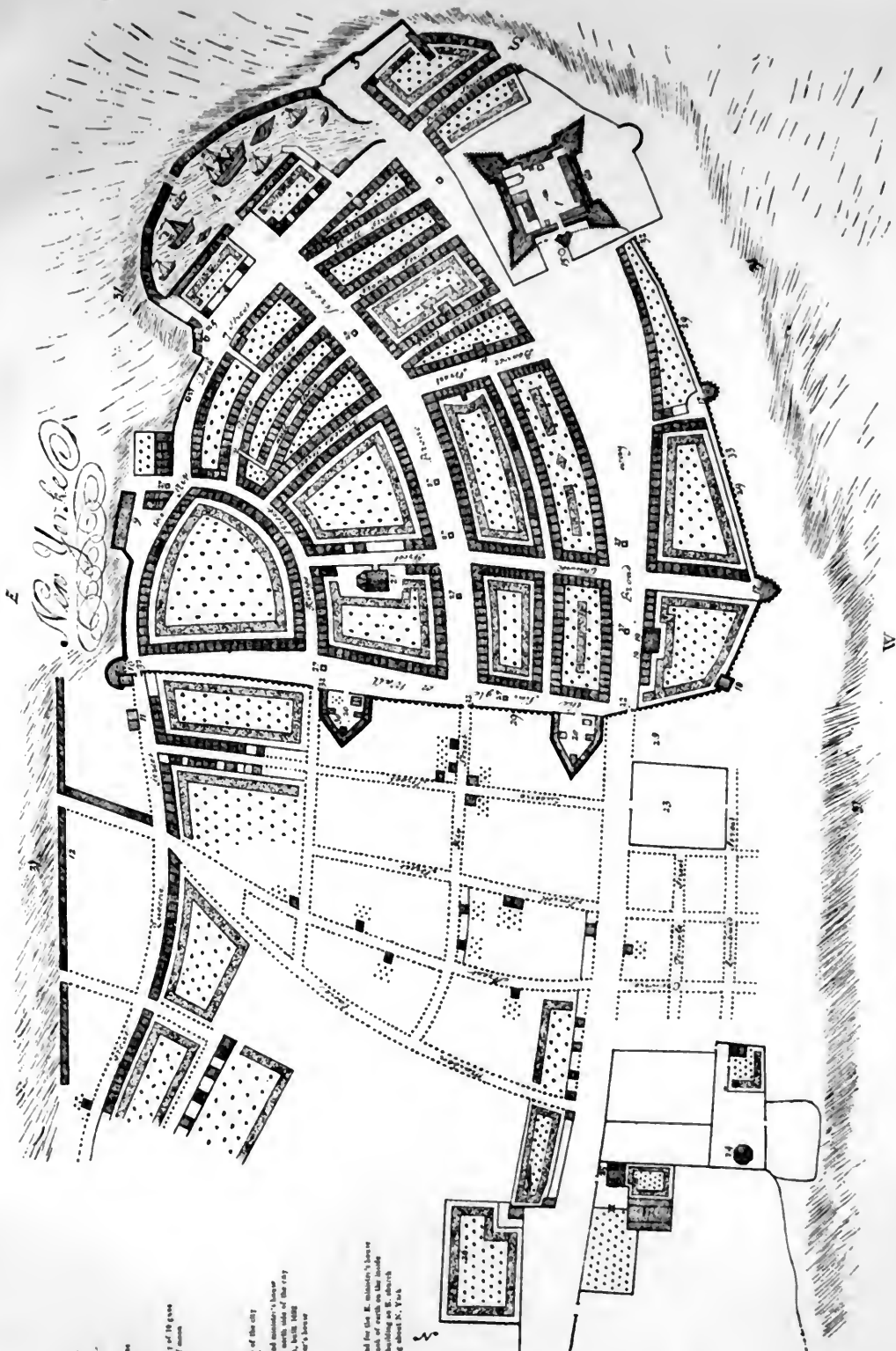
several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI

Moreover, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other Foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, Without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs and Successors.

XVII

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or

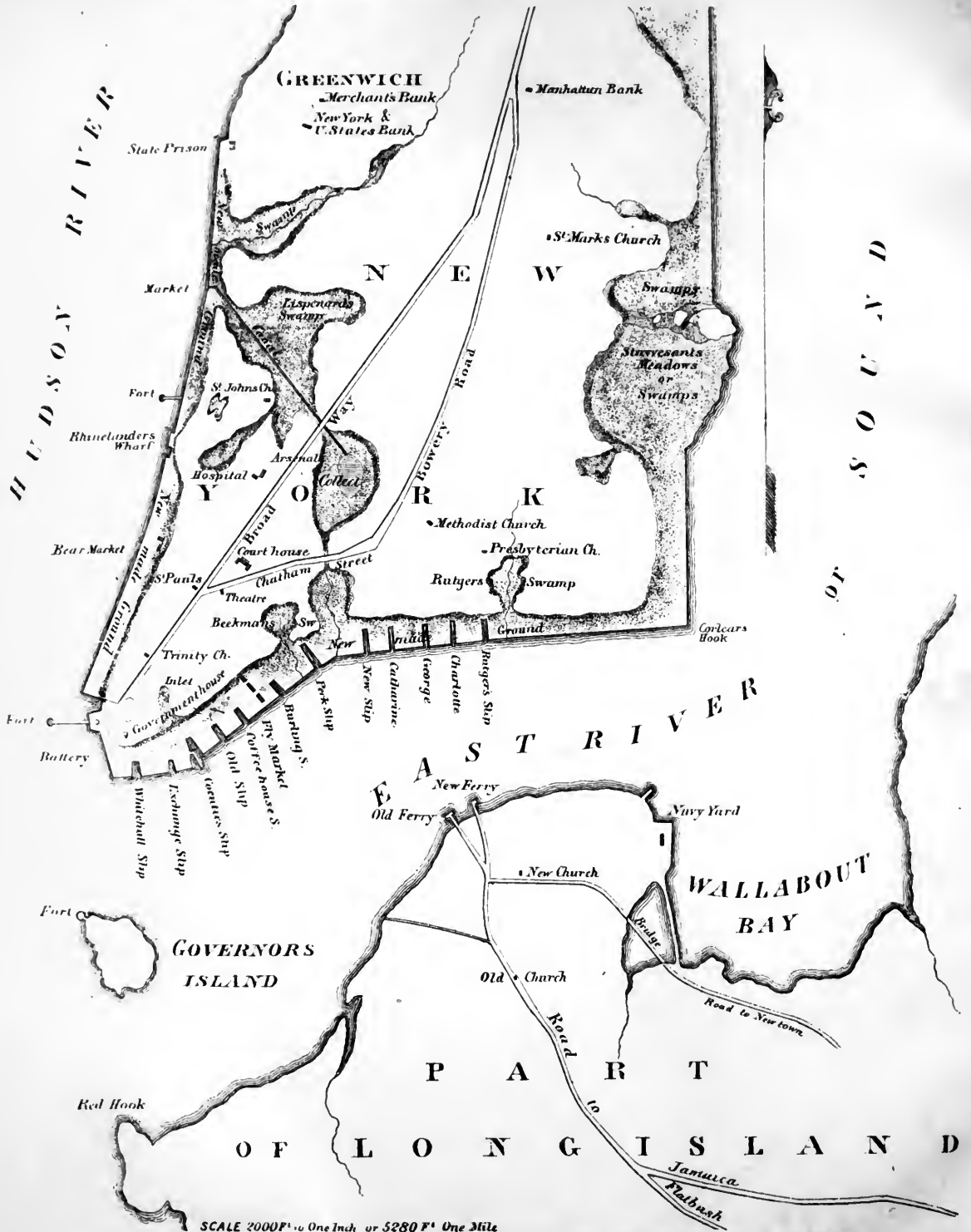


1. The chapel in the fort.
2. Garrison's half moon.
3. The city gate.
4. The old dock.
5. The new dock.
6. The main dock.
7. The main dock.
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30. The main dock.

PLAN OF NEW YORK CITY IN 1695

PLAN of the CITY of NEW YORK

Showing the made and swamp land.



SCALE 2000^T to One Inch or 5280^T One Mile

PLAN OF NEW YORK CITY ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



FIVE POUNDS. No. 33/83

By a LAW of the Colony of
New-York, this Bill shall be received
in all Payments in the Treasury for
five Pounds. NEW-YORK,
February 16, 1771.

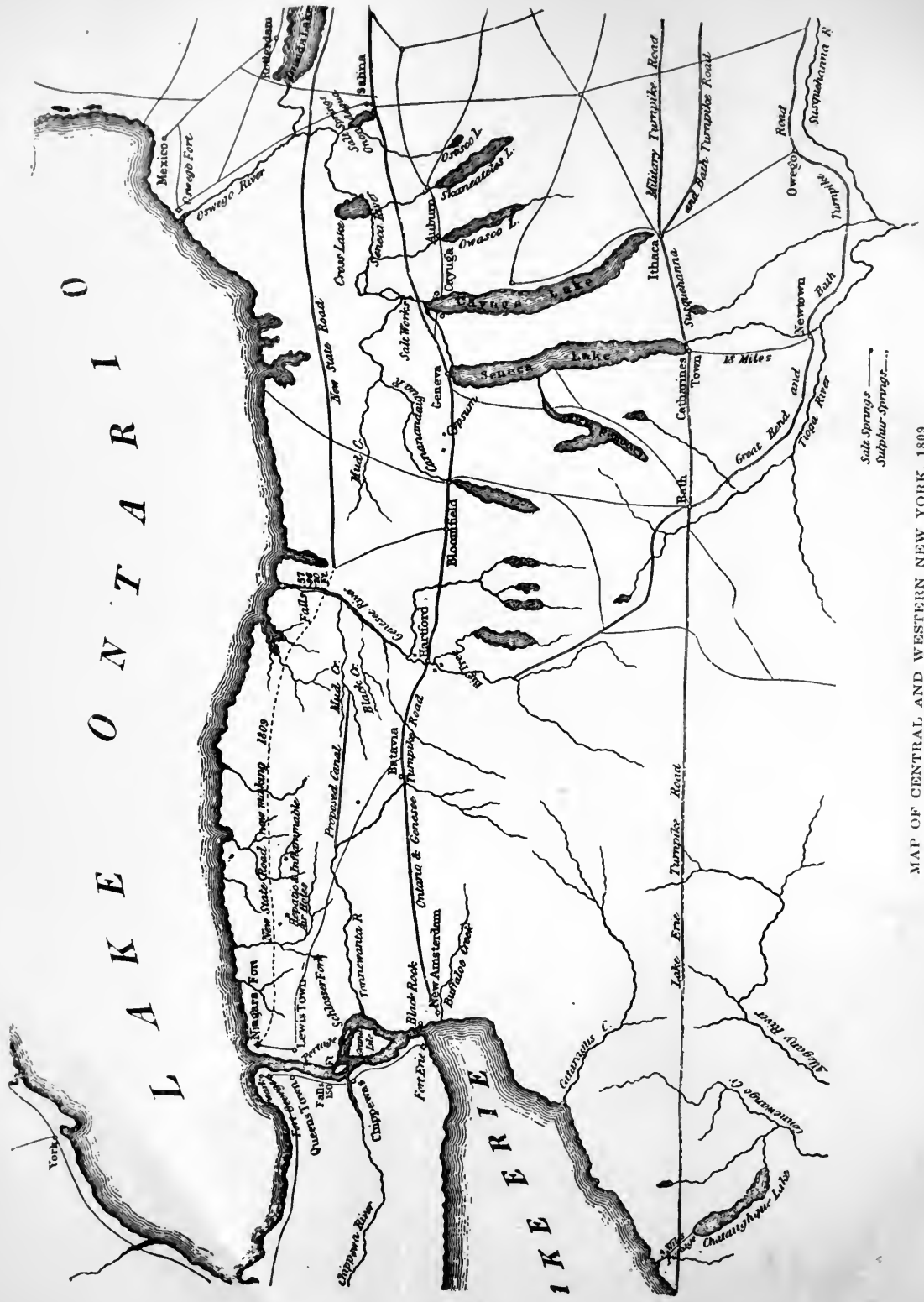
NEW YORK

Sam. Verplanck V. L.
W. Franklin
G. Mott



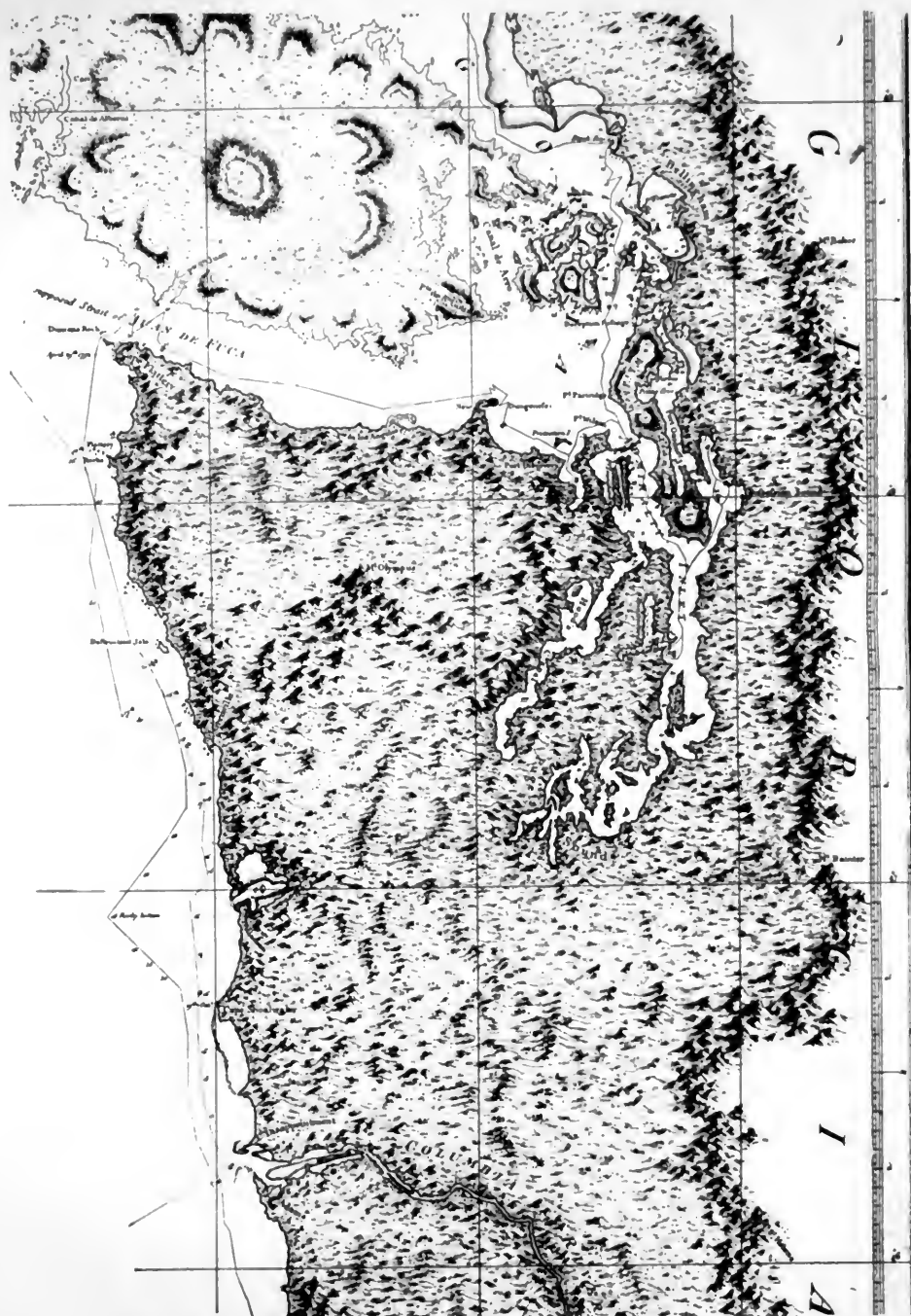
"Tis Death to counterfeit.
1769

A NEW YORK COLONIAL BANKNOTE, 1771



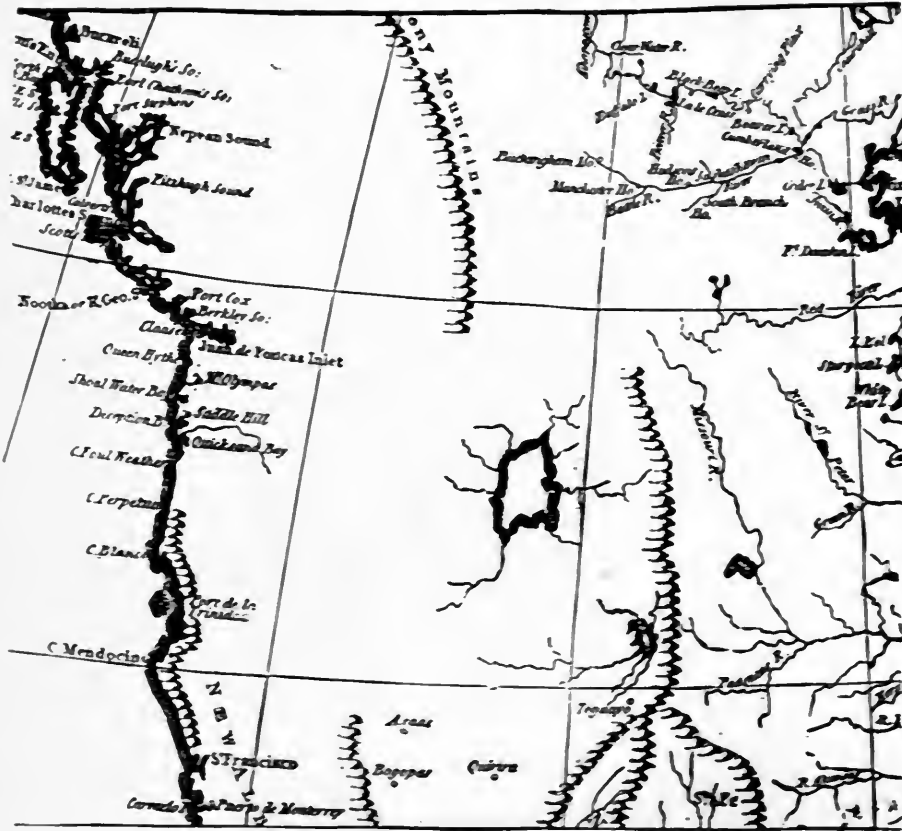
L A K E O N T A R I O

MAP OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK, 1809



PART OF A PACIFIC COAST MAP BY CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER

The map shows most of the names bestowed by Vancouver and his predecessors; also that part of the island of Quadra and Vancouver which would now belong to the United States had the forty-ninth parallel, throughout its whole length to the Pacific, been insisted upon in 1846, as it had been in all the previous negotiations and correspondence.



J. RUSSELL'S PACIFIC COAST MAP, 1795

Showing what was known of the coast previously to the publication of Vancouver's report and the visit of Lewis and Clark. From Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Houghton, Mifflin & Company, publishers.



OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY AT EUGENE



VIEW OF BAKER CITY, OREGON, AND SURROUNDINGS

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA

others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abettors, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abettors and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII

And finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor at EAST-GREENWICH in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

XIX

And do, in like Manner, Grant and Agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the said second Colony, That We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt. Sir George Somers, Knt. Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.



American Armorial Index

Surnames Borne by American Families for Which Coat
Armor Is Blazoned by Heraldic Authorities

[Continued]



HIS LIST has been compiled with a view to assisting those seeking information as to their right to display a coat of arms, or who wish to ascertain whether a coat of arms is borne by any family of the same surname as their own.

Many Americans have an inalienable right to claim the ancient insignia of their race, and to them this list may serve as a guide in taking the first steps to establish their descent from armigerous families.

It should be noted that the introduction to a preceding portion of this list, in the last issue of THE JOURNAL, was there placed in the absence of the Genealogical Editor and applies to another armorial roster, distinct from the one now being published.

I

Ibach	Ingraham	Isaacs
Iles	Ingram	Iselin
Iliff	Inman	Isham
Ilsley	Innes (also Inness)	Israel
Imbrie	Irby	Ivers
Immler	Ireland	Iverson
Ingham	Irish	Ivery
Ingle	Irons	Ives
Inglis	Irving (also Irvine)	Ivison
Ingoldt	Irwin	Izard

J

Jack	Jackson	Jacobi
Jackel	Jacob	Jacobs

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Jacobson	Jefferson	Jones
Jacqueline	Jeffries	Jonge
Jadwin	Jenkins	Jordan (also Jordin)
Jaffray (also Jeffrey)	Jenner	Joscelyne (also Joslein)
Jäger	Jenney	Jost
Jagger	Jennings	Jouet
James	Jephson	Joy
Jameson (also Jamison)	Jermain	Joyce
Janes	Jermyn	Joyner
Jansen	Jervais	Juck
Jansohn	Jervis	Judd
Janvier	Jessop (also Jessup)	Judkin
Jardine	Jewell	Judson
Jarrett	Jewett	Julian (also Julien)
Jarvis	John	Jump
Jason	Johns	Jungbludt
Jaspar	Johnson (also Johnston and Johnstone)	Jurgenson
Jay	Jonas	Just
Jaynes	Joner	Justice
Jefferey		Juxon (also Juxton)

K

Kahne	Karr	Kearney
Kahtenberg	Karsten	Keating
Kain	Kase	Keeble
Kallschmidt	Kast	Keene
Kamenski (also Kaminski)	Kastner	Keep
Kammerer	Kater	Keeping
Kamp	Katz	Keese
Kan	Katzenstain (also Katzenstein)	Keiser
Kane	Kaufman (also Kauffman)	Keith
Kanel	Kautz	Kell
Kapp	Kavanaugh	Keller
Kappel	Kay (also Kaye)	Kellner
Kappler	Kayle	Kellogg
Karcher	Kaysir	Kelly
Karg	Kean (also Keane)	Kelsey
Karp		Kelton
		Kemble

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Kemp	Killiam (also Killian)	Kite (also Kyte)
Kempe	Killikelly	Klee
Kemper	Kilmore	Klein
Kemperle	Kilton	Kleinschrodt
Kempff	Kimball (also Kimbell and Kymbell)	Kleiss
Kempner	Kimber	Klemm
Kempton	Kimberley	Kliuck
Kendall	Kimpton	Kliug
Kendrick	Kincaid	Kliugel
Kennedy	Kindt	Klock
Kenney	King (also Kinge)	Klop
Kennion (also Kenyon)	Kingdon	Klopfen
Kenrick	Kingsbury	Klopper
Kensett	Kingsland	Klotz
Kensinger	Kingsley	Klunn
Kent	Kingsman	Knapp
Kentzinger	Kingsmill	Knapton
Keppelle	Kingston	Knebel
Kerby	Kinloch	Knecht
Kercheval	Kinne (also Kinney)	Kneeland
Kern	Kinsella	Kneller
Kerr	Kinsey	Knepper
Kerscher	Kinsman	Knight
Kessler	Kint	Knighton
Kettle	Kip	Knobel
Kettler	Kippen	Knoblauch (also Knobloch)
Kettner	Kippenberg	Knopf (also Knopp)
Key	Kipper	Knott
Keyser	Kirby	Knowles
Kidd	Kirk (also Kirke)	Knowlton
Kiddell	Kirkbride	Knox
Kidder	Kirkbridge	Kobb
Kidebell	Kirkby	Kober
Kieffer	Kirkham	Kocher
Kien	Kirkhand	Kochler (also Kohler)
Kiener	Kirkman	Koen
Kilbourne	Kirkpatrick	Kolb
Kilby	Kirschbaum	Koller
Kilgour		

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Konder	Kramer	Krutter
Konig	Kratz (also Krautze)	Kudes
Konigsfeldt	Kraus	Kuhlman
Koning	Krause	Kuhn
Koogh	Kraut	Kuipers
Koopman	Krauthoff	Kullmer
Kop	Krautter	Kulp
Koppele	Kreiter	Kun
Kopperl	Kremer	Kuner
Korber	Kress	Kuntze
Koruman	Kroeger	Kuntzman
Korper	Kromme	Kurtz
Kossler	Krop	Kussew
Kotter	Krueges	Kustee
Koven (De)	Krug	Kuyper
Krafft	Krumm	Kyle
Krall		Kymes



Labaree	Lampart	Langman
Lacey (also Lacy)	Lamport	Langmede
Lackey	Lampson	Langsdorff
Lacombe	Lampton	Langston
Lacroix	Lancaster	Lanier
Ladd	Land	Lanius
Ladew	Lander	La Noy
Ladoue	Landes (also Landis)	Lansing
Lafayette	Landgraff	Lap
Laffan	Landman	Lardner
Laffite	Landon	Large
Laidlaw	Landris	Larkin
Laird	Lane	Larocque
Lake	Lang (also Lange)	Larseu
Lakin	Langdale	Lascelles (also Las-
Lallemand	Langdon (also Lang-	sells)
Lalor	ton)	Latham
Lamas	Langford	Lathbury
Lamb	Langham	Latimer
Lambert	Langhorne	Lattin
Lamont	Langley	Lau

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Laube	Ledoux	Lenius
Lauer (also Louer)	Lee	Lenox
Laughlin	Leech	Lent
Laughton	Leeds	Lentz
Laurens	Leeman	Leon
Laurie (also Lawrie)	Leer	Leonard (also Lenard)
Laurier	Lees	Leonhardt
Lauriston	Leete	Lequire
Lauten	Le Fevre	Lerch
Lauterbach	Le Forest	Leroux
Lauth	Legare	Leroy
Lautour (also Latoun)	Leger	Leslie
Laux	Legg	Lersch
La Vallette	Leggett	Lessier
Lavender	Legrande	Lester
Laver	Le Gros	Lestrangle
Law	Lehman	Leuschner
Lawler	Lehn	Leusser
Lawley	Lehner	Levenson
Lawrence (also Lawrence)	Lehr	Leveque
Lawson	Leigh	Lever
Lawton	Leighton (also Leghton)	Leverett
Lay	Leininger	Leverich (also Leverick)
Layton	Leipziger	Levermore (also Livermore)
Lea	Leiss	Levett
Leach	Leissler	Levy (also Levi)
Leadbitter	Leitch	Lewes
Leader	Leiter	Lewin
Leake	Leitner	Lewis
Lealle	Leland	Lexington
Lear	Lely	Ley
Leathers	Lemmon (also Lemon)	Leybourne
Leathes	Lemoine	Leycraft (also Leycroft)
Le Breton	Lemp	Leydecker
Le Brook	Lenard	Leyden
Lechmere	Le Neve	Libby
Le Compte	L'Enfant	
Lederer	Lenicke	

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Liddell	Lippert	Loper
Licht	Lippincott	Lopez
Lichtenberg	Lips	Loray
Lichtenberger	Liser	Lord
Lichtenstein	Lisle	Lorie
Liebenstein	Lispenarde	Lorillard
Lieber	Liss	Lorimer
Ligbeld	List (also Liszt)	Loring
Light (also Lyte)	Lister	Lotz
Lightfoot	Litchfield	Loudon
Ligon	Littell	Louther
Ligonier	Little (also Lyttle)	Louvat
Liggins (also Ligon)	Littlefield	Louw (also Low)
Lillie (also Lilley and Lilly)	Littlejohn	Love
Limbech	Littleton (also Lytleton)	Loveland
Limberger (also Limburger)	Littlewood	Lovell
Lin	Livesay	Low
Linch	Livingston	Lowell
Linck	Llewellyn	Lowndes
Lincoln	Lloyd	Lowry
Lind	Lober	Lubbock
Lindberg	Lodener	Lucadon
Lindemann	Lock (also Locke)	Lucas
Linden	Lockhart	Luce
Linderman	Lockwood	Luck
Lindlen	Loder	Lucy
Lindley	Loffler	Ludington
Lindsay (also Lindsey)	Loftus	Ludlow
Lines	Logan	Ludwell
Linford	Lohmayer	Ludwig
Linne	Lolor	Lufft
Linton	Lomax	Lufkin
Lints	Lombard	Luke
Lintz	London	Lulle
Lipp	Long	Lund
Lippe	Longan	Lunsford
	Longfield	Lupton
	Longley	Luscombe
	Longworth	Lusk
		Luther

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Lutken
Lutsch
Lutter
Luttig
Luttrell
Lutz
Luxford

Luyster
Lyde
Lydig (also Leydich)
Lydius
Lyman
Lynch

Lynde
Lyndon
Lyne
Lyon (also Lion and
Lyons)
Lyster



Maag
Maben
McAdam
McAllister
McAlpine
McArthur
McBean
McBeth
McBride
McCall
McCarty
McCausland
McClelland
McClintock
McClure
McCrea
McCulloch
McDaniel
McDermott
McDonald
McDougall
McDowell
McEvers
McEwen
McFarlane
McGill
McGillicudy
McGillivrey
McGinnis (also Mc-
Gennis)
McGowan

McGregor
McGuire
McHugh
McIlvaine
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeller
McKenna
McKenney
McKenzie
McKinnon
McLean
McLeish
McLellan
McLeod
McMahon
McMalion
McMaran
McMichael
McMillan
McMullen
McNab
McNair
McNamara
McNaughton
McNeil
McPherson
McQueen
McReady
McSweeney
McTavish

McVeach
McVickar (also Mc-
Vickers)
Machan
Machet
Mack
Mackay (also Mac-
key)
Madden
Maddock
Madison
Magee
Magill
Mahler
Mahon
Mahony
Main
Maine
Mainwaring
Maitland
Makepeace
Malby
Malcolm
Malet (also Mallett)
Malius
Mallan
Malle
Malone
Manchester
Mandel
Mandeville

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Manley	Marsden	Maury
Mann	Marschalk	Maus
Manners	Marselis	Mausse
Manning	Marsh	Mausser
Manningham	Marshall	Maxwell
Mansfield	Marston	May
Manson	Marten	Maydwell
Manton	Martin (also Mar-	Mayer
Mapes	tyn)	Mayhew
Maples	Martindale	Maynard
Mar	Martineux	Mayo
Marbury	Martiny	Meacham (also Me-
March	Marx	cham)
Marchand	Mascarene	Meade (also Mead)
Marchant	Mason	Meadow
Marchetti	Massey	Meadowes
Marckas (also	Massie	Meales
Marcker)	Masterman	Meares (also Mear,
Marcklein (also	Masters	Meare and
Marcklin)	Masterton	Meeres)
Marcy	Mates	Meck
Marden	Materne	Medley
Margel	Mathe	Meeck
Margery	Mathen	Meek (also Meeks)
Margesson	Mather	Meggott
Maris	Mathews	Meisinger
Markell	Matthaus (also Mat-	Meissner
Markham	theus)	Meister (also Meis-
Markoe	Matthews	ther)
Marks	Matthewson	Melbourne
Markwart	Matthey	Meldrum
Marley	Matthias	Melhuish (also Mel-
Marlowe	Mattock	lish)
Marmaduke	Maturin	Melle
Marple	Matz	Meller
Marquardt	Maude	Mellor
Marquis	Maule	Meltzer
Marr	Maun	Melville
Marriott	Maunsell	Melwarde
Marris (also Maris)	Mauntz	Mendoza

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Mendshall	Michaux (also	Möller
Meng	Micheaux)	Molloy
Mentz	Micklethwaite	Momma (also Mum-
Mentzel	Middlecott	ma)
Mentzer	Middleton	Monch
Mercier	Miedel	Monck (also Monk)
Mentzinger	Mier	Monckton (also
Menzies	Milborne (also Mil-	Monkton)
Mercer	burn)	Moncrieff
Marchant	Milders	Moncure
Merckel	Mildway	Monell
Meredith (also Mere-	Miles	Monfoort
dyth)	Milford	Monkhouse
Meriwether	Millar (also Miller	Monmouth
Merkel	and Mellor)	Monroe (also Mun-
Merklin	Millard	ro)
Merrick	Milliken	Monserrat
Merrifield	Millington	Montague
Merrill	Milner	Montandon
Merriman	Mills (also Mill)	Montcalm
Merritt	Milton	Monteagle
Merry	Minier	Monteath
Mersittus	Minnock	Montgomery
Mertius	Minott	Montjoy
Merton	Minshall	Moody
Mervyn	Minsham	Moon
Mesier	Minton	Mooney
Messenger	Minturn	Moore (also More)
Messer	Mitchell	Moorman
Messerschmidt	Mitchelson	Moors
Messiner	Mitford	Moran
Messner	Moderer	Morcomb
Metcalf	Moffatt	Moreau
Metsger (also Metz-	Moggridge	Morell (also Mor-
ger)	Mohr	rell)
Mevins	Moir	Moreton
Meyer (also Meyers)	Moland	Morewood
Meys	Molines (also Mul-	Morgan
Michael	lens)	Morgen
Michaelson	Molineux	Morgenstern

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Morhardt	Mothes	Muller
Morian	Mott	Mullett
Morin	Mottet	Mullock
Moris	Motzer	Mulvihill
Morison (also Mor- rison)	Moule	Mumford
Morland	Moulton (also Mul- ton)	Mundell
Morley	Moultrie	Mundy
Morris	Mount	Munn
Morrow	Mountain	Munsell
Morse	Mountfort	Munsinger
Morson	Mountjoy	Munster
Mortimer	Mountney	Muntz
Morton	Moushall	Murdock
Moseley	Mowatt	Murgatroyd
Moser	Mower	Murphy
Moses	Moyer	Murray
Moss (also Mosse)	Moyland	Murrell (also Mur- rill)
Mosser	Mudge	Musgrove
Mossman	Muir	Mutlow
Most	Muirhead	Mutter
Motham	Mullens	Myer (also Myers)

N

Naef	Needham	Neuman
Nagel	Needles	Nevers
Nagle	Neff	Neville (also Ne- vill)
Nailer	Negele	Nevins
Nairn	Negus	New
Napier	Neill	Newall
Napton	Neilson	Newberg (also New- burg)
Nash	Neimans	Newberry (also Newbury)
Natchegael (also Natchegal)	Nelson	Newbold
Nathan	Nesse	Newcombe (also Newcomb)
Naughton	Nestler	Newell
Navarro	Nettleton	Newenham
Nave	Neubeck	
Naylor	Neuhaus (also New- hause)	
Neale	Neukirch	

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Newhall
Newland
Newman
Newton
Ney
Nicholas
Nicholls (also
Nichols)
Nicholson
Nickel
Niclas
Niclaus
Nicola
Nicolay
Nicoll (also Nicol,
Nicols and Nic-
olls)
Nielsen
Niemeyer

Niess
Nightingale
Nisbet (also Nes-
bett)
Nisse
Niwlai
Nixon
Nobel
Noble
Nock
Noel (also Nowell)
Nolan
Noldt
Nones
Norbury
Norman
Normanton
Norris

North
Northen
Norton
Norvell
Norwood
Nott
Nottingham
Nourse
Noxe
Noyes
Nugent
Nussbaum
Nusser
Nutt
Nuttall
Nutter
Nutz
Nye

④

Oak
Oakes
Oakley
Oates
Obredorf
Oberholtz
Oberkirsch
Oberlander
Oberman
Obermeyer
Obersheimer
O'Brien
O'Callaghan
Ochs
Ochsa
Ochterlony
Ocker
Ochseureiter (also
Ockseureutter)

O'Connell
O'Connor
Odell
Odin
O'Donnell
O'Dougherty
Oebrichs
Offley
O'Flaherty
O'Flanagan
Ogden
Ogilvie
Ogle
Oglethorpe
O'Halloran
O'Hanlon
O'Hara
Ohl
O'Keefe

O'Kelley
Olcott
Olde
Olden (also Oldon)
Oldfield
Oldham
Oliphant
Oliver
Olney
Omme
O'Neill
Onslow
Oosterhout
Opie
Oppenheim
Oram
Orchard
Ord
Ordt

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Ordway	Osborn	Otter
O'Reilly	Osborne	Otway
Organ (also Or- gaine)	O'Shaughnessy	Ouderkerch
Orme	Osmond	Oudinot
Ormerod	Ostermand	Oulton
Ormeston (also Or- miston)	Ostertag	Outram
Ormsby	Osterwald	Overbury
O'Rourke	O'Sullivan	Overman
Orr	Oswald	Overton
Orth	Otis (also Otes and Ottys)	Overy
Ortman	Otley	Owen (also Owens)
Orton	O'Toole	Oxenbridge
Orwell	Ott	Oxibrd
Osaldston (also Os- baldeston)	Otterback (also Ot- terpach)	Oxnam
		Oxton
		Ozane



Pabst	Pander	Parley
Pace	Pangaert	Parmenter (also Parmentier)
Pack	Pangart	Parnell
Packard	Pankhurst	Parnham
Packenham	Pannebecker	Parr
Packer	Pannell	Parrott
Packington	Panther	Parry
Paddon	Panton	Parsons
Paddy	Panzer	Partington
Pagan	Pappenheim	Partridge
Paganell	Parbury	Parvich (Parvise)
Page	Pardee (also Pardy)	Pasch
Paget	Pardoe	Paschall
Painel	Pargiter	Pasmore (also Pass- more)
Palfrey	Paris	Paston
Palgrave	Park (also Parke)	Patch
Pallard	Parker	Pate
Palliser	Parkhill	Paterson
Palm	Parkhurst	Pates
Palmer	Parkinson	
Palmes	Parler	

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- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Patrick | Peat | Pero (also Perreau) |
| Patten (also Patton) | Pechin | Perrier (also Per- |
| Patterson | Peck (also Pecke) | rior) |
| Patz | Peckham | Perrott |
| Paul (also Paule) | Pede | Perry |
| Pauli | Pegge | Perryman |
| Paulis (also Paulitz) | Peisser | Perryn |
| Paulison (also Paul- | Pelham | Persoons (also Per- |
| son) | Pell | sonz) |
| Paulus | Pellett | Peshall |
| Pauly | Pelton | Pestell |
| Paunceforte | Pemberton | Peters |
| Paver | Pender | Petersen |
| Pavey | Penderell | Peterson |
| Pavon (also Pavone) | Pendleton | Petley |
| Pawley | Peniston | Peto |
| Pawson | Penn | Pett |
| Paxton | Pennant | Pettegrew (also Pet- |
| Paylor | Pennhallow | tigrew) |
| Payne (also Paine | Pennell | Petter |
| and Payn) | Penneman (also | Pettitt |
| Paynell | Pennyman) | Pettus |
| Paynter (also Pain- | Pennington | Petty |
| ter) | Penrose | Petz |
| Peache | Pepper | Peyton |
| Peadey | Pepperell | Pfaffenberger |
| Peacock | Pepys | Pfanner |
| Peak (also Peake | Percher | Pfau |
| and Peek) | Percival | Pfaut |
| Peale (also Peel) | Percy | Pfautz |
| Pean | Perger | Pfeiffer (also Pief- |
| Pear (also Pears, | Periam | fer) |
| Peers and Peeres) | Perier | Pfeil (also Piel) |
| Pearce (also Pearse) | Perigo (also Peri- | Pfenninger |
| Pearl (also Pearle) | cat) | Pfiester |
| Pearson (also Pier- | Perin (also Perrin | Pflaum |
| son) | and Perrine) | Pflieger |
| Pease | Perkins | Pflugger |
| Peasley (also Peis- | Perkinson | Pfuster |
| ley) | Perne | Phelan |

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Phelps (also Philips)	Pilgrim	Plunket
Phettiplace	Pilkington	Poe
Philip	Pillon	Pohl
Philippi	Pilsbury (also Pilesborough)	Poindexter (also Ponigdestre)
Philippin	Pinet (also Pinnet)	Points (also Ponig Poyntz)
Philips	Pinson	Pole
Philipse	Pipe	Poley
Phillpot (also Phillipot)	Piper	Polhill
Phippen	Pipon	Polington (also Polington)
Phipps	Pirou (also Pirot)	Pollard
Phull	Pitcairn	Pollexfen (also Pollixfen)
Pichler	Pitcher	Pollock
Pickard	Pitchford	Polo
Pickering	Pitman	Polwhele
Pickell	Pitt (also Pitts)	Pomeroy (also Pomeroy)
Pickett	Place	Pomfret
Pickman	Planck (also Plank)	Ponce
Pickup	Plant	Pond (also Ponde)
Pickworth	Plantagenet	Ponson
Piddle	Platt	Pool (also Puhl)
Pierce (also Pierse, Peirce and Peirse)	Pleasants (also Pleasance)	Poole
Piere	Player	Poor (also Poore)
Pierpont (also Pierrepont)	Playfair	Pope
Piers	Playford	Popham
Pierson (also Peirson)	Pletz	Popp
Pidgeon (also Pigeon)	Plimpton (also Plympton)	Port
Piger	Plomer	Porter
Pigg	Plompton	Porterfield
Pigger	Plotz	Portington
Piggott (also Pigott)	Plowden	Portman
Pike	Plowman	Post
Pilcher	Plum (also Plumbe)	Postell (also Posthall)
Pile	Plummer (also Plumber)	Poston
	Plumpton	Pote
	Plumptre	
	Plumstead	

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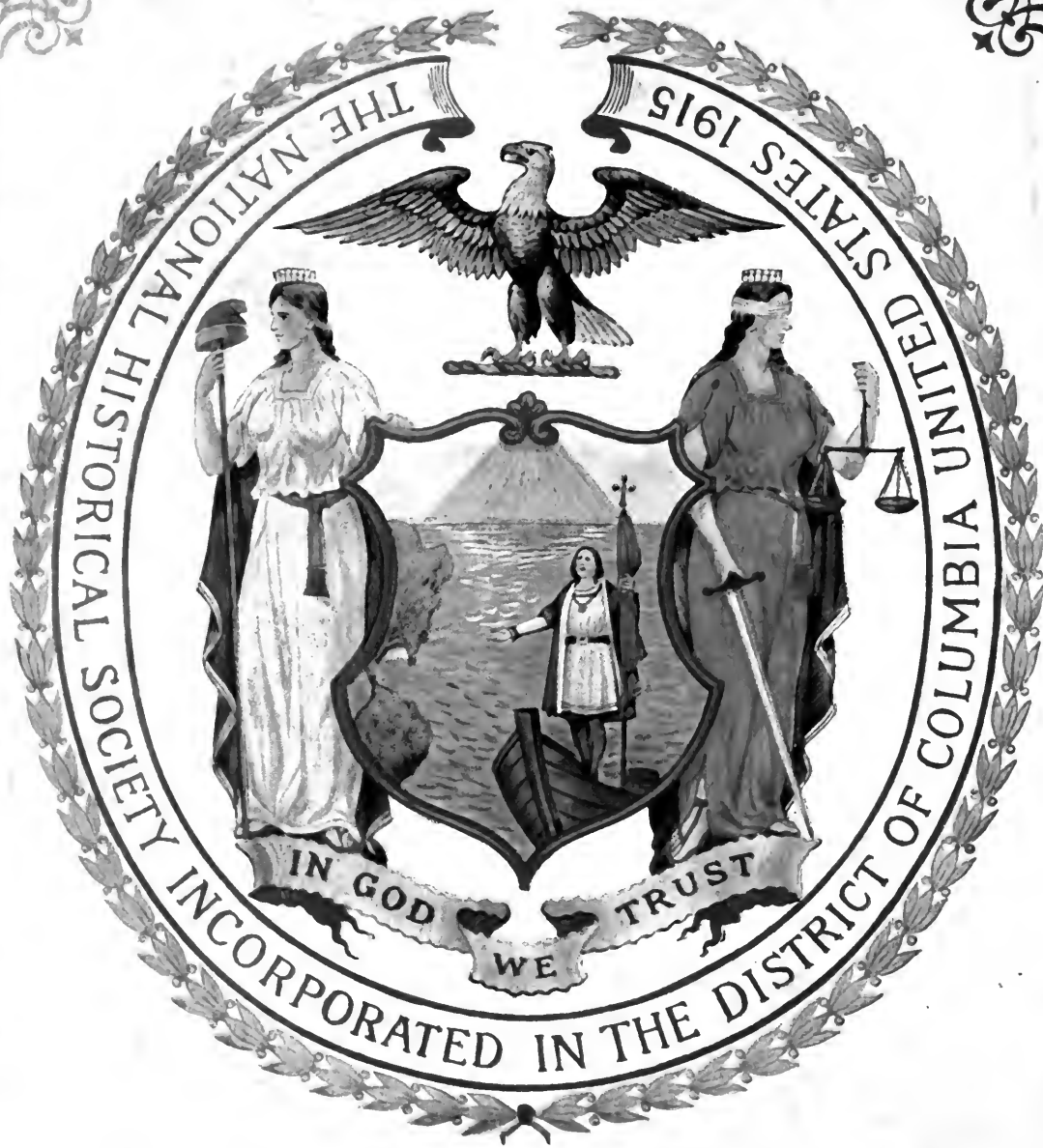
- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Pott (also Potts) | Preston | Provender |
| Potter | Prestwick | Provoost (also Pre-voost) |
| Pottinger | Prestwood | Prunne (also Prinne) |
| Poulet | Pretzman | Pruyn (also Pruen) |
| Poulsen | Price | Pugh |
| Poultenay | Prichard | Pulford |
| Poulter | Prickett | Pullen |
| Poultney | Prideaux | Purcell |
| Poulton | Priem | Purcleas |
| Pound | Priestly | Purdy |
| Povey | Prime | Purefoy |
| Powell | Primrose | Purnell |
| Power (also Powers) | Prince | Purser |
| Pownall | Pring | Pusey |
| Poynton | Pringle | Putnam (also Putman) |
| Prack | Printz | Putt |
| Praers (also Prayers) | Prior (also Pryor) | Pye |
| Pratt | Pritchard | Pyle |
| Pray (also Prayes) | Pritz | Pym |
| Preis (also Preiss) | Probst | Pynchon (also Pincheon) |
| Prendergast | Proby | Pyndar (also Pindar) |
| Prentice (also Prentiss) | Proctor | Pyne |
| Prescott | Prosser | Pynson |
| Presson | Prost | |
| Prestland | Proud | |
| | Proudfit (also Proudfoot) | |
| | Prout | |
| | Ⓞ | |
| Quale (also Quaile) | Quelch | Quincey |
| Quarles | Quennell | Quiney |
| Quarrell | Quigley | Quintin (also Quinton) |
| Quasi | Quilter | |

[To be continued]



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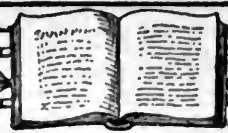


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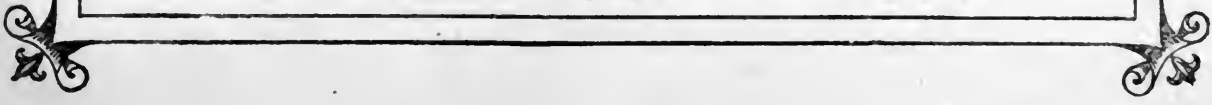
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Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

The Membership body of The National Historical Society consists of—

(1) Original Founders, contributing five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, thus enrolling as pioneer builders of a great National Institution;

(2) Original State Advisory Board Founders, contributing twenty-five dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected the Members of the State Advisory Boards;

(3) Original Life-Member Founders, contributing one hundred dollars each to the Founders' Fund, from whom are elected for life the members of the Grand Council of the Vice-Presidents;

(4) Patrons, who contribute one thousand dollars to further the work of the Society;

(5) Annual Members, who pay two dollars, annual dues, receiving The Journal of American History.

(6) Sustaining Members, who contribute five dollars, annual dues, receiving The Journal of American History.

(7) Sustaining Life-Members, who contribute one hundred dollars annually.

(8) Sustaining Contributors, who contribute annually any sum between five dollars and one hundred dollars.

Acknowledgment



ACKNOWLEDGMENT is made by the Publishers and Editors to Mrs. Mary Nicoll Putnam, of Elizabeth, New Jersey—one of the Vice-Presidents of The National Historical Society,—in connection with the production of this number of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY. It is due to her interest and liberality that we are enabled to embellish the number, so largely devoted to France, with the very beautiful color design, “The Sower” (emblematic of the French Republic), which appears on the cover.

By ancestry, through many historic family lines, Mrs. Putnam is a representative of the best blood of the three great Allied nations in the present War—France, Great Britain, and the United States. Her French descent is traced from

I. Jean Boudinot, of an armorial family whose early records are found in the Protestant registers of La Rochelle. He married Marie Suire and had six children, of whom the third was II. Elie Boudinot (designated as “Le Sieur”), who came from Aunis, a suburb of La Rochelle; merchant of ample means and eminent standing. An elder of the Huguenot church, he was more than once judicially prosecuted for adherence to his faith. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes he escaped with a son, Elie, Jr., to England, where, on the 20th of March, 1686, he obtained letters of denization. While in London he married, second (November 2, 1686), Suzanne Papin, widow of Benjamin d’Harriette, who, with a son, had fled from religious persecution in France. Elie Boudinot, with her and the children of their former marriages, soon came to America, record of them appearing in New York in 1687. He there anglicized his first name to Elias. Coöperating with the celebrated Rev. Pierre Peyret in organizing the French Church “du Saint Esprit,” he was its first elder. Elias Boudinot and Suzanne Papin had four children; the third of these was III. Madeleine Boudinot, married Thomas Bayeaux, a Huguenot refugee and merchant of New York. From them the line to Mrs. Putnam is as follows: IV. Madeleine Mary Bayeaux, married Hon. Edward Holland. V. Mary Magdalen Holland, married Benjamin Nicoll. VI. Dr. Samuel Nicoll, married Anne Fergie. VII. Frances Mary Nicoll, married George B. Evertson. VIII. Frances Mary Evertson, married William Amos Woodward. IX. Mary Nicoll Woodward, married Erastus Gaylord Putnam.

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JOSEPH JACQUES CESAIRE JOFFRE

Historical Portrait by Lotave, painted during Marshal Joffre's visit with the French Mission to the United States. Reproduced by permission of the artist for historical record in *The Journal of American History*.

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The Visit of the French Mission, April-May, 1917

The Tour of M. Vivianai, Marshal Joffre, and Their Associates, and
the Great Welcome Given Them---Full Official Reports of
Some of the Remarkable Addresses

BY

WALTER W. SPOONER



THE DECLARATION OF WAR by the United States against Germany was the result of formal deliberation and action by the two houses of congress, beginning immediately after President Wilson's historic address before the joint session on the evening of Monday, April 2, 1917. The war resolution was as follows:

"Whereas, The imperial German government has committed repeated acts of war against the government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the imperial German government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

"That the president be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the imperial German government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the congress of the United States."

This was passed by the senate at 11:11 P. M. April 4, 82 ayes to 6 nays; absent, 8 (all of whom favored the resolution). In the house of representatives the vote was taken at 3:12 A. M. April 6, resulting in 373 ayes and 50 nays, 9 not voting. The resolution received the signature of the president at 1:18 P. M. April 6.

Following the president's address, responses of extraordinary warmth and appreciation were made by the responsible representatives of the various Allied governments, and measures were initiated for mutual coöperation with our country in the War and the best and most substantial reciprocal understandings. The essential proceeding at once taken by each of the principal powers was that of constituting and dispatching to the United States a special Mission composed of very notable and forceful men; and this program was presently adopted by the other nations associated. For a number of months the accounts of the arrival and enthusiastic reception of the Missions of our several Allies figured largely in the news of the times.

The ultimate history of the World War, from the point of view of the elevated spirit of the peoples embattled against German despotism, militarism, and designs of universal domination, will embody nothing more strikingly representative or splendidly expressive of that spirit than the records of these improvised Missions. The nations have sent us their distinguished and competent leaders, whose interchanges of opinion and counsel with our government have been of conspicuous moment, and whose words to us, spoke on many and remarkable public occasions, have been not only of moving and memorable eloquence but of the greatest practical significance and value as demonstrative of the united spirit of the Allies in accord with the lofty principles and determined aims of Free America. The War will be fought to the logical result for Liberty and Humanity and the security of posterity against a resumed attack—and it will not end until its objects are attained. Such has been the uniform expression brought to us by the Missions.

France's response to the American decision was made in earnest and touching words by her official chiefs. President Poincaré cabled a message of gratitude to President Wilson (April 4), and Premier Ribot delivered a powerful address to the French senate. "What particularly touches us," said the premier, "is that the United States has always kept alive that friendship toward us which was sealed with our blood. We recognize with joy that the bond of sympathy between the peoples is inspired by ideals which can be cultivated in the heart of democracy. The starry flag is going to float beside the tricolor. Our

VISIT OF THE FRENCH MISSION

hands shall join and our hearts shall beat in unison. President Wilson makes it plain to all that the conflict is truly one between the liberty of modern society and the spirit of the domination of military despotism. It is this which causes the president's message to stir our hearts to their depths as a message of deliverance to the whole world. The people who in the eighteenth century made a declaration of rights under the inspiration of the writings of our philosophers, the people who placed Washington and Lincoln among the foremost of its heroes, the people who in the last century liberated the slaves, is well worthy to give the world such an exalted example."

The proposal to send an extraordinary mission to the United States was made to the French cabinet by M. Painleve, minister of war, and it was at once approved. The controlling reasons for the action determined on were that appreciation ought to be expressed to President Wilson in a direct manner by a delegation of great Frenchmen; that a joint examination of the world situation would prove advantageous to both countries; that the war experience and knowledge of France on many important points should be placed at the disposal of our government; and that the sending of the Mission would be in line with the general policy of the Allies in holding conferences first in one country and then in another.

As the course taken by the United States was felt to be of such consequence and character as to place France under the most singular obligation and to demand the most marked recognition possible, Premier Ribot wished to go with the Mission as its head, but on account of the length of time certain to be required was obliged to forego that pleasure. The honor was awarded to René Viviani, second in rank in the cabinet and vice-president of the council of ministers. To the great satisfaction of both the French and American people, the illustrious Marshal Joffre, victor of the Marne, savior of France, and formerly generalissimo of the French armies, was made his immediate colleague. The other members of the Mission proper were Admiral Chocheprat, senior vice-admiral of the French navy, and the marquis de Chambrun, member of the chamber of deputies and grandson of Lafayette. In addition there were several principal attachés to the Mission:—M. Simon, inspector of finance; Emile Hovelaque, inspector-general, public instruction; Lieutenant-Colonel Fabry, chief of staff; Lieutenant-Colonel Remond, artillery, general headquarters; Commandant Requin; Surgeon-Major Dreyfus; and Lieutenant de Tessan, Tenth army.

A special train bore the Mission, with its subordinates and attendants, from Paris to Brest, the port of departure, where the large French vessel, "La Lorraine," which before the War had been one of the principal liners of the Atlantic, was boarded. The voyage was made under convoy, no untoward incident occurring. During the night of April 23-24, at a distance of about a hundred miles from the Virginia Capes, American warships were met by prearrangement after exchanging wireless signals; not a light was shown by either the arriving or welcoming ships, which discovered each other's presence only from the phosphorescence made by the propellers. Secrecy as to the Mission had been strictly observed from the start; in France the public was not informed of its leaving, and in the United States none except the officials of the government and a few leading representatives of the French Republic knew definitely of its coming.

Every appropriate preparation had been made by the national authorities for the reception of the guests. Escorted by our light vessels of war which had been detailed, the French ship and its convoys passed the Capes and proceeded up the historic Hampton Roads at an early hour on the morning of April 24. All the American ships on the magnificent expanse of water flew the French tricolor from their mastsheads, and the national anthems of the two countries were played by the band of a warship in the harbor. Anchorage was made off Fort Monroe by the "Lorraine," whereupon it was boarded by General Vignal and Commandant de Blanpre, military and naval attachés, respectively, of the French embassy at Washington; Stéphane Lauzanne, director of the Official Bureau of French Information in the United States; and Colonel Spencer Cosby, assigned by our government as Marshal Joffre's aid. Admiral Mayo, commander of the Atlantic fleet, made a call of ceremony later, which was returned by all the members of the Mission; and other notable visitors during the day were M. Jusserand, the ambassador of France; Major-General Scott, chief of staff of the United States army; Assistant-Secretary of State Long; and Assistant-Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt. By order of President Wilson the presidential yacht, the "Mayflower," had, in anticipation of the arrival of the guests, been sent down from Washington to Hampton Roads, having on board the French ambassador, General Scott, Assistant-Secretaries Long and Roosevelt, and some other government representatives.

Requested by representatives of the newspapers to favor them with some expression for publication, M. Viviani pleasantly declined,

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but authorized the following brief statement by the Associated Press: "Every American will understand that in deference to the illustrious president of the United States, whom I am going to see very soon, I reserve first word for him. I will have occasion to see you again and tell the American nation through you in a more complete manner the emotions with which the representatives of France greet in the name of their country the first democracy of the world, with which France shares the same ideals."

On the evening of the same day (April 24) the principal commissioners, with Ambassador Jusserand and several officials of our government, left on the "Mayflower" for the voyage up Chesapeake Bay to Washington. When Mount Vernon—fourteen miles below the city—was passed, said a newspaper account, "the crew lined the rails at salute, the bell of the ship was tolled, and the French visitors and the reception committee stood at attention, while the bugles sounded 'taps.' Marshal Joffre was particularly impressed by this ceremony. As the yacht drew away from Mount Vernon he walked to the very stern of the vessel and stood silently watching the Washington mansion until it was hidden from view."

At the Washington Navy Yard the visitors were greeted on board the yacht by Secretary of State Lansing; Frank L. Polk, counsel of the state department; William Phillips, assistant-secretary of state; and Colonel W. W. Harts, U. S. A., the president's aide. On the pier they were met by Rear-Admiral Glennon, commandant of the navy yard, and staff, with a company of marines and two troops of the Second cavalry drawn up. The distinguished party, escorted by military and mounted police, proceeded at rapid pace to the residence of Hon. Henry White (former ambassador to France), 1624 Crescent Place, which Mr. White had placed at the disposal of the government. On the route they were enthusiastically cheered by tens of thousands of citizens. One of the spectators was the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, head of the British Mission, which had arrived in this country on the 21st of April; Mr. Balfour stood waving his hat in an automobile by the sidewalk, and was recognized and greeted in like manner by the commissioners as they passed. They were received by Mr. White at his residence, which they occupied throughout their stay in Washington—Mr. White continuing in the house and entertaining them by request of the state department.

On behalf of the government Secretary Lansing issued a brief statement to the press, as follows: "It is very gratifying to this gov-

ernment and to the people that we should have as our guests such distinguished representatives of the French Republic as arrived this noon. In sending men who so fully represent the French government and people we have the very best evidence of the spirit and feeling of France toward the United States. We can assure the French people that we reciprocate this spirit which induced them to send these commissioners, and rejoice that the two great nations are battling together for the freedom of mankind."

During the remainder of the first day in the national capital there were several exchanges of courtesies, but the welcome by President Wilson was reserved for the day following (April 26). This was a brief ceremony, but marked by every circumstance and accessory of dignity and distinction permitted in our democratic country to the chief of state. The reception was in the Blue Room of the White House, selected army and navy officers and aides being present in full dress uniforms. M. Viviani presented a personal letter from President Poincaré, and a few cordial words were spoken to each other by the president and the chosen representative of France.

After leaving the White House there were calls of etiquette by the commissioners severally—by M. Viviani on Vice-President Marshall, by Marshal Joffre on Secretary of War Baker, by Admiral Chocheprat on Secretary of the Navy Daniels, etc. In the evening the leading members of the Mission were entertained at a dinner of state at the White House by President and Mrs. Wilson.

The first expression to the American people on behalf of the Mission was a statement, in great nobility and beauty of language, made by M. Viviani to the press after the formal visit to the president. The following is the official translation¹:

"I promised to receive you after having reserved, as elementary courtesy required, my first communication solely for the president. I have just had the honor, which I shared with the other members of the Mission, of being received by him. I am indeed happy to have been

1. From "Addresses in the United States by M. René Viviani, Former Premier, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Justice; and Marshal Joffre—French Mission to the United States; April-May, 1917." This book of 149 pages is from the press of Doubleday, Page, and Company, Garden City, New York; price (cloth), \$1.25. The publishers announce that the proceeds from the sale "will be devoted to helping the orphan children of France through the different associations organized for that purpose." It is edited by Emile Hovelague, a member of the Mission, and is therefore official. We are indebted to it for all the utterances of M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre embodied in this article, with the exception of the speech of the marshal at the Chicago Stockyards, which is from a press report.

Both M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre spoke in French. The addresses of the former (in addition to the statement above) were twenty-one in number, delivered at Mount Vernon, Washington, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis; Springfield, Illinois; Indianapolis; Columbus, Ohio; Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Marshal Joffre spoke but little. Like his colleague, he issued a statement to the press; only three addresses by him are published in the book—very brief ones made at Mount Vernon, St. Louis, and Boston.

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chosen to present the greetings of the French Republic to the illustrious man whose name is in every French mouth to-day, whose incomparable message is at this very hour being read and commented upon in all our schools as the most perfect charter of human rights and which so fully expresses the virtues of your race—long-suffering patience before appealing to force; and force to avenge that long-suffering patience when there can be no other means.

“Since you are here to listen to me I ask you to repeat a thousand fold the expression of our deep gratitude for the enthusiastic reception the American people has granted us in Washington. It is not to us, but to our beloved and heroic France, that that reception was accorded. We were proud to be her children in those unforgettable moments when we read in the radiance of the faces we saw the noble sincerity of your hearts. And I desire to thank also the press of the United States represented by you. I fully realize the ardent and disinterested help you have given by your tireless propaganda in the cause of Right: I know your action has been incalculable. Gentlemen, I thank you.

“We have come to this land to salute the American people and its government, to call to fresh vigor our ancient friendship, sweet and comforting in the ordinary course of our lives, and which these tragic hours have raised to all the ardor of brotherly love—a brotherly love which in these last years of suffering has multiplied its most touching expressions. To us you have given help not only materially, but by every act of kindness and good will; yet more; for us your children have shed their blood, and the names of your sacred dead are inscribed forever in our hearts. And it was with a full knowledge of the meaning of what you did that you acted. Your inexhaustible generosity was not the charity of the fortunate to the distressed: it was an affirmation of your conscience, a reasoned approval of your judgment. Your fellow-countrymen know that under the savage assault of a nation of prey which has made of war, to quote a famous saying, its national industry, we were upholding with our incomparable Allies, faithful and valiant to the death, with all those sons of indomitable England, who, shoulder to shoulder with us on the firing-line, are struggling for the violated rights of man, for that democratic spirit which the forces of autocracy were attempting to crush throughout the world. We are ready to carry that struggle on to the end.

“And now, as President Wilson has said, the Republic of the United States rises in its strength as a champion of Right, and rallies to the side of France and her Allies. Only our descendants, when time

has removed them sufficiently far from present events, will be able to measure the full significance, the grandeur of an historic act which has sent a thrill through the whole world. From to-day on all the forces of Freedom are let loose. And not only victory, of which we were already assured, is certain; the true meaning of that victory is made manifest; it cannot be merely a fortunate military conclusion to this struggle; it will be the victory of Morality and Right, and will forever secure the existence of a world in which all our children shall draw free breath in full peace and in the undisturbed pursuit of their labors.

"To accomplish this great work, which shall be carried to completion, we are about to exchange views with the men in your government best qualified to help. The coöperation of the Republic of the United States in this world conflict is now assured. We work together as freemen who are resolved to save the ideals of mankind."

The next two days, April 27 and 28, were devoted to the very important consultative work of the Mission. The details of the conferences held with the responsible American officials at various times throughout the visit of the Frenchmen have naturally not been published, and certainly any undue curiosity concerning these matters—purely confidential, with a view to the most effective coöperation by our country in the War—has not been and will not be entertained by patriotic Americans. But no secret has ever been made of the fact that one of the primary results sought by our visitors was a favorable decision upon the question of placing American forces at the French front within the very earliest period. From the day of the arrival of the commissioners at Fort Monroe, stress was placed in the news dispatches upon their earnest desire for prompt military assistance in the theater of conflict, and it was intimated that our adoption of a corresponding program was most especially hoped for by Marshal Joffre. The policy of the administration was announced in the affirmative soon after the coming of the Mission; and a few weeks later our first expedition, under General Pershing, made the ocean passage and was landed in France.

On Sunday, April 29, the French and British commissioners, as guests of the secretary of the navy, visited the tomb and home of Washington at Mount Vernon, the journey being made on the "Mayflower"; Secretary Lansing and several prominent army and navy officers accompanied the party. With the flags of the three nations floating above them, the group stood uncovered before the tomb, and M. Viviani delivered an address never surpassed in simple taste and pathos. He said:

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"We could not remain any longer in Washington without accomplishing this pious pilgrimage. In this spot lies all that is mortal of a great hero. Close by this spot stands the modest abode where Washington rested after the tremendous labor of achieving the emancipation of a nation. In this spot meet the admiration of the whole world and the veneration of the American people. In this spot rise before us the glorious memories left by the soldiers of France led by Rochambeau and Lafayette; a descendant of the latter, my friend M. de Chambrun, accompanies us. And I esteem it a supreme honor as well as a satisfaction for my conscience to be entitled to render this homage to our ancestors in the presence of my colleague and friend, Mr. Balfour, who so nobly represents his great nation. By thus coming to lay here the respectful tribute of every English mind, he shows, in this historic moment of communion which France has willed, what nations that live for liberty can do. When we contemplate in the distant past the luminous presence of Washington, in nearer times the majestic figure of Abraham Lincoln; when we respectfully salute President Wilson, the worthy heir of these great memories, we at one glance measure the vast career of the American people. It is because the American people proclaimed and won for the nation the right to govern itself, it is because it proclaimed and won the equality of all men, that the free American people at the hour marked by fate has been enabled with commanding force to carry its action beyond the seas; it is because it was resolved to extend its action still further that congress was enabled to obtain within the space of a few days the vote of conscription and to proclaim in the full splendor of civil peace the necessity for a national army. In the name of France I salute the young army which will share in our common glory.

"While paying this supreme tribute to the memory of Washington, I do not diminish the effect of my words when I turn my thoughts to the memory of so many unnamed heroes. I ask you by this tomb to bow in earnest meditation and all the fervor of piety before all the soldiers of the Allied nations who for nearly three years have been fighting under different flags for the same ideal. I beg you to address the homage of your hearts and souls to all the heroes, born to live in happiness, in the tranquil pursuit of their labors, in the enjoyment of all human affections, who went into battle with virile cheerfulness and gave themselves up, not to death alone, but to the eternal silence that closes over those whose sacrifice remains nameless, in the full knowledge that, save for those who loved them, their very names

would disappear with their bodies. Their monument is in our hearts. Not the living alone greet us here; the ranks of the dead themselves rise to surround the soldiers of liberty.

"At this solemn hour in the history of our world, while heralding from this sacred mound the final victory of justice, I extend to the Republic of the United States the greetings of the French Republic."

Brief addresses were then made by Mr. Balfour and Governor Stuart of Virginia; and Marshal Joffre added the following words:

"In the French army all venerate the name and memory of Washington. I respectfully salute here the great soldier and lay upon his tomb the palm we offer our soldiers who have died for their country."

The marshal, with the assistance of Lieutenant de Tassan, his aide, laid upon the sarcophagus a bronze palm wound with the tricolor, which, by his special direction, was borne forward to the place by two private soldiers of France. Mr. Balfour deposited beside it a large wreath of lilies, with a card attached upon which were these words in his own handwriting:

"Dedicated by the British Mission to the immortal memory of George Washington, soldier, statesman, patriot, who would have rejoiced to see the country of which he was by birth a citizen and the country his genius called into existence fighting side by side to save mankind from a military despotism."

Marshal Joffre's only public utterance of any particularity during his sojourn in the United States was given to the newspapers on April 29 by the state department. It was marked "Informal and unofficial," probably on account of the affirmative attitude taken on the question of our immediately sending troops abroad.

"The very cordial welcome given me by the city of Washington," said Marshal Joffre, "and the expressions of sympathy which reached me from states and cities throughout the United States, have moved me deeply, since they are a homage paid to the whole French army which I represent here.

"The heroism and resolution of the soldiers of France indeed deserve all the affection the United States has shown them. After having in a supreme effort defeated and thrown back a barbarous enemy, the French army has untiringly labored to increase and perfect its efficiency. And now in the third year of the War it is attacking the enemy with greater vigor and material force than ever before.

"Side by side with it and animated by no less a heroic spirit stands the British army, whose formation and development will ever remain

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the admiration of the world. The Germans have realized its wonderful growth. Every encounter has made them feel the increasing menace of its strength. The contempt they pretended to feel for it in the early days of the War has gradually become a dread more openly avowed each day.

"Led by its illustrious president, the United States has entered into this War. By the side of France in the defense of the ideals of mankind the place of America is marked.

"France, which has long recognized the valor of the American soldier, cherishes the confident hope that the flag of the United States will soon be unfurled on our fighting line. This is what Germany dreads.

"France and America will see with pride and joy the day when their sons are once more fighting shoulder to shoulder in the defense of liberty. The victories which they will certainly win will hasten the end of the War and will tighten the links of affection and esteem which have ever united France and the United States."

The official conferences in Washington were continued on April 30 and May 1, 2, and 3. Receptions of great enthusiasm were accorded M. Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and the French ambassador in the senate on May 1 and the house of representatives May 3—M. Viviani addressing both bodies with his accustomed fervor and felicity.

In this narrative we are obliged by the restrictions of space to limit our reproductions of the splendid speeches of the French orator to only a few representative selections. Fortunately the complete text, in perfect English translation, is readily at the command of our readers; we very particularly commend to them the book by M. Hovelaque (Doubleday, Page, and Company), already referred to (page 502).

M. Viviani's address to the senate was as follows:

"Since I have been granted the supreme honor of speaking before the representatives of the American people, may I ask them first to allow me to thank this magnificent capital for the welcome it has accorded us. Accustomed as we are in our own free land to popular manifestations, and though we had been warned by your fellow-countrymen who live in Paris of the enthusiasm burning in your hearts, we are still full of the emotions raised by the sights that awaited us. I shall never cease to see the proud and stalwart men who saluted our passage; your women, whose grace adds fresh beauty to your city, their arms outstretched full of flowers, and your children, hurrying to meet us at the call of their masters as if our coming were looked upon

as a lesson for them, all with one accord acclaiming in our perishable persons immortal France. And yet I predict there will be a yet grander manifestation on the day when your illustrious president, relieved from the burden of power, shall come among us, bearing the salute of the Republic of the United States to a free Europe, whose foundations from end to end shall be based on Right.

"It is with unspeakable emotion that we crossed the threshold of this legislative place, where prudence and boldness meet, and that I for the first time in the annals of America, though a foreigner, speak in this hall which only a few days since resounded with words of virile force. You have set all the democracies of the world the most magnificent of examples. So soon as the common peril was made manifest to you, with simplicity and within a few short days, you voted a formidable war credit and proclaimed that a formidable army was to be raised. The commentary on his act which President Wilson gave before acting, and which you made yours, remains in the history of free peoples the weightiest of lessons. Doubtless you were resolved to avenge the insults offered your flag, which the whole world respected; doubtless through the thickness of these massive walls the mournful cry of all the victims whom criminal hands hurled into the depths of the sea has reached and stirred your souls; but it will be your honor in history that you also heard the cry of humanity, and invoked against autocracy the rights of democracies. And I can only wonder as I speak, what, if they still have any power to think, are the thoughts of the autocrats who, three years ago against us, three months ago against you, unchained this conflict. Ah! doubtless they said among themselves that a democracy is merely an ideal government that showers reforms on mankind, that can in the domain of labor quicken all economic activities, but that from a military point of view is impotent. And yet now we see the French Republic fighting efficiently in defense of its territory and the liberty of nations and opposing to the avalanche let loose by Prussian militarism the union of all its children, who are still capable of striking many a weighty blow. And now we see England, far removed like you from conscription, who has also, by virtue of discipline all accept, raised from her soil millions of fighting men. And we see other nations accomplishing the same act; and that liberty cannot only inflame all hearts, but can coordinate and bring into being all needed efforts. And now we see all America rise and sharpen her weapons in the midst of peace for the common struggle.

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“Together we will carry on that struggle. And when by force we have at last imposed military victory, our labors will not be concluded. Our task will be, I quote the noble words of President Wilson, to organize the Society of Nations. I well know that the gibes of our enemies, who have never seen before them anything but horizons of carnage, will never cease to jeer at so noble a dream. Such has always been the fate of ideas at their birth, and if thinkers and men of action had allowed themselves to be discouraged by skeptics, mankind would still be in its infancy and we should still be slaves. After material victory we will win this moral victory. We will shatter the ponderous sword of militarism; we will establish guarantees for peace; and then we can disappear from the world’s stage since we shall leave at the cost of our common immolation the noblest heritage future generations can possess.”

On the afternoon of May 3 the Mission left Washington by special train for a tour of the middle west. Arriving in Chicago the next morning, it received a grand welcome and spent the day and a portion of the evening in the enjoyment of the hospitalities and special greetings that had been prepared for it. While in that city M. Viviani delivered five addresses—at the Chicago Club, the Congress Hotel, the Auditorium, the University of Chicago, and the Stockyards. Marshal Joffre also spoke to the meeting at the Stockyards. The marshal’s remarks were most happily adapted to an audience almost exclusively composed of laboring people. He said, as reported in the press:

“I am happy to salute the city of Chicago in this assembly, where all classes of society are represented. This assembly reminds me of France at the moment of the declaration of war in August, 1914. The Germans had assailed us in a brutal attack, hoping within a short time to destroy France by many barbarous blows. The danger was caught in the act.

“All the French people ran to the border. The farmer, the workman, in fact all French people were standing at the border. The fight was hard, but at last we were successful and stopped the enemy. The battle of the Marne stopped them completely at that time.

“We were in need of munitions. We were in need of guns and rifles. Then we took from the ranks of the army all the special workmen to make guns, bullets, and bombs, and from that time the French army is comprised of those who fight at the front and those who make it possible to fight at the front. There is the army at the front and

the army in the shops and factories, and it is from the army at the front and the army at the shops that I bring greetings to you.

"I bring the greetings of the whole French army to the population of Chicago, and above all to the workingmen of this city, among whom I am happy to find myself to-day. All French workmen are mobilized, and all are working heart and soul in the common cause. Each is accomplishing his duty in a victorious way. I am sure that all American workmen are one in heart with their brother workmen in France, and are ready, like them, to fight for the final victory of democracy."

Kansas City and St. Louis were visited on May 6, with a repetition in each place of the wonderful public enthusiasm and the courtesies by officials and various organizations that had already been manifested; in the former place M. Viviani spoke once, and in the latter twice. The stay in St. Louis continued for a portion of the 7th. An incident of the St. Louis visit was the presentation of a standard of colors to the Fifth Missouri infantry by Marshal Joffre, the colors being handed to him by a French private soldier who was on furlough in the city. He said:

"I present this flag to you. And when I present it to you, I need not say it is the symbol of your native land. It will lead you into battle. The further you carry it, the better you must defend it; you must sacrifice your lives, one and all, rather than let it fall into the hands of the enemy.

"Perhaps it will go to France, there to wave side by side with the flag of France, which for three years has led the onset against our foes. And when our soldiers see the Star Spangled Banner, their souls will thrill. And I am assured it is to final victory both will go."

Arriving next in Springfield, Illinois (May 7), the party was escorted to the tomb of Lincoln, where Marshal Joffre silently placed a wreath upon the sarcophagus. Proceeding from there to the hall of the Illinois house of representatives, the guests were given a reception on behalf of the State. We reproduce in full M. Viviani's striking address on that occasion.

"Before coming here we went to the field of silence to lay quick-fading flowers on the immortal tomb of Abraham Lincoln and bear to his great shade the greeting of all France.

"And I would have you know that however great the distance between Springfield and France may be, the radiance of his noble face has long been known in our native land. In no democracy, in

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no modern democracy, did any man offer the world a purer image than he by his noble career. That career is far better known to you than to me. You know that, born of the people, the son of a man who could not read, after having in his youth suffered every sort of privation, he rose through silent meditation, by study, to the full cultivation of his mind and the full development of his will. You know that silently he rose to the summit of civic honor, and that from the summit he had attained he looked with untroubled gaze upon a great, an heroic, a tragic duty; he knew that the minds of men cannot without abasement live in contact with injustice. And that is why whatever pity and compassion rent his soul, since the equality of all human beings must needs be proclaimed, since the laws must needs rise to the level of man's dignity in all places, he let loose civil war upon his native land—that civil war whose heroes we have seen in their old age reconciled, wherever we have passed. On the morrow of his gigantic enterprise he died. He cannot be said to have been buried in his triumph: that triumph will last as long as an American is left to revere it, and we have come here to salute his great memory in the name of France, of the French Republic. But permit me to recall with just pride that the French of the French Revolution, of the Revolution of 1848, also proclaimed the rights of man. And this shows that all democracies, in spite of distance and time, are one. And when three years ago imperial Germany in arms, without provocation, without a shadow of excuse, by right of force alone, rushed on France, tore up international rights and violated all human consciences, France with her Allies defended those eternal principles. And for three years she has defended them. And now America, in turn, to their defense rises at the call of her illustrious president, Mr. Wilson, who, too, though a man of thought and a philosopher, has seen he must become a man of action when these eternal principles exacted reparation and vengeance.

“Now we are all united in this great struggle, worthy to be ranked with the struggles of the French Revolution. We all are united to defend right and justice. And our French hearts thrilled with gratitude when we heard the words of your president, of your governor. Yes: we feel as if at every step in this blissful valley we found old memories of our beloved motherland, as if we had never left it. Here it was, as you said, Mr. President, that French missionaries, the first French to discover the Mississippi, came to labor, to live, to die. Here it was they founded the first government that ruled over this land

which once was French, where the French flag floats once more in tragic hours, our flag which carries in its folds all our hopes, and calls to live every form of courage in all our sons. Here we find the shades and memories of our forefathers. You can well understand what emotions swell in the heart of a Frenchman when this tragic meeting comes about on American soil.

“But is it enough to evoke these memories in a speech? Must we bury all our ardent hopes in our hearts? I shall not forget, but transmit to my fellow-countrymen, your desire to pay back your debt of gratitude to France, in memory of Lafayette who brought here help and French soldiers to fight for American independence. But permit me, without any thought of diminishing the effect of your words, to define their full sense. It is not to France your debt lies. What France did for America, she did for liberty, with no thought of exacting a reward for it some day. It is to all humanity your debt of gratitude should be paid: humanity and France here are one. Yes, it is because that noble land has at all times in its history held in its hands the fate of the world: it is because on our territory, which seems to have been chosen by history as the meeting place for all combats and immolations, that the fate of the world has so often been decided; because our children with their hearts, their arms, their hands, their brains, are struggling even now to keep liberty from perishing, to keep disaster away from the whole world; it is because of all that you have risen in arms. And when you rally to France, you rally to the cause of liberty, of right, of democracy.

“Come, then. We will bear away from your land the memory of these meetings of free citizens, and, when we return to our country, when the free citizens of republican France ask us what we have seen, we will answer: We have seen crowds tumultuous in their joy, enthusiastic crowds, but they came not forth to see alone, to gaze on passing men: they came as to some great duty, to acclaim France through us. We will take back the words of all your orators: we will tell what you think, what you desire, what you hope for from the future, not only a free and delivered France, but a regenerate Europe, founded on right at last, built on the rock of justice.

“And when this great work shall have been accomplished, American brothers, faithful to the traditions of Washington and Abraham Lincoln, you may return in pious pilgrimage to Mount Vernon and to the graveyard of Springfield and there bow in silent reverence before the two pure heroes of your race. You will most surely have served

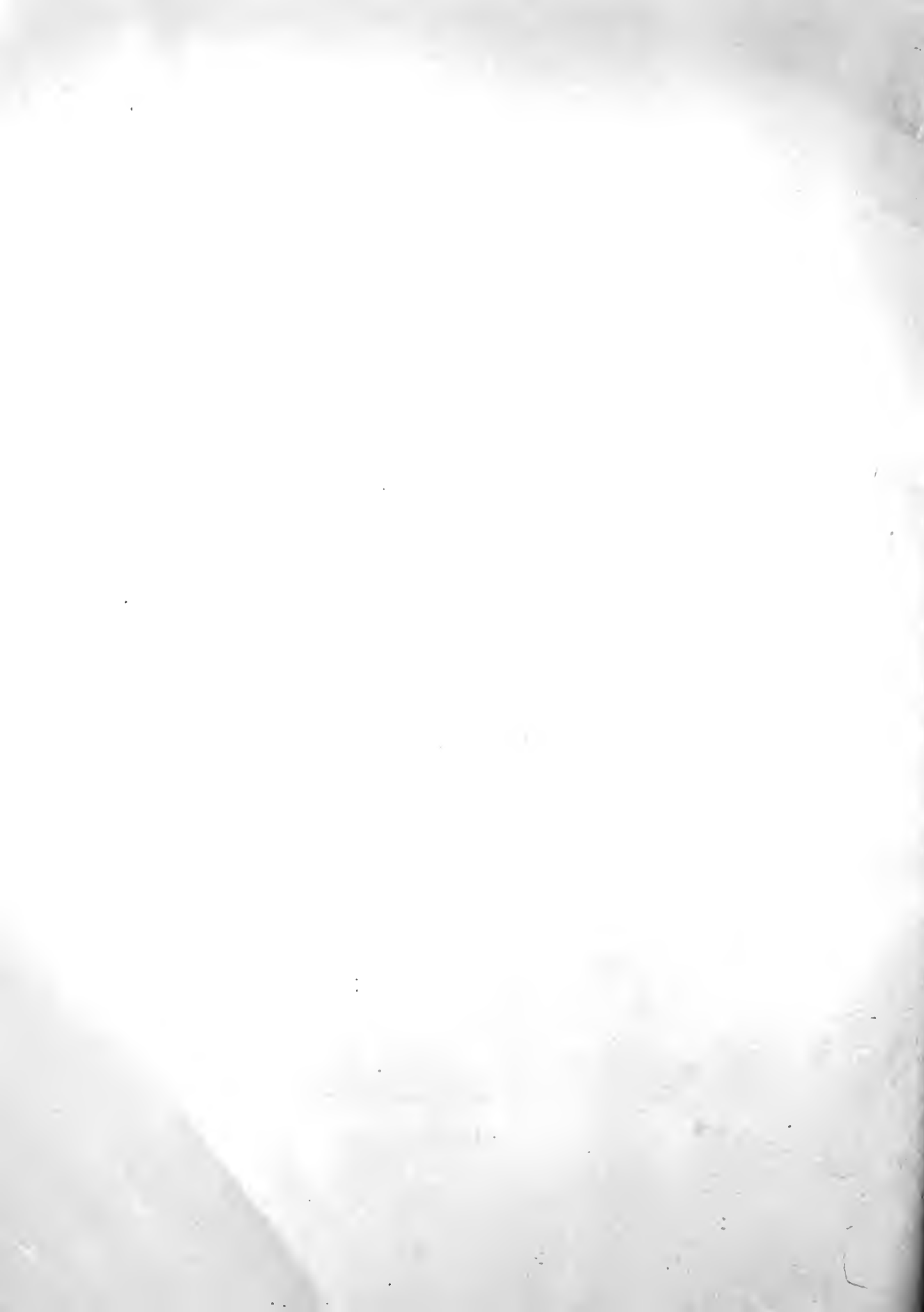


RÉNE VIVIANI

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RESIDENCE OF HENRY C. FRICK
FIFTH AVENUE AND SEVENTIETH STREET, NEW YORK





JOSEPH H. CHOATE

Ambassador to Great Britain, 1899-1905; eminent jurist and orator, and notable citizen of New York; delivered the address of welcome to the French Mission on behalf of that city. Died May 14, 1917, aged eighty-five.



THE FRENCH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D. C.



GENERAL PERSHING AT THE TOMB OF LAFAYETTE IN THE PICPUS CEMETERY, PARIS

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



AMERICAN TROOPS BEFORE THE HOTEL DES INVALIDES, PARIS, JULY 14, 1917

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



AMERICAN RED CROSS AMBULANCES IN THE FRENCH SERVICE

Photo by the French Pictorial Service

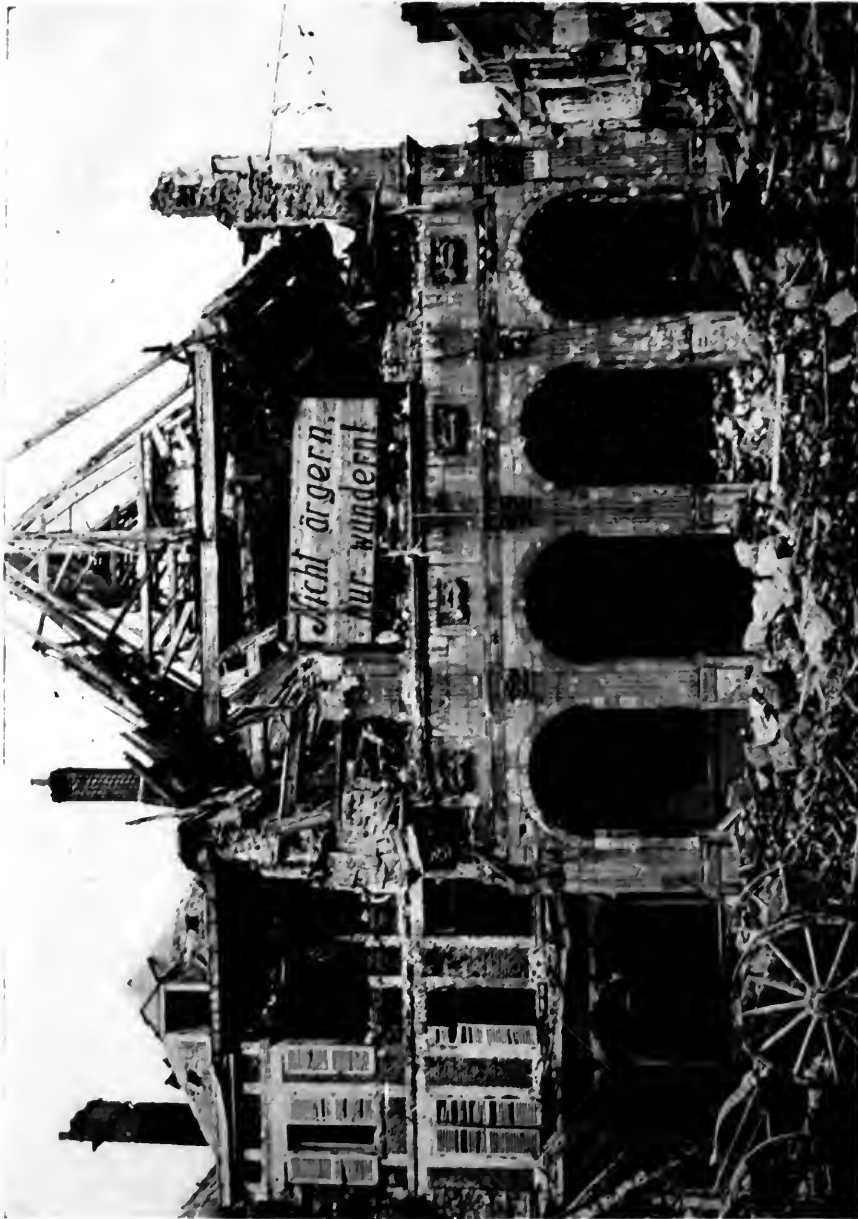


WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH ON THE HUDSON, VISITED BY
MARSHAL JOFFRE



PORTION OF THE CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS, SHOWING DESTRUCTION FROM THE
GERMAN BOMBARDMENT

Photo taken from a shell hole in the archbishop's residence. (French Pictorial service.)



A SPECIMEN OF GERMAN WIT

This is from an official photograph taken in the city of Peronne, France, after its evacuation by the Germans in the famous Hindenburg "strategic retreat." They thought it smart to post up something mean for the incoming French and British to read. Translation: "Don't feel bad, only marvel!"



RUINS OF THE CHATEAU DE COUCY—A REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE OF THE UTTER BARBARIAN SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN MILITARY POWER

There was no military reason or excuse for the destruction of the Château de Coucy. These ruins are not the result of bombardment incidental to offensive or defensive operations. When the Germans had to retire from the place they blew it up. Just for the barbarian pleasure of doing so. The Château, in the department of the Aisne, France, was built between 1230 and 1242, by Enguerrand III, sire de Coucy, and was one of the most perfect examples of feudal architecture. Cardinal Mazarin dismantled the ancient fortress in 1652, and from that time until its destruction by the Germans the Château was the property of the French state, preserved for its historical associations. (French Pictorial Service.)



FRUIT TREES CHOPPED DOWN BY THE RETREATING GERMANS

Photo by the French Pictorial Service

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their memory; and rest assured that by so doing you will have broadened yet the glorious annals of the American Republic."

The journey eastward on the evening of May 7 was interrupted for several hours by a derailing accident to the special train—happily without injury to anyone. The delay caused a disjuncture of the travel schedule, and a stop not previously appointed was made at Indianapolis (May 8). Though hastily improvised, the welcome at Indiana's capital lacked nothing in acclaim or warmth. On the same day the Mission also stopped for a brief time at Columbus, Ohio. Both at Indianapolis and Columbus M. Viviani spoke, and the most cordial sympathies of the two commonwealths in the cause of France and united humanity were voiced by the State and city officials.

Philadelphia, reached on the morning of May 9, gave the company a tremendous demonstration. It had been originally planned to have the visitors continue there for twenty-two hours, but on account of the delays in the west the time was shortened to five hours. M. Viviani made two addresses, at Independence Hall and at a luncheon in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. Of all his speeches, conceived and phrased with the greatest propriety and elegance for the many different occasions and places, none was more admirable than that at Independence Hall. He said:

"It is not the first time in France or in foreign lands that my companions and I have visited some shrine. Many a time have we been in houses, palaces, temples where the history or the pride of the peoples we were among found its symbolic monument. But I am sure that I express our feelings when I say that never, with a deeper, simpler emotion did we penetrate into any palace. This Independence Hall is the point from which American history has issued. Here it was that the American people attained full consciousness of itself and that, gathered together, so to say, in one spot, it rose to the dignity of a nation. Here it was that American independence was proclaimed, and in a few moments I trust your mayor, when we leave this room, will allow us to admire the proud original document, a facsimile of which we see here. Here it was that in 1787 the first constitution of the government and people of the United States was promulgated.

"Need I say that to the hearts of Frenchmen and republicans, to the sons of the French Revolution, which by its effects freed our genius and gave it scope to say and to think all things, your homage to our land profoundly touched us? It is to France, Mr. Mayor, you speak when you address us: it is of France you spoke when you re-

called our common history and said that Lafayette and his soldiers brought you help, and that it was well that in the tragic hours we are traversing we, too, should come to you, as the free representatives of a free and powerful, but attacked nation, criminally attacked, and that rose to defend its independence and its territory at once. And once more the two things were one: by defending its territory the French nation defended the independence of the world. And it is because you understood that, because the republic of this country understood, that after three years of war, after having attempted to remain faithful to your peaceful ideals, the American people, torn away so to say from its dreams of peace by the violent or underhand aggressions of Germany, was obliged to take up arms. And it will be its glory to have seized them not only in self-defense, to avenge the insults heaped on it, but, as your illustrious president said, in order to preserve the right of humanity which for three years France has been defending.

"I thank you, Mr. Mayor, I thank you in the name of the government of the Republic, in my companions' names."

New York's welcome far outdid any other popular ovation in the history of the city. The writer has witnessed many spectacular affairs of magnitude and magnificence in the nation's metropolis, including the wonderful reception to Admiral Dewey on his return after the Spanish War in 1899; but the greeting for our French guests was on such a scale, and distinguished by such profusion and variety of display and such enthusiasm and sensibility of public manifestation, as to have been not even conceivable from the standards previously regarded as the most singular and remarkable. The spirit of it all is fitly to be expressed only by the word Brotherhood—a word which also best affords the explanation of its immensity, its intensity, and its splendor.

Coming from Philadelphia on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 9, the commissioners were ferried over from Communipaw and landed at the Battery. The official greeting on behalf of the city was tendered at the City Hall, the Hon. Joseph H. Choate being the spokesman. In the selection of Mr. Choate for that distinction it was recognized by the whole community that the one citizen most appropriately to be given the chief representative part on the great occasion had been designated. Eminent for ability, honorable reputation and character, and service to the country, he had from the moment of the bursting forth of the World War pronounced it a conflict of Germany's deliberate, artful, and criminal contrivance, and had been conspicuous

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and tireless in advocating the cause of the Entente Allies and urging America's participation with them to the uttermost. Of venerable age but undiminished zest for all the activities of life, and especially those appealing to the hearts and souls of ardent lovers of the Right, he was regarded by the public generally with an esteem very closely akin to affection. As long as the commissioners continued in New York Mr. Choate ceaselessly devoted his energies to every interest and work contributory to the signal and feeling expression of the city's welcome and its intimate coöperation in their noble cause. His death (May 14), three days after their departure, was undoubtedly hastened by exertions overtaking his strength.

In welcoming the Mission at the City Hall, Mr. Choate said:

"I deem it a very proud honor to be the spokesman of this great committee, that stands for all the people of the city of New York. Fifteen minutes ago you landed on the very spot where in 1824, on his last visit to America, Lafayette himself landed. It is impossible to express in words how much America owes to France. We had our days that tried men's souls in our original struggle for independence, when Lafayette and Rochambeau came over to the assistance of Washington. We had our most trying hours, and Washington himself, with his little worn-out army at Valley Forge, hatless, shoeless, coatless, almost breadless, presented the most touching picture, as I think, in all American history. It was just at that time that Lafayette came to his assistance, and with those two heroes by his side Washington won the great and final battle of Yorktown, which established forever the independence of the United States.

"But what we go so far back in history to recall is, in my judgment, nothing, comparatively nothing, to the great service which France has rendered to America during the last two years and nine months. You have been fighting our battles every day. And it is true that at this moment the sons of France are pouring out their blood like water that we and other free nations of the earth may enjoy liberty forevermore. . . .

"It is true that we are not used to war. We have hardly yet begun to get ready; but I believe, in men, in resources, in munitions, in all the equipments for war, we can before long be ready; and for one I shall be disappointed, be much disappointed, if within a few months there is not a solid company, a division at least, of American troops waving the Stars and Stripes, led by competent commanders, crossing the Atlantic to take their stand by the side of Great Britain and France in this great war.

"You have come, gentlemen, to show us the way, to show us how to do it, to show us how to get ready, and there is no better representation of the great nation from which you come than you yourselves, by the achievements that you have already done. I believe that there are fifteen millions of men of the right age for warfare among our hundred millions of people. I believe that we have unbounded resources to sustain our Allies to the end of the War, and I believe from what I have seen this very day, when in the last half mile from the Battery to the City Hall the people of New York seem to me to represent the whole people of the nation and all of one accord, shouting triumph, welcome, honor to France.

"I believe that the people of the United States are ready with your people to shed the last drop of their blood if it be necessary, to spend their last dollar if it be necessary, to spend their last man in order to achieve that victory which is necessary to secure a lasting and permanent peace to all the people of the world."

After the ceremonies at the City Hall the visitors re-entered the automobiles that had been provided for them and were taken to the residence of Henry Clay Frick at Fifth Avenue and Seventieth Street. When the government made its plans for the Mission's tour, which included a stop of three days in New York, Mr. Frick offered his mansion for their use throughout the time, and the tender was accepted by the city committee charged with the arrangements. This palatial home, built by Mr. Frick on the site of the old Lenox Library, is one of the very few Fifth Avenue private houses having a frontage of an entire block, and is among the objects of familiar interest and remark seldom omitted from the sight-seeing itineraries of people visiting New York. As the distinguished recipients of the hospitalities of Mr. Frick and his family, the commissioners made the residence their home from the evening of their arrival, May 9, until midnight of May 11, when they left for Canada and Boston. The bedroom of Mr. Frick, in which is the celebrated painting, "Nature" (Lady Hamilton), by Romney, was occupied by Marshal Joffre; and that of Mrs. Frick by M. Viviani.

On the evening of May 9 a dinner in honor of the Mission was given in the residence by Mr. Frick. As a social entertainment—distinguished from the many banquets, receptions, etc., of a public or semi-public nature tendered the Frenchmen in all the cities where they stopped while in the United States,—this was an incident exceptional and memorable; very rarely indeed have there been comparable events

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of its kind in our country, with world characters from abroad, destined for immortal renown, as the central figures. Besides the nine guests of honor comprising the Mission and its attachés, there were present Colonel Spencer Cosby and Warren Robbins, representing the state department; Jules J. Jusserand, French ambassador; John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York; former President Theodore Roosevelt, Joseph H. Choate, Charles E. Hughes, General Leonard Wood, and some twenty-five other highly prominent men, identified with financial and other business interests, public affairs and related activities (especially as concerns the War), the professions, etc.

It was at the home of Mr. Frick that the New York artist, Lotave, made the sketches for his admired painting of Marshal Joffre, of which a reproduction in reduced size, printed by the process of color plate engraving, faces this article. Shortly before the marshal's return to France the painting was so far perfected as to be shown for critical expressions, and was warmly commented on by him and others. The preëminent quality of this portrait is the military and heroic symbolism; it is the general, and it is also France.¹

Any narration of the events of the three days in New York pretending to completeness is altogether incompatible with the limits of an article restricted to a rather general account of the Mission's visit to our country, and necessarily not reduced to special details except as the occasions and associations were exceptionally representative. M. Viviani made four formal addresses, as reported in M. Hovelaque's book—at the City Hall, May 9; the Merchants' Association luncheon (Hotel Astor), May 10; and the Lawyers' luncheon (Biltmore Hotel) and the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 11. To these some fifty pages of the book are devoted; all of them were not merely admirable but indeed of imperishable interest and value; from each of them citations will be made again and again by future writers. The same observations apply to addresses by him in other cities—Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis,—which, with those delivered in New York, we are reluctantly obliged to omit from our selections of his oratory.

Notable incidents of the stay were the unveiling by Marshal Joffre of the Lafayette statue in Prospect Park, Brooklyn; a visit by the commissioners to Grant's tomb, the marshal entering the crypt and placing a wreath on the sarcophagus; a visit to the newly-dedicated monument of Joan of Arc on Riverside Drive, where also he placed a wreath; and a trip by him and his aides to the Military Academy at

1. The painting now hangs in the Rocky Mountain Club, 65 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.

West Point—Governor Whitman, members of the legislature, and others meeting him at Newburg and escorting him to the famous Washington headquarters there. Not less worthy of mention than any of the striking public affairs was an act of graceful personal courtesy by M. Viviani to Mme. Sara Bernhardt, the great French actress, who, though in New York, was prevented by illness from participating in the welcome to her countrymen. Leaving the Frick residence, he went to the Mt. Sinai Hospital, farther up Fifth Avenue, and for a half hour sat by Mme. Bernhardt's bedside and conversed with her.

May 12 was spent by Marshal Joffre in Boston, whence he made the journey to Montreal, Canada—from there returning to the United States. An incident of his Boston visit was the presentation of a purse to him for the orphans of France. In response he said:

"Among all the innumerable expressions of sympathy, all the kindness showered by you on France, none touches us so deeply as what you are doing for the orphans of our heroic dead. Our children are our most precious possessions, our joy and our hope, and there is no surer way to our hearts than to help these little ones, the most pitiful victims of this war for the liberation of the world. In their name, in the name of our soldiers of France, I thank you, I thank the children of America whose hearts have gone out to their stricken little French brothers and sisters. The memory of what you have done, of what you are doing, will never fade. You have sown the seeds of love and friendship between our two countries. These will flower when they are men and women. Between America and France there is now a tender bond of human kindness and affection that nothing can break."

M. Viviani went direct from New York to Canada. Remarkable receptions were given him by the Dominion government in Ottawa and by the citizens (May 12). On the 13th he was in Boston. At the Public Library there he delivered a brilliant and affecting address, which concluded his public utterances in the United States. His words of final touching expression and powerful appeal direct to the heart, conscience, and intelligence of America were, in part, as follows:

"Our motherland is the soil upon which our ancestors have lived, worked, and suffered. It is the cradle in which we were born: it is the path on which our careless youth has whiled away the hours; it is the field of silence and darkness in which our forefathers lie. But it is even more; it is all the commercial and industrial wealth which

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has been accumulated for generations. It is even more: it is a chain of successive generations linked together, and of which the last is the better for the mistakes of preceding ones. It is the tears which have been shed by different eyes at the same time: it is the same sorrows, deep in our consciences and in our hearts; it is the same hopes, the same expectations, which dwell in all souls alike. All this is the motherland. But if that motherland arose, it was because for centuries thinkers and philosophers have gathered together to give it a means of expression. In our country, in France, this common means of expression, a wonderful instrument of national unity, has been our admirable language; a language which all turn to, since it is suited to the expressions of feelings and interests, emotions and realities, the language of law and diplomacy, which, from Descartes and Voltaire up to Victor Hugo, every century has enriched, until it has become the real creator of French national unity. It is to it we owe the intellectual and moral France of to-day.

“And it is to this France that Harvard University justly sent its American professors in return for our French professors; and that an exchange took place, which I hope will increase after the War between French and American students. To further the relations between our universities and yours is our warm desire, and to that end my friend Hovelaque here has been entrusted with a mission to which I wish all success. Already many of our teachers have come here and received the most cordial welcome: Brunetière, Gaston Deschamps, our great poet, Henri de Régnier; our professor of literature, Lanson; others besides have brought to your shores the different aspects of French thought. And in France, too, we were honored by the visit of some of your most distinguished professors. Not to speak of your illustrious president, Mr. Lowell, I need only mention Professor Wendell, who dedicated to France his wonderful book, ‘The France of Today,’ a book which he had full authority to write, for he had taught both literature and history in the Sorbonne. He has thus done much to make America better known in France, and France in America. I shall never forget his lessons.

“May I be allowed here to relate an anecdote which was told to me by one of your professors from Harvard, and which shows how useful these exchanges are? He had spent some time in the Sorbonne, and then, taking advantage of a few days of leisure, he went to Berlin, where he had seen wonderfully trained troops go through their manœuvres. Although an American, he was a Frenchman at heart,

and the powerful machine which is called the German army filled him with uneasiness for the future of France. He greatly feared that the French army could never be able to hold its own against it. But from Berlin he went to Nancy; and there he saw our wonderful Twentieth corps, which we have christened the Iron division. When he saw our valiant soldiers march erect and cheerful under our banner, when at the hour of rest he saw the officers drawing near the soldiers like old friends, as should always be between men serving in the same democratic army, his heart was relieved; he then realized that when the hour of fate struck the French army would rise to the height of the occasion. And our wonderful Twentieth corps did not deceive the hopes of your Harvard professor. Everywhere, in Lorraine, in Ypres, in Flanders, in Verdun, it has hurled itself forward with the rest of the French army and shown what French valor is, to wrest from the invader even a few yards of French territory.

“And now let me thank you for these reassuring testimonies to our worth, for the proofs of friendship which you have given us, and for the enthusiasm which surrounds us. I ask myself at times how, in the face of such generosity, I can find words which, through my feeble voice, will pay France’s debt of gratitude. But I wrong you. You do not conceive yourselves to be creditors exacting their due from a debtor. You fully realize what you are doing. You do not do this for France alone, out of love for her, but because in your minds France and civilization are one; and because you know that our noble country holds in its hands the flag of justice. For three years we have been facing the worst onset that ever burst upon men. However proud we may be of the past glories of our annals, never before did our love for our country shine forth more magnificently; never was courage, patience, endurance more manifest than in our children, our sons, who from the age of eighteen to forty-five rushed to the flag, side by side, father and son, uncle and nephew, Jew and Gentile; all creeds, all religions, all opinions, gathered under the common flag of the motherland. And now the French army and the Allies are fighting together. They fight for the ideals of justice; and this American Republic, which was founded by its own children but to whom Lafayette, the grandfather of my colleague, the marquis de Chambrun, brought his help: this American Republic which has twice fought, once for independence and once again, at the peril of disruption, for the victory of the great principle of equality for all human beings: this American Republic which acknowledges only the principles of right and justice, has never

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once given me any reason to doubt it would be with us. Even in that remote time (how many centuries ago, I wonder?) of American neutrality, I knew that your souls, your hearts, and your consciences could not without shuddering witness the German atrocities, of which we, with the Belgians, were the first victims: cathedrals burnt to the ground; priests shot, women bestially brutalized; orphans spiked with bayonets on their mothers' bodies; devastated homes; murder; rape—all the crimes known to the penal codes of civilized nations. Was it possible that all this could take place without sending a thrill through the hearts of your mothers, of your men and women? It is for this reason, whatever is said to the contrary, that you have risen. You have risen to avenge your dead, because you could not allow your flag to fall to the level of the German standard. But mainly, as your president, Mr. Wilson, put it: 'for humanity, for right, for democracy, and for liberty.'

"And indeed if it were possible for Germany to be victorious in this war, of what use (I beg your pardon for expressing my thought so freely) would be monuments like this? Of what use this marble, the pictures, the luxury, the ancient and modern books which, in a few minutes, bring back to our minds all past centuries, together with all the deep and regenerating elements of ancient and modern thought? Of what use were all this if democracy were to perish? Of what use if we were forced to bow to German soldiery and Prussian militarism—to the being who seems to have been created in order to trample brutally under his heavy foot human conscience and thought?

"No. The temples where we have hitherto gone to seek modern science and beauty will yet stand! Our souls will remain exalted, our conscience clear, for we shall be victorious! And when we come back from the bloody battlefields where, alas, many of ours are lying forever in silence and darkness, when we visit our wounded, when we respectfully bow before the mourning veils of our valiant French womanhood, behind which, through their sorrow, we behold the pride of sacrifice, when we do this we shall feel more valiant and more free. We shall return to our studies, after having saved the world: it will then be our task to regenerate it through liberty and democracy. Then let your hearts and ours be one. You are remote from the battlefield. You do not hear its roar. You do not witness with your eyes the evil that comes out of war. But none the less you realize its hideousness, for your hearts and your consciences would not be what they are if you did not realize it. In spite of distance and time, draw nearer to

us, ever nearer. Suffer with us. Uphold the truth. Fight with us. And together let us save civilization, democracy, and liberty."

M. Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and the other members of the Mission made their farewell visit to Washington on Monday, May 14, President Wilson receiving them and bidding them Godspeed. At a late hour on the evening of the same day they arrived from Washington at the Pennsylvania Station in Jersey City, and there boarded a police tug of the city of New York and were taken down the bay to the Narrows, where their ship, "La Lorraine," was stationed. Embarking, they made the return voyage in the same manner as they had come, by convoy, and in eight days reached the French port of their destination, Brest.

It would be interesting to add some record of the numerous gifts made to the commissioners, as memorials of their visit and in testimony of the powerful American feeling of brotherhood and admiration, by various municipalities, civic bodies, representative organizations, and individuals.

Noteworthy among these was a present to Marshal Joffre, by the city of New York, of a branch of golden oak leaves (designed by Paul Gillot), which was accompanied by an illuminated address on parchment. Our ambassador to France, the Hon. William G. Sharp, made the presentation to the marshal in Paris on September 15, a very distinguished company being gathered for the occasion. The address, by the Hon. James M. Beck, was as follows:

"To Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre, Marshal of France:

"The residents of New York, remembering with great pride and affection your ever memorable visit to our city, when you repeated the triumph of Lafayette in winning the hearts of the American people for yourself and your noble nation, and remembering with even deeper appreciation and gratitude the inestimable service that you rendered not only to France and America, but to all civilization, by your epoch-making victory on the Marne, request you to accept this crown of oak leaves, as a token of our admiration.

"The oak, which in all ages has typified power and strength, has been fittingly selected to symbolize the strength and character of your personality and the enduring value of your great achievement. Upon you rested in those fateful days in 1914 the infinite responsibility of defending civilization against the seemingly invincible power of Prussian tyranny. You accepted the sublime task with full reliance on the oak-like strength and endurance of the soldiers of France and Great Britain, they happily fighting for the same ideal.

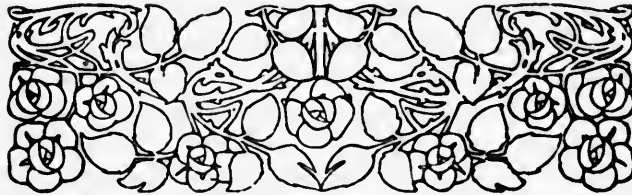
"As Charles Martel, the hammer, destroyed the power of the Saracens, so Joffre, the oak, deep-rooted in the affections of the brave soldiers of France, withstood the mighty tempest of elemental fury, and when the storm had spent its fury the oak still stood and will stand in the grateful memory of men, who love liberty, 'to the last syllable of recorded time.'

"Vive Joffre!

"Vive la France!"

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Another representative gift to Marshal Joffre after his return to France was a very large volume devoted to selections of articles which appeared in the American press during the visit of the Mission. The book, containing some five hundred pages, was in the finest style of execution—the binding (by MacDonald) being of remarkable elegance. Arthur Cassot, of New York, well known as a press clipping expert, superintended the work of compilation, arrangement, and production. General Pershing, commander of the American forces in France, presented the gift shortly before the third anniversary of the battle of the Marne. The marshal, in accepting, said that he regarded it as made to France rather than himself personally, and that it would be ultimately deposited for permanent preservation in the National Library.



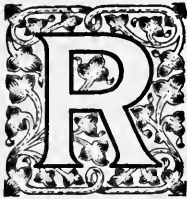
On Lafayette's Birthday

The Value of a Pledge--The Germanic View and That
of Lafayette

BY

J. J. JUSSERAND

Ambassador of France to the United States



REQUESTED by the Editors of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY to supply a contribution for this number, M. Jusserand sent us the following—an address delivered by him in New York City on the last anniversary of the birth of Lafayette, September 6, 1917.



ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY years ago to-day there was happiness in an old fortified manor in Auvergne; the chimes of the little village church pealed forth; the villagers were rejoicing; the family forgot for one day its grievous loss, for it was in mourning. The lord of the place had been killed a few weeks before, charging the Germans at the head of his grenadiers, dying young (a boy of twenty-five) like most men of his family, but dying for the defense of his land on a day of victory. The family, as often before, was threatened with extinction, when a child had been born. The infant was taken with great glee to the church and pompously registered as the "very high and powerful lord, my lord Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Dumotier de la Fayette."

Outside the castle and village the event passed, of course, unnoticed.

In the old world and in the new the anniversary is now observed. From the early hours this morning an American flag, a replica of the first one with the thirteen stars, given by the city of Independence, Philadelphia, has been waving on the belfry of the Hotel de Ville in Paris, and we convene once more in great New York, at the call of

ON LAFAYETTE'S BIRTHDAY

a committee of citizens and of France-America, joining in thought the villagers of long ago, rejoicing with them for the birth of that little thing that, in spite of its being so high and powerful, knew only, on that auspicious 6th of September, how to cry.

A great change has been wrought, which will go increasing as the consequences of events continue to develop: for on that day had been born a fearless, honest man, in whom every noble thought awakened enthusiasm, a fit friend for a Washington, a man who knew the value of a pledge and who, from the day he was able to think, pledged his life to the service of Liberty. This general pledge he renewed when, first touching American ground in 1777, he vowed, as he says in his memoirs, to win or die here with the cause of Liberty.

On the sacredness of a pledge mainly rests the whole fabric of civilization. Let that disappear and we go back to barbarism and the rule of sheer force. *Homo homini lupus*, Plautus has sneeringly said, What allows us to live otherwise than like wild animals is that inward feeling which early allowed both the stronger and the weaker to freely come together and say, Let us be friends, and caused them to keep their word. There is scarcely a better test of the progress of mankind toward happiness and peaceful development than the degree of observance of the pledged word freely given. To the appetites, ambitions, furies of the beast that was in us, an invisible barrier is opposed, stronger, among honest men and honest nations, than walls and guns, a barrier consisting in a word, a pledged word.

From this results between nations peace, trust, joyful development; from the reverse results—what we see to-day, a state of things so fearful that the world has never seen the like, even in the days of those Huns on whose barbarity our enemies cheerfully pretend to model theirs. Those Huns could spare a city; at the request of its bishop they spared Troyes. Their followers of to-day cannot spare a child, a woman, a wounded soldier, a church. Witness the shelling from the air of the British and French open cities, the killing of Miss Cavell, the dropping of bombs, last week, on our hospitals back of Verdun; witness the "Lusitania." They even take the trouble of killing trees, so great is their lust for killing.

The tragedy of it all is that since we are averse, even when the day of victory comes, to ruling our enemies and to turning against them their principles, for we love ours, no end is possible save by taking the word of those men for whom the pledged word is nothing, is a trifle, a bauble, something to make fun of. "We cannot," President

Wilson has said in his answer to the Pope, "take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure."

We had premonitions of what has happened, but we could not believe them. Just as the Saverne (Zabern) incident was premonitory—and it has been justly said by an American paper that Louvain was Saverne written in larger letters,—so we had a foretaste of what the Germans think of pledges when they passed, as the proper thing to do, their monstrous law of July, 1913, whose Article 25 permits any of them to swear allegiance to a foreign country and thus become naturalized, and to secretly forswear himself before his consul, who thus becomes his accomplice, and remain a subject of the Kaiser.

We had no right to be surprised after that, and yet we were, so appalling was the regression toward barbarism, when the German chancellor uttered his famous statements to the ambassador of Great Britain on the day of the unspeakable crime, the invasion of Belgium. "Just for a word, neutrality, . . . just for a scrap of paper," said the champion of Barbarism, for which a word is nothing, a word has no force. "I said," the champion of Great Britain and of civilization wrote, giving to his government an account of the interview, "that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that, for strategical reasons, it was a matter of *life and death* to Germany to advance through Belgium. . . . so I would wish him to understand that it was . . . a matter of *life and death* for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement . . . to defend Belgium's neutrality." And as, on behalf of barbarity, the other spoke of consequences, the answer was: "I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements."

Here spoke truth, and honesty, and civilization; here the future answered the past. For having spoken these timely words, the name of my friend Sir Edward Goschen will ever be gratefully remembered.

And what shall we say of the Belgian king and of Belgium's answer, safeguarded, as that country thought she was, by solemn treaties and by German pledges just renewed the year before? "Belgian neutrality," Secretary of State Jagow had declared to the Reichstag on April 29, 1913, "is provided for by international conventions, and Germany is determined to respect these conventions."

Requested to allow a "friendly" invasion of her territory, a

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“friendly” violation of her neutrality, Belgium answered in the very words of Sir Edward Goschen, for on every lip honesty speaks the same language: “The Belgian government, if they were to accept the proposals submitted to them, would sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray their duty toward Europe,” and to the answer of their minister they added that of the guns of glorious Liége.

And what shall we say of America's answer?—for her turn was to come. It could not be otherwise. All felt this, excepting that enemy who had thought Belgium would submit, and Belgium had answered at Liége; that England would keep aloof, and she had barred the sea and sent to France that admirable army which has ceaselessly grown in numbers and efficiency; that France would be crushed, and she answered at the Marne and at Verdun; that Japan would be an on-looker, and Japan answered at Kiao Tchoo; that Italy would join them, but Italy, one of the foster-mothers of civilization, joined civilization against Barbarism. The American answer was a memorable one; the words of the President, like the guns at Lexington, were heard round the world.

When the man whom we honor to-day, when his nation had come to the rescue of the struggling colonists, we had done a thing unexampled in the annals of the world. We had fought for a sentiment and an idea, debarring ourselves in advance from any material advantage, refusing special privileges which were offered us in a commercial treaty—for we wanted nothing that America could not grant as well to any other nation, the English included. Canada was offered us after Yorktown, and we refused.

This was unexampled then and has never been imitated since. It has been now. In the same spirit, at the call of the president, this nation, whose heart had been from the first with the defenders of Liberty, has taken sides with them and will continue until “the world is safe for democracy.” “We have,” said the President in his immortal address of April 2, “no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.”

These words have been heard round the world; mankind has made them its own: east and west, north and south, it has aligned itself with those who trust in pledges and in the sacredness of treaties, from noble-minded South American republics to distant highly-cultured China.

When will the end come? It can come only when the enemy understands, when he sees the evil he has caused and regrets it, when he is ashamed. The change must not be merely one on paper, one in the laws in his country, but one in his mind. Some favorable signs are already visible; they do not consist in the word Peace being repeated, as it is, here or there, but in incipient confessions. A German general, a member of the supplementary general staff, stated the other day, we are told, that the story of the French preparing to invade Belgium was a pure invention and that, to our great material damage (to our honor, in truth), we had actually mobilized towards the regular frontier. Only a few days ago we had from the lips of the new German secretary of state the declaration that "a policy based on might alone and not on right is doomed to failure from the beginning." A good reading of history this, and a good sign; a good way of reasoning, too. We always felt sure of the issue because one who, like us, possesses both might and right, has more than one who, according to his own estimation, has only might. Sir Edward Goschen had heard different words three years ago.

When peace comes the situation will be the same, too, as at the time of the War of Independence, and with the change of one word, President instead of King, the head of our Republic will be able to write to the successor of Franklin in Paris what Washington wrote to my predecessor, La Luzerne, in 1783: "The magnanimous and disinterested scale of action which that great nation has exhibited to the world during this war and at the conclusion of the peace, will insure to your (President) and nation that reputation which will be of more consequence to them than every other consideration."

We must in the meantime pursue our common task, following the example of our common ancestors. The visit of Lafayette and of Rochambeau to these shores is now being returned; and a grand and moving scene it must have been the other day, in the Picpus cemetery in Paris, when the erect form of General Pershing was seen standing before a tomb sacred to every American, and Colonel Stanton, speaking in French on his behalf, said: "France came to our rescue when America was fighting to win her independence. We have not forgotten. Lafayette, *nous voilà!*"—Lafayette, here we are! Words which will soon take rank among those historical ones that mankind ever remembers.

An English illustrated paper presented the other day a double picture; one part showed an old-fashioned small ship disappearing

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toward the horizon, and it was called "The Sailing of the 'Mayflower.'" The other was an actual photograph showing innumerable young Americans, alert and plucky, alighting somewhere in England from a huge United States transport, and it was called "The Return of the 'Mayflower'."

We, too, of the French nation, might print a similar double picture, one part showing the small ship with two guns, "*La Victoire*," which carried Lafayette to America, the other part representing its return in that long succession of ships which are bringing to France, for the first time in history, American citizens who, like Lafayette on his landing here, have pledged their lives in the cause of Liberty. And from the name of the old craft that picture would be called "The Return of Victory."



How Many Hohenzollerns Are There in Germany?

An Intimate Examination of the Question of Responsibility---Recommended to Americans Who Differentiate between the
Kaiser and His People

BY

STEPHANE LAUZANNE

Editor-in-Chief of the Paris *Matin* and Director of the
Official French Bureau of Information



KNOW that in writing these lines I will hurt the feelings and the hopes of many of our American friends. I know that among the most highly placed and well informed citizens of this country there is the firm belief and the absolute doctrine that there is only one Hohenzollern family in Germany; that this family is alone responsible for the misery and the sufferings endured by the whole world; that the German people has not known the truth and is only guilty of having been misled; that when the kaiser is gone all the spirit of brutality, of aggression, of domination which we found in the German race will be gone too. I know all that, but I know also that it is the duty of the man who has the privilege of holding a pen to write the truth and to state the facts without paying too much attention to smiles or grumbling. And it is the truth that I should like to state in this magazine, which, devoted to History, cares only about truth.

What are the facts? Three great crimes have been committed by Germany in this War:—the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, the sinking of the “Lusitania,” the violation of the laws of war and of humanity. Let us see how, in each case, have behaved the people of Germany.

On August 2, 1914, the German troops entered Belgium. The fact was very soon known throughout Germany, and there was no effort to conceal it. On August 3 the chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Holl-

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weg, addressed the Reichstag and confessed brutally the brutal thing: —“*Our troops have crossed the Belgian frontier. We know that this is against international law; but we were in necessity and necessity knows no law.*” Suppose, for one moment, a French, a British, or an American statesman appearing before the representatives of his nation and making such a declaration. What an uproar! What indignation! But in the German Reichstag the monstrous words did not evoke a single protest. There was not a single man, not even Liebknecht, to rise and cry “Shame!” Everyone, on the right and the left, from the conservatives to the socialists, cheered and counter-cheered that abominable proposition that when a land is in necessity there is no law any more, human or divine, to observe. The whole German nation, represented by its deputies, has approved the crime of the violation, the invasion, and the crushing of Belgium. How can we admit that for this crime the Hohenzollerns alone are responsible?

In May, 1915, the “Lusitania” was sunk, carrying to the bottom of the sea one hundred American women and children—inoffensive human beings belonging to a neutral and friendly nation. Did the German public disapprove the murder? Did it disapprove the terrible appointment of American women, of American children as victims of German rage? No. The public of Germany knew of the assassination a few hours after, knew every detail. And there was not a word of sorrow or of reprobation for the innocent lives taken. Berlin went wild with joy; some shopkeepers put flags in their windows. In Munich and Cologne the crowd cheered and danced. And a few weeks later a medal was engraved and distributed throughout the empire to commemorate that day of death by plain murder. Shall we really say that, for this crime, the Hohenzollerns alone are responsible?

What is true of Belgium and of the “Lusitania” is true of all the other crimes.

Take, before the War, the textbook of the general staff of the German army. You will find, in the first pages, the following:

“A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy state and the positions they occupy, but it will and must in like manner seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter. Humanitarian claims, such as the protection of men and their goods, can only be taken into consideration in so far as the nature and object of the war permit. Consequently the argument of war permits every belligerent state to have recourse to all means which enable it to obtain the object of the war.”

The textbook is in the hands of every German officer and non-

commissioned officer, and of many common soldiers. Does any one protest in the name of humanity? Not a single one. And all of them, during the War, will execute these savage orders. Will the Hohenzollerns alone account for that?

Take the murder of Miss Cavell. What is the explanation of the German authorities? "*Once for all,*" declared publicly Herr Zimmermann, "*the activity of our enemies has been stopped and the sentence has been carried out to frighten those who may presume on their sex to take part in enterprises punishable with death.*" No attempt to disguise the truth. The German public knows the truth regarding Miss Cavell, as well as regarding the "Lusitania" and Belgium, and the German public approves. Not a voice condemns the shooting of the nurse. Will History say that the kaiser was alone responsible?

Take that horrid deportation of the civil populations in Belgium and in the north of France. President Wilson, when the United States was still a neutral country, stigmatized it in the following terms: "The government of the United States is constrained to protest most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedents and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants." This is how the chief of one of the greatest civilized nations in the world has characterized a German act. The Germans have heard of the act and of the characterization. Not a single one among them has disavowed the act and shared the condemnation. Is this crime, wherein Germans in common and in unison have participated, only a Hohenzollern crime?

Does one say that the German nation has been constrained against speaking out concerning these crimes because it has been under embarrassment, has had its feelings hurt by the fearful denunciations from outside, from the enemies of Germany?—that patriotism obliged the Germans to solidarize themselves with their statesmen and officers? Then what shall one reply when the crimes are denounced by a German himself, and when the person so speaking is not a German statesman or general, but a German subject in a foreign land?

A German journalist, Dr. Harry Stuermer, former correspondent of the *Koelnische Zeitung*, was severely wounded in the battles of the Masurian Lakes and invalided from the army. He was sent by his newspaper in 1915 to Turkey, and there he was able to measure the depths to which Turkish bestiality could descend. He witnessed in Constantinople the terrible exodus of refined Armenian men, women,

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and children driven from their country and deported to Turkey. He was told by other Germans, who had been horrified bystanders, that nothing written about the Armenian massacres could possibly have been exaggerated. And when he saw all that, when he heard all that, he sent reports to Cologne, to his paper, to implore the intervention of Germany. The reports were suppressed by the censor and he was immediately dismissed by his employers. He tried then to reach the government itself and sent reports to the Wilhelmstrasse. The result was that he was recalled to the colors, although declared absolutely unfit for service. In the army he was so brutalized that he resolved to escape and managed to get to Switzerland. He has published a book, "Two War Years in Constantinople," which is an indictment of Germany and Turkey as terrible and damning as any brought against those two countries by their enemies. In this book Dr. Stuermer denounces the Armenian slaughter, "*the most terrible massacre since Nero's day.*" He accuses Germany as "*the Pilate of a whole race.*" "When the Armenian patriarch," he writes, "used to come to our ambassador with tears in his eyes, begging for help—I witnessed this scene more than once at our embassy,—no interest was shown for anything but German prestige, wounded vanity, but never any compassion for the fate of the Armenian people."

Now, this is an indictment written by a German, an indictment brought against Turkey much more than against Germany. And respecting it, also, everyone in Germany remains silent. Not another German voice echoes this German's protests. Not a single other German rises to stand by this German accusation. Shall we really then say that the Hohenzollerns alone are responsible? Shall we say that the German people have never known the truth, that they have never been told the truth?

A few weeks ago a French statesman, leader of the French Catholic party, former under-secretary for foreign affairs, Baron Denys Cochin, was asked by an American if the formula, "No peace with the Hohenzollerns," was considered by the French people as being adequate and just. And Baron Cochin replied: "Quite so. But we consider in France that there are in Germany fifty millions of Hohenzollerns." This will be also the verdict of History, and if there can be no peace with the Hohenzollerns there can be no peace with the German people itself until this people has resolved to put on what Viscount Ishii called "the horrid nakedness of the savage" a veil of decency.

The Alsace-Lorraine Question

France's Incontestable Historical and Moral Rights—The German Annexation of 1871 Unanimously Opposed by the People

CONTRIBUTED BY

THE FRENCH HIGH COMMISSION



RANCE maintains in the city of Washington a very efficient and admirable body known as the French High Commission, of which André Tardieu is the head. Desiring an authoritative statement of the principal historical elements of the Alsace-Lorraine question, the Editors applied to the Commission and received the excellent article which follows.

I

Alsace-Lorraine Before the War of 1870-71



THE TREATY of Frankfort, signed between Germany and France after the War of 1870-71, tore from the French nation territories situated in four of her departments:—1. In the department of Moselle, the districts of Metz, Thionville, and Sarreguemines. 2. In the department of Meurthe, the districts of Sarrebourg and Château-Salins. 3. The whole of the department of Bas-Rhin (capital, Strasburg). 4. The department of Haut-Rhin (capital, Colmar), with the exception of the territory of Belfort.

The four departments thus annexed or dismembered to Germany's profit belonged to the two ancient French provinces, Lorraine and Alsace.

The reunion of the Lorraine territory with France goes back to the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1551, at the time of the struggle brought about in Europe by the pretensions of the Austrian house, Maurice de Saxe recognized in his name and in the name of the German princes the sovereignty of the king of France, Henry II, over Metz, and the following year, on the 10th of April, 1552, the town opened its gates. It was then that the emperor Charles V came himself at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, provided with

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artillery which for that period was formidable, to besiege Metz. The resistance kept up by François de Guise, of the house of Lorraine, overcame the imperial attack. After sixty-five days of siege, forty-five days of which were in open trenches, fifteen thousand cannon shot having been fired, Charles V raised the siege at the end of the year 1552, leaving on the ground a third of his troops. Metz definitively became French ground.

In the following century, at the time of the treaty of Westphalia, which finished the Thirty Years' War by a general settlement of European questions, the empire ceded Alsace to France as a reward for the protection granted by Richelieu and Mazarin to the Protestant princes of Germany. This transfer, made in 1648, was completed in 1681 by the reunion of Strasburg with France.

Under the ancient régime these transfers of suzerainty offered nothing contrary to the right of the people. The Holy Germanic empire was not a modern state, still less a nation. Assembled under a common denomination, it was a collection of principalities, bishoprics, electorates, and free towns that had their respective laws and customs and their own life. The people did not belong to themselves. They passed from hand to hand by contract, by inheritance, or by marriage. In fact, neither under Louis XIV nor under Louis XV did the slightest protest arise against the authority of the French royalty. In 1744, when the "Pandours" from beyond the Rhine invaded Alsace, King Louis XV put himself at the head of his troops, declaring that he did not "wish to let his kingdom be eaten up." The threatened provinces gave him a triumphal welcome; the illness of the king at Metz aroused the feeling of a national disaster. In 1781 the town of Strasburg celebrated the centenary of its reunion with France by great solemnities, at which the magistrate expressed the gratitude and attachment of all orders and citizens of the town, who had enjoyed for a hundred years a tranquility and happiness unknown to their ancestors.

When the influence of the principles of liberty and equality spread by the French philosophers of the eighteenth century—Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau,—and the success of the War of Independence carried on by the English colonies of America, had instigated in France the patriotic and revolutionary movement which established the right of individuals and peoples in Europe, Lorraine and Alsace were the first to take part in the movement, and their fidelity never swerved for a moment during the terrible disturbances brought forth by the internal troubles and the coalition of Europe

against France. The new Republic never had to contend with separatist plots from the eastern side.

Already, in fact, in the provincial assemblies of 1787 which preceded the "Etats-Généraux" of 1789, the Alsatian commission had proclaimed in an official text the charter of modern times: "Everything which pertains to feudalism bears the character of servitude inadmissible in a constitutional society." On the 7th of July, 1789, the citizens of Strasburg declared that they shared throughout the country in the "general joy" caused by the "reunion of representatives of the French nation in one single alliance, which unites strength and light." On the 14th of July, 1789, the Bastille was stormed in Paris, and the first one to enter the prison—which was the symbolic seat of the royal despot,—the head of the French guards, was an Alsatian officer, Elie, of the queen's regiment, who, at first in civilian clothes, afterward changed into his brilliant uniform, bravely showed himself to the enemy as well as his own people. Eight days later, the people of Strasburg rose; the old aristocracy gave up the municipal power into the hands of an administration chosen from among all classes of the bourgeois. The old régime was ended in Strasburg. The following year the national assembly abolished it in Alsace; the question of the rights of feudal princes was settled by a report of Merlin de Douai, who proclaimed in emphatic terms the new status of the French people: "The time is forever past when kings disposed of what they called their herds, like real owners. The Alsatian people clearly manifested last year their wish to be united with France. Their will alone has consummated or legalized the union, and they have become French because they wished it."

In 1790, also, the national guards of Metz, addressing the national assembly, declared that the new constitution left them nothing to regret, and that, on the contrary, their fathers would doubtlessly be jealous of their happiness if it were possible for them to see it. On the 11th of June of the same year Strasburg called together the national guards of Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté for a great fête. Frédéric de Dietrich, mayor of the town, gave a reception on the platform of the cathedral and displayed the first tricolor flags ever unfurled at Strasburg, so that "this spectacle, seen from the opposite banks of the Rhine (which was the expression used in the official report), may teach Germany that the reign of Liberty was established in France."

On the 25th of April, 1792, when the declaration of war by Prus-



HONORING AMERICA IN ALSACE—THE FIRST UNITED STATES FLAG PUBLICLY DISPLAYED IN THE PROVINCE WHICH FRANCE HAS PARTIALLY REDEEMED

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



ALSATIAN BOY DRESSED AS A SOLDIER, AND ALSATIAN GIRL IN NATIVE COSTUME

The third anniversary of the redemption of Alsatian soil by the French was celebrated by fêtes throughout the liberated territory. The above, and the four pictures which follow, are from photographs taken at the time. (French Pictorial Service.)



GENERAL HIRSCHMANER AND ALSATIAN CHILDREN AFTER THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



ALSATIAN CHILDREN

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



ALSATIAN CHILDREN

Photo by the French Pictorial Service

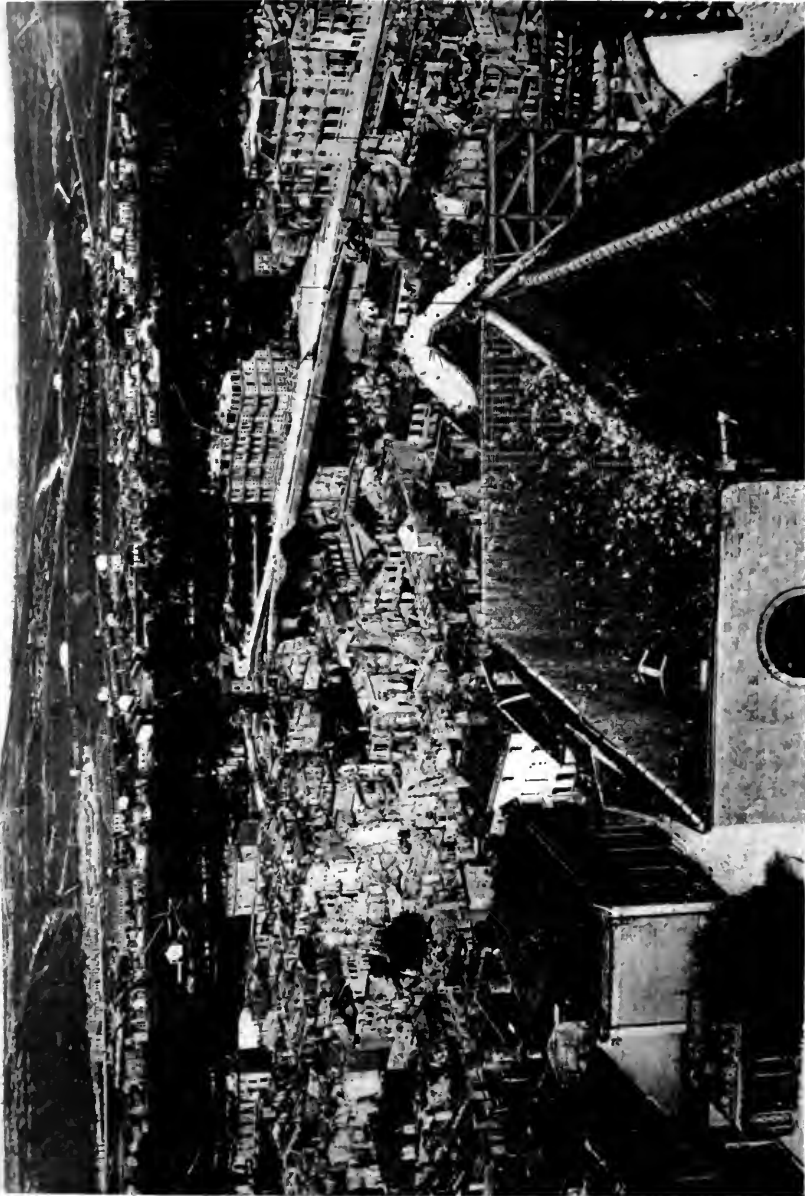


GROUP OF ALSATIANS
Photo by the French Pictorial Service



STANDARDS OF FRENCH REGIMENTS THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE ON THE AISNE—SCENE FROM A HISTORIC REVIEW BY GENERAL PETAIN

Photo by the French Pictorial Service



PANORAMIC VIEW OF VERDUN
Photo by the French Pictorial Service

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sia was made known, Dietrich traversed the town with a military escort, reading to the crowd the text of the Prussian declaration. The same evening he asked Captain Rouget de l'Isle, known as a poet and musician, to compose a patriotic song. On the morrow the "War Song for the army of the Rhine" was played at the residence of the mayor of Strasburg, to the general satisfaction of those present. Becoming soon popular under the name of the "Marseillaise," this song was destined to be the national hymn of the French Republic.

In the month of September, 1792, it was an Alsatian general, Kellermann, who, in the passes of Argonne at Valmy, stopped the enemy, master of Longwy and Verdun, and saved France.

The victory of Valmy was followed by a long series of campaigns, in which the children of Lorraine and Alsace had their full share of peril and glory. Even to-day, in the districts occupied by Germany, two statues proclaim to the new generations of Alsace-Lorraine what the soul of their real country is. On the principal square in Strasburg stands the statue of Kléber, son of a mason of the town, who made himself famous in Vendée, on the Rhine, and in Egypt, and of whom Bonaparte said: "There is nothing so fine as Kléber on the day of battle." On the esplanade in Metz is the statue of Marshal Ney, great through his victories and still greater through his heroic conduct in the hours of trial, in the retreat from Russia and during the battle of Waterloo.

Hence it will be readily understood that during the nineteenth century and up to the unfortunate War of 1870, the question of Lorraine or Alsace did not come up again for France. Indeed, these two provinces had nothing to disown or efface of their past in expressing their wish to be French. But after the Revolution this wish was transformed into a natural sentiment, as deeply rooted in the soul as family affection can be and as naturally taken for granted. In announcing the fêtes destined to commemorate in 1848 the second centenary of the treaty of Westphalia, which had reunited Alsace to France, the mayor of Strasburg himself interpreted this state of mind, saying: "There is doubtless no more need for us to make a solemn and public declaration of our inviolable devotion to France. France does not doubt us—she has faith in Alsace. Alsace is as French as Brittany, Flanders, and the Basque countries, and she wishes to remain so."

In proclaiming at the same time the right of citizens and the right of nations, France of the Revolution had not only given to her national unity the immovable foundation of unanimous consent,

without any opposition or discordance, but she made all Europe profit by her trials and her ideas; she had taught the principle of nationalities, founded on the right of nations to dispose of themselves. This principle, thanks to the initiative of France, was applied during the period which immediately preceded the War of 1870. From 1859 on, each of the Italian districts that were reunited by Victor Emmanuel so as to form the new Italian kingdom—Lombardy (1859); Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily (1860); Venice, (1866); Rome herself (1870)—took part regularly in the consultation of the peoples concerned. Moreover, Nice and Savoy only reverted to France in 1860 after a vote by the inhabitants. Furthermore, in 1866, when Prussia, victorious over Denmark, demanded the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, French diplomacy prevailed upon Bismarck to insert a special clause in the treaty of Prague by which the Danish populations of northern Schleswig were to be restored to Denmark if by their free vote they expressed the desire to be reunited with their native country. Prussia did not keep her word, but the fact of the signature appearing at the foot of this “scrap of paper” showed the moral force of right with which France had succeeded in impregnating the European conscience—the right of nationalities to freely dispose of themselves.

II

Alsace-Lorraine and the War of 1870-71

After 1866, when the house of Hohenzollern had replaced the house of Hapsburg in the political leadership of Germany and had set up the worship of brute force as the state religion, the Prussians believed themselves to be powerful enough to substitute cynicism for hypocrisy. It was then that the Prussian theory of the principle of nationalities was invented—a theory forged like a weapon of war to come to the rescue of the annexation ambitions of the military party. According to this doctrine, the principle of nationalities has nothing in common with the modern right which is founded on conscience and which does not recognize any other organ than the freely expressed will of the people. It consists in imposing on the people, in spite of their conscience and their wish, a certain nationality according to the power that a certain number of professors have arrogated to themselves, measuring skulls, fixing the boundaries of various idioms, and ransacking the archives of history. In support of their annexa-

tion programs the German scholars inundated the world with productions which they called "scientific," as if it were possible in good faith to confuse definite results always susceptible of being verified, mathematical calculations, or physical experiences with conclusions that are always problematical and open to discussion since they rest upon retrospective research in the darkness of remote history or prehistoric records.

All such productions are in fact nothing but war manœuvres destined to obscure facts and to deceive the mind while the cannon does its work. For there is not one of these pseudo-scientific theses that will stand examination by an impartial judge. First of all, a remark presents itself that suffices to call into question the sincerity of the German scholars. Bismarck took from France parts of ancient Lorraine at the same time as ancient Alsace. Now, all arguments of the so-called "science" refer to Alsace, which they would like to prove is German ground, and not to Lorraine, which they dare not question as being an integral part of the French nation. The annexation of the districts detached from the French departments of the Moselle and the Meurthe was even not covered up by any legal pretext: it was presented as being the consequence of so-called military necessity, without the slightest effort having been made to try to save appearances. Those who refuse to be put off with empty words will recognize that in reality it was exactly the same case with the French departments of the Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin.

It is true that the Germanic idiom crossed the Rhine and that it extends as far as the Vosges. The Alsations speak German or dialects derived from German. But language is by no means sufficient to decide the national sentiments and the popular will; otherwise it is not Alsace alone that Germany ought to claim—in all fairness she should claim the whole of German Switzerland. In fact, the Strasburger, in the depths of his conscience, through the strength of his attachment to the same country, is the fellow-citizen of the man of Lille or Marseilles exactly in the same way as the inhabitant of Bâle, Berne, or Zurich is the fellow-citizen of the man from Geneva or Bellinzona. Did not Treitschke himself, the professor of whom the Germans have made a kind of idol because he was the friend of Bismarck and the theorist of Pan-Germanic materialism, warn against using carelessly a formula which might react against Prussian pretensions, by recalling the fact that "in no European country does the political frontier completely correspond with the linguistic frontier"?

It is, however, true that since the partition of the empire of Charlemagne among the sons of the emperor Louis le Débonnaire, at the treaty of Verdun, up to the reorganization of central Europe by the treaty of Westphalia, *i. e.*, for eight centuries (843-1648), the destiny of Alsace was bound to the destiny of the Holy Germanic empire. But to confuse a collection of feudal domains under the nominal suzerainty of the emperor with a nationality in the strict sense of the word is to systematically ignore the history of the Middle Ages. And here again it is the rough voice of the Prussian Treitschke who recalls the Pan-Germanists in their frantic ravings to common sense:—"It would be as ridiculous to claim Lyons and Arles, under the pretext that the imperial eagle formerly floated over their walls, as it would be to claim the ancient right of suzerainty over Italy." In reality, in the division of Europe into great natural regions the Rhine is the frontier that has for all time separated Gaul and Germany. Alsace, on the western bank of the Rhine, appears, as far back as the historical excavations go, as settled by the Celtic race; when Cæsar came, she was Gallic ground (the Druids of the Vosges sanctuaries attended the assemblies of the Loire), and after the conquest she was Gallo-Roman ground. The remains of monuments which are to be found in several parts of Alsace, and which form for several miles what the natives call "heathen walls," near Ribeauvillé, for example, and near Saint-Odile, are systems of fortifications erected against the permanent danger of Germanic barbarism. It was that danger which the great Frank emperor, Charlemagne, succeeded in guarding against when he carried the war beyond the Rhine against the Saxons, Thuringians, and Bavarians, whose perfidy and cruelty had made them unworthy of all pity in his eyes. The annexation of Alsace is an outrage on historical truth just as much as on the modern right of nationalities; for Alsace belonged to Gaul in the time of Julius Cæsar, to the France of Charlemagne, just as she is an integral part of the Republic "one and indivisible" which was founded in 1792 on the liberty of citizens and people.

That the Germans have tried to deceive the opinion of foreign countries with the argument of Germanic Alsace, but that they were not deceived themselves, is shown with absolute certainty by actual events. When the defeats of the beginning of August, 1870, had laid Alsace open to invasion, the Germans treated the Alsatians as enemies and not as fellow-citizens. In October, 1870, the great French historian, who had been a professor at Strasburg, Fustel le Coulanges,

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was right in asserting in his reply to the German, Mommsen, that the siege of Strasburg was kept up less by the efforts of the small French garrison than by the population of Strasburg. "It was an Alsatian general," said he, "who was in command. The bishop, who had been so roughly refused admission to the German camp, was an Alsatian. Those who fought so valiantly, those who launched against the enemy such fierce attacks, were Alsations. Without doubt, all those men spoke your language, but they did not feel that they were your countrymen. And those German soldiers who hurled their bullets against Strasburg, who took aim at the cathedral, who burned the new Protestant Church, the library, the houses, the hospital, who, respecting the ramparts and sparing the garrison, were merciless only towards the inhabitants—say frankly, with your hand on your heart, did they feel that they were their countrymen?"

The brutality with which the general staff of the German army treated the ancient capital of Alsace should have put on their guard all those who, in the interior of Germany itself, had to fear the repercussion of this military brutality on their own persons. For it is a law of history that civilization and liberty can cross the Rhine from west to east, but not the other way about. Already, at the end of 1846, when Germany was not yet bent under the yoke of feudal Prussia and when she could hope for an evolution in the sense of liberalism, a German publicist, Ch. Bidermann, explained that Alsace, as an integral part of France, enjoyed thereby the advantage of a superior culture. "Do you believe," he wrote, to the great scandal of the official German papers, "that Alsace would voluntarily renounce France, who already assures her of everything that the intellectual movement is still trying to acquire in other parts?" With all the more reason, then, in 1870, the alternative presented itself before the clear-sighted minds of Germany:—Either Germany, in the person of Alsace-Lorraine, would respect the sacred right of the people to dispose of themselves, or she would be dragged into a reaction which would mean that central Europe would no longer know peace and liberty. This divination of the future, which the ruling powers of the German states and even Bismarck himself lacked, appeared in a proclamation published in Germany as soon as the fall of the French empire and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris (September, 1870) were known:

"The German workingmen declare that they will not suffer the French people to be insulted on the day on which they are delivered from him [the emperor Napoleon III] who alone disturbed the harmony of the two peoples. . . .

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"The policy of annexation would have no other effect but to perpetuate military despotism in reconstructed Germany and to cause in the future Germany and France to cut each other's throats.

"He who is not stunned by the tumult of the present moment or who has no interest in deceiving the German people must understand that the War of 1870 will involve as a necessary consequence a war with Russia, just as the war of to-day is the consequence of the one waged in 1866. The attitude of victorious Germany will decide the perils which this war may have for her; if she wishes to keep Alsace-Lorraine, she will find France and Russia united against her.

"We therefore protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine; we protest in the name of the German democratic committee, with the certainty that all the German workingmen think as we do."

This proclamation was the work of the directing committee of German socialists in whom at that time there still existed something of the idealism which had, thanks to France, in 1789 in the first place and later in 1848, shaken the conscience of all European peoples. It excited the anger of the Prussian military authorities. General Vogel von Falckenstein had the signers who had sent the manifesto to the German workingmen arrested and sent them loaded with chains to a Prussian fortress. Then it was the turn of the deputies in the parliament of the Confederation of the North, Bebel and Liebknecht. Having publicly branded the Prussian policy of annexation, they became acquainted with the hardships of temporary captivity; released at the end of three months, they were brought up one year later before the court of assizes and condemned to two years' imprisonment, which they passed in the fortresses of Hubertusburg and Königstein. The crime which they were expiating was that of having made the world see clearly that the Prussian victory had been gained not only over the French army but also within the frontiers of Germany over whatever civic courage and moral uprightness might have existed. Bebel and Liebknecht were imprisoned because in the Germany of the Hohenzollerns there was no room henceforth for a free conscience.

If the Germans themselves, the delegates of the working classes and the regularly elected representatives of the people, were not permitted to raise their voice when that voice expressed a protest for right, indicating a deep political wisdom, what chance would the conquered have had to make themselves heard? How could the people of Alsace-Lorraine have succeeded in forcing the conquerors to do them justice when those conquerors used such iniquitous and barbarous methods toward their own countrymen? But the people of Alsace-Lorraine would not have shown themselves to be the true French that they were if, threatened to be separated by brutal force from the country to which they were bound by every fiber of their

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hearts, they had not proclaimed in the most solemn and decisive manner the French doctrine of the inviolable right of nationalities to dispose of themselves.

As soon as the national assembly, elected by universal suffrage by the French departments, met at Bordeaux on the 17th of February, 1871, the deputies of Alsace and Lorraine made their voice heard. They put themselves on record in the following historic statement:

"We, the undersigned, French citizens, chosen and elected by the departments of Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin, Moselle, and Meurthe, to make known to the national assembly of France the unanimous will of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, after having met together and discussed the matter, have resolved to proclaim in a solemn declaration their sacred and inalienable rights, so that the national assembly, France, and Europe, having before their eyes the wishes and resolution of our constituents, may not consummate or allow to be consummated any act liable to infringe upon the rights which have been entrusted to us to guard and defend.

"Declaration."

"Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated."

"Associated for more than two centuries with France, sharing both her good and bad fortune, these two provinces, exposed incessantly to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national greatness; they have sealed with their blood the indissolvable covenant which binds them to the French nation. To-day their fate being called in question by foreign pretensions, they proclaim in the face of all the obstacles and dangers, and under the very yoke of the invader, their unswerving fidelity.

"Absolutely unanimous, the citizens in their own homes, like the soldiers in the armies, prove to Germany and the world—some by voting and others by fighting—the immovable will of Alsace and Lorraine to remain French."

On the 1st of March, 1871, at the time of the last discussion that preceded the ratification of the peace preliminaries, the declaration took the form of a sad and determined protest:

"The representatives of Alsace and Lorraine, prior to all peace negotiations, placed before the national assembly a declaration asserting, in the most emphatic manner, in the name of these provinces, their wish and their right to remain French.

"Handed over against all justice, and by an odious abuse of force, to the rule of the foreigner, we have a last duty to fulfil.

"We proclaim once again as null and void a compact which disposes of us without our consent."

"The claiming of our rights is a matter which will remain forever open to all and everyone, according to what our conscience dictates."

"At the moment of leaving these walls, where our dignity no longer permits us to dwell, and in spite of the bitterness of our grief, the supreme thought in the depths of our hearts is a thought of gratitude for those who, for six months, have never ceased to defend us, and of unchangeable love for the country from which we are violently torn.

"We leave you our good wishes and we await, with absolute confidence in the future, the day when regenerated France will once again tread the path of her great destiny.

"Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, separated at this time from the common family, will preserve a filial affection for the France who is absent from their hearths until the day when she will come and take her place there again."

Belgium, and the Rocky Mountain Club

The Story of a Noble Work of Relief---Other Notable Activities of the Club---Its Intense Americanism and Splendid Membership

BY

WALTER W. SPOONER



ELGIUM, by gaining time for France, made it possible to defeat Germany. History will pronounce this service inestimable and rate the little nation with the great decisive factors in the War. But the world's everlasting debt of gratitude to Belgium springs from a recognition far more to her glory than even that of her heroic performance. Necessity, interest, the reasons of alliance, the force of substantial circumstances or sentimental considerations determined the action of every other country that has arrayed itself against Germany and her associated aggressors, from Serbia and Great Britain in the earliest stages of the conflict to the United States and Brazil in the latest. Belgium, however, did not have to fight; could not possibly have derived any advantage from fighting; was not drawn in by the prescriptions or persuasions of any pact or rapprochement; did not take her decision as the result of experiences, calculations, or sympathies. Belgium was actuated by honor alone, in the certain understanding that the path of honor was the path of inevitable destruction.

In accrediting to Belgium her fullest grandeur it is well to remember that she entirely foreknew what the consequences would be in both the essential respects and the details. For she intimately and peculiarly knew her neighbor Germany. She moreover and most especially knew Prussian Germany—the Jesse Pomeroy of the nations; and she was familiar with the cruel policy of the Prussian general staff, which, in its official publications on how to conduct war, ordered the most remorseless deeds so as to crush out all liberty, vitality, and hope—ordered even the systematic destruction of “*the total intellectual resources*” of “*the enemy state,*” that is to say, the reduction

of its whole population to utter and gibbering imbecility. Throughout a long term of years the Belgian government had much distrusted the all-highest war lord of the Germans. Every indication had given warning of the annihilating attack that was in preparation. Right up to the frontier focused the whole strategic railway system of Germany—for what purpose if not that of invasion? One of the primary stipulations of the Pan-German scheme of conquest demanded the absorption of Belgium into the empire in “the next war.” (Think of it, free Americans. How would you like to be absorbed by any damnable old empire whatever, with no other destiny permitted to you and your posterity save that of forever humbly working for a foreign master swaggering and crazy with vanity, wholly committed to the creed of Nietzsche, and certain to practice that creed with the most devilish barbarity?) As the Germans have carefully shown from the archives which they seized in Brussels, the government of Belgium felt so disquieted that, some years before the War, it exchanged views with England on the question of probable German infraction of the treaty of neutrality. Much has been made by German publicists of the evidence said to be thus afforded of an “understanding” between Belgium and England; these automatic thinkers take no notice of the true significance of the Brussels documents and mechanically exclude the possibility that anyone else is bright enough to. It is sufficient to observe that there have been no records discovered of Belgian-German conversations in anticipation of wrongs against Belgium meditated by France or Great Britain. Well did Belgium know from what quarter danger threatened!

From the moment when von Bethmann Hollweg delivered his infamous speech in the Reichstag it was not to be doubted by any Belgian that resistance to Germany would mean exactly the sufferings and horrors that resulted—exactly and at all times the wanton murders, variegated tortures, fiendish ravishments, pitiless enslavements, monstrous robberies, and other dirty villainies of every description that have so excited the execration and roused the rage of the world for more than three years.

Tremendous as was the practical service of Belgium to the Allies in the critical first period of the War, it will not be for her splendid military contribution toward their salvation that she will be acclaimed to the end of time. It will be for her magnificent choice of the course of honor, without the slightest material need or incentive to make that choice and notwithstanding the certitude of the most terrific and comprehensive disasters.

To the exceptional character of Belgium's part in the War and of her sacrifice has been due the competition of the nations of the world in the great work of relief for her suffering population. The distresses of other subjugated peoples—the Serbians, Roumanians, Poles—have not been less general or acute, and have very considerably engaged the efforts of the Allies and neutrals for their assuagement. But the cause of Belgium has from the beginning stood foremost in the interest and affections of humanity. What have you done for Belgium? is a question recognized as very apropos to be put to the people of every country collectively and almost individually. "In the name of the outraged women and children of Belgium!" is a slogan that has become familiar in the United States.

America's service to Belgium in her time of need will ever be regarded as one of the most glorious and colossal achievements in the annals of humane endeavor. Through American initiative, under American auspices, and by the splendid abilities and untiring labors of Americans the administrative work of succor for Belgium was inaugurated and prosecuted until just before the time of our country's entrance into the War. The administrative work was the whole work in application; for without administration all the millions contributed by the nations would not have fed a single Belgian.

It is a familiar story why Belgian relief became necessary and why Americans had to administer it. The Germans were no sooner established in Belgium than they began to eat up the food, steal the money, and terrorize and exploit all the people whom they did not kill or drive away. What was to come, and to come swiftly, was foreshadowed by the astonishing fines and requisitions of the invaders with each step of their progress. On the first day of the occupation of Brussels by the German army (August 20, 1914) that municipality was ordered to pay in three days 50,000,000 francs in coin or bills and also to deliver in the same time a tremendous supply of food—the food requisition being accompanied by a proviso that should any part of the demanded supply not be forthcoming, twice its market value would be exacted in cash. The province of Brabant was commanded to pay by the 1st of September (in twelve days) 450,000,000 francs, or \$90,000,000.¹ All the Belgian people were in a brief time substantially reduced to utter ruin and destitution, with winter very near.

1. These details are related in the remarkable Diary of Hugh Gibson, at that time secretary of the American legation in Brussels. Mr. Gibson says: "When you consider that the total war indemnity imposed by Germany upon France in 1871 was only five milliards (\$1,000,000,000), the enormity of this appears. Upon one little province of a tiny country they are imposing a tax equal to one-tenth that imposed on the whole of France."

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It is not the purpose of this article to relate any part of the history of the great relief work in Belgium—an enormous subject, of infinite scope and extraordinary ramifications. An organization styled the American Relief Committee, headed by Herbert C. Hoover, took hold of the situation early in October, 1914. The name was soon changed to the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, and then to the Commission for Relief in Belgium (the "C. R. B.")—Mr. Hoover continuing in charge and at all times being the dominating personality. In addition to the people of Belgium, those of the German-occupied districts of northern France came under the care of the Commission—for precisely the same in French territory as in Belgian the brutal conquerors repudiated their obligations as masters and all the claims of humanity. The population represented was about seven and one-half millions Belgian and two and one-half millions French.

To the everlasting pride of America the whole noble work of Belgian relief was conducted under our flag and by our countrymen. Yet there was a vital aspect of the matter which was distinctly not to our credit—the insignificance of our financial coöperation as compared with the needs of the Belgians and what was given by other countries. For a long time the unpleasant truth was not generally known in the United States. This was mainly due to a lack of proper organized effort, no one in particular being on the job to loosen up the purse-strings for Belgium. Probably, also, the press was too much disposed to avoid hurting the feelings of the people by telling them how penuriously they were behaving. The plain facts came out startlingly and in uncompromising and reiterated terms of expression in the early part of 1917, when Mr. Hoover returned from Belgium to see what was the matter. Then there was a difference.

By profession a mining engineer—one of the most successful and distinguished in the world,—his appeals for help were naturally directed at an early moment after his arrival to the men of his own calling, who constitute such an influential, able, and wealthy class. Through the instrumentality of the Rocky Mountain Club, of which he is a member, he was able to reach practically the whole body of mining engineers, their affiliated organizations, the great interests controlled or represented by them, and their innumerable friends. This Club holds a distinguished and unique position. An intimate bond of feeling and interest unites its members; of the West, it is animated by the Western spirit and characteristics; it has public-spirited aims;

it numbers among its members hundreds of men who stand foremost for character, energy, and generosity. A comparatively young organization—at the time of which we write it had just completed its tenth year,—it had not, however, concerned itself with outward pretensions; and the extreme simplicity of its quarters and accessories was in marked contrast to its importance and potentialities. A very modest establishment was maintained at 65 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City. But the Club had decided to change all this and to build and own a clubhouse compatible with its dignity, wealth, and large membership. All that was necessary was the decision—the money, to the number of any desired hundreds of thousands of dollars, would be immediately forthcoming as only an incident. At the time of Mr. Hoover's coming from Europe very large subscriptions to the clubhouse fund had been arranged for and the architects' and decorators' plans for the building had been nearly perfected, comprehending every feature and arrangement of luxury and elaboration.

In the latter part of January Mr. Hoover had an interview with the board of governors of the Rocky Mountain Club. He told them he had come over to get money for Belgian relief, and gave them some amazing figures and facts. In brief, the situation as he presented it was as follows:

From the time of the establishment of the Relief Commission, the money contributed for its work aggregated about \$250,000,000. France and England, between them, were giving and would continue to give \$14,000,000 a month. The United States in the whole period of more than two years had provided only \$9,000,000. Yet our country not only was not in the War but was immensely profiting by it; moreover, while scores of Americans capable of earning high salaries at their avocations were devoting their whole time to Belgium without a dollar of recompense, the nation was directly and enormously profiting out of Belgian relief, fully \$150,000,000 of the total funds of the Commission having been expended in the United States. What we gave in cash to Belgium represented, therefore, only six per cent. of what we received in cash for Belgium. To say nothing of the adults of Belgium, a million and a quarter children were wholly dependent upon the Commission for food. The Commission's income enabled it to supply only one ration a day to these children, consisting of a "hunk of bread and a bowl of broth." It was the high ambition of Mr.

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Hoover and his associates to feed them one ration more, to consist of a biscuit made with lard or fat and a cup of cocoa. That was all.

The Rocky Mountain Club's governors voted unanimously to recommend to the members that the erection of the clubhouse, projected on the occasion of the tenth anniversary dinner a few weeks previously, and patiently waited for during many years, be deferred so as to give right-of-way to the cause of relief for Belgium's suffering children, and to use every resource, facility, and influence of the organization for soliciting financial aid and coöperation under the auspices of what should be known as the "Rocky Mountain Club-Hoover Fund for Relief in Belgium." A general committee of members of the Club to prosecute the work was promptly appointed, consisting of the following:

Theodore Roosevelt, honorary chairman; Edward H. Clark, chairman; William B. Thompson, treasurer; Kurnal R. Babbitt, C. W. Barron, Bernard M. Baruch, Thomas Burke, Benjamin F. Bush, Edgar E. Calvin, Thomas L. Chadbourne, Jr., William H. Crocker, J. S. Cullinan, Maurice S. Dean, James S. Douglas, Walter Douglas, Robert H. Driscoll, Coleman du Pont, Albert J. Earling, Stanly A. Easton, L. O. Evans, Sam D. Goza, Daniel Guggenheim, John Hays Hammond, Russell Hawkins, Charles Hayden, Alexander J. Hemphill, Hale Holden, Norman B. Holter, Willard S. Hopewell, J. Guthrie Hopkins, Samuel Insull, Daniel C. Jackling, Robert Krakauer, C. B. Lakenan, Adolph Lewisohn, Clarence B. Little, O. J. McConnell, N. Bruce McKelvie, James MacNaughton, Charles M. MacNeill, E. P. Mathewson, Charles W. Merrill, Eugene Meyer, Jr., Charles E. Mills, John C. Mitchell, Seeley W. Mudd, William A. Nicholls, Spencer Penrose, Lawrence C. Phipps, William C. Potter, P. J. Quealy, Charles F. Rand, L. D. Ricketts, John D. Ryan, Eugene P. Shove, W. Hinckle Smith, Thomas B. Stearns, Benjamin B. Thayer, J. E. Thompson, Chester Thorne, George Turner, Thomas J. Walsh (U. S. senator), Bulkeley Wells, William Wallace, Jr., Charles W. Whitley.

To emphasize and in a conspicuous manner make known to the public its action and undertaking, the Rocky Mountain Club tendered Mr. Hoover a reception and dinner at the Bankers' Club, 120 Broadway, New York, January 29. The president, John Hays Hammond, delivered the opening address, as follows:

"Our Honored Guest, Gentlemen of the Rocky Mountain Club, and Friends: At a meeting of the board of governors of the Rocky Mountain Club some few weeks ago it was decided to take steps to build a clubhouse sometime in the near future. This course was regarded by the governors of the Club not only as justified by existing conditions, but as highly desirable, and, indeed, more or less a matter of urgency.

"Within the last few days, however, one of our distinguished members, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, submitted for their consideration a measure which was deemed by the governors of the Club of far greater urgency than the immediate erection of a club building. I refer to Mr. Hoover's appeal to the Club to coöperate with him in the noble work he is doing to relieve destitution in Belgium.

"While the board of governors have not in any way changed their opinion as to the desirability and the feasibility of erecting a clubhouse sometime in the near future, they have, nevertheless, unanimously resolved to defer action in this regard to give precedence over all other considerations to this great cause of relieving suffering humanity.

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The governors of the Rocky Mountain Club have accordingly unanimously resolved to coöperate with Mr. Hoover in this laudable work.

"In pursuance of that resolution there will be appointed committees from New York and the Western States to solicit funds under the auspices of what will be called the 'Rocky Mountain Club-Hoover Fund for Relief in Belgium.'

"We have every reason to hope for a generous response to our appeal.

"I am sure that when you have heard Mr. Hoover—and there is none better qualified to represent the cause of Belgium—describe to you the deplorable condition of that afflicted land, the members of the Rocky Mountain Club will unqualifiedly endorse the action of its board of governors.

"Our fellow-member, Mr. Alexander Hemphill, who has been associated with Mr. Hoover in the Belgian Relief work, will have the honor of introducing our distinguished guest of the evening, but I cannot refrain, as a fellow-member of the Rocky Mountain Club, as a fellow-engineer, and as a fellow-citizen, from expressing a note of appreciation of the credit that Mr. Hoover has conferred upon the Rocky Mountain Club, the mining profession, and our nation, by the high order of ability, the unselfish zeal and tireless energy he has displayed in the discharge of the great trust reposed in him.

"Gentlemen, I have the pleasure to present our friend, Mr. Hemphill, whom you all know so favorably by repute."

Alexander J. Hemphill, thus introduced by Mr. Hammond, is a prominent New Yorker—chairman of the board of directors of the Guaranty Trust Company,—well known for public spirit and especially for devoted and valuable services in the work of Belgian relief. As treasurer of the great Commission for Relief in Belgium, his name has an enduring place with those of the men who most directly and responsibly bore the labors of the Commission. He is a member of the Rocky Mountain Club. In introducing his distinguished fellow-member, Mr. Hoover, to their assembled associates of the Club and its guests, Mr. Hemphill said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen: It has been my privilege to be associated with the work for relief in Belgium for about two years. This great work never would have been undertaken had not Mr. Hoover been in London at the time when Germany and the German troops went through Belgium, took away practically all the food stuffs that were able to be taken, and, by October, Belgium was suffering the approach of famine. Mr. Hoover saw the necessity for some sort of an organization, and with his remarkable genius for organization, and with the coöperation of the American ambassadors throughout Europe Mr. Hoover then undertook the formation of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was really an offshoot of the organization, with a head in London, to relieve and help returning American travellers who were stranded in Europe at the time of the outbreak of the War.

"In building up this organization Mr. Hoover dragooned into his service a number of engineers whom he found in London, or who were returning through London, and through his engineering ability, and with the help and coöperation of the people his own magnetism compelled association with him, he took these men; he organized them into groups and sent them into Belgium, and then undertook, with the permission of the Comité National in Belgium, the distribution of food.

"From that day until this he has prevented starvation in Belgium. He has not prevented privation, because privation exists to a most unspeakable extent. The children are not properly nourished; of adults we have now over two million and a half in the bread lines. All this work has been done by an American who felt that in doing this work he was building up a monument which we sadly need in Europe. It is about the only beacon light that can be pointed to as being worthy of this great nation. If it were not for the work that Mr. Hoover has done in Belgium, I do not believe that the United States would have a friend abroad. That is a harsh statement, but fortunately this is our hope of redemption.

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"Now, gentlemen, I do not think with this group I need make any appeal for Belgium, because Mr. Hoover is going to tell us the story, but we do need coöperation, and we do need better organization in this country to help us carry forward the work that, I tell you, is going to put us on the map on the other side in a way that is worthy of the American name.

"I have the greatest honor and pleasure in introducing my colleague, Honorable Herbert C. Hoover, chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium." (Prolonged applause; members and guests all stand.)

The following is the full text of Mr. Hoover's very remarkable address:

"Mr. President and Fellow-Members: I feel greatly embarrassed and greatly moved by the words I have heard and by the action of the Club. It was a response which I received within twenty-four hours after arriving here, in a mood of a great deal of discouragement. I have to beg for forbearance because I am so poor at making public addresses that I cannot express that appreciation which is in my heart.

"I feel that I have to justify to you the action which your governors have taken by giving you some description and some explanation of what we have done, and the work we are trying to do.

"I always find three difficulties in talking about Belgian relief—four in fact. One is that I have never delivered a public address on the subject. My entire public appearances have been in combative moods where I have had to defend the Belgian relief, and I can assure you that I have a torrent of words on these occasions. With friends, it is more difficult. If some one would get up and assault this enterprise, I assure you that I could do pretty well.

"My next difficulty is one of some delicacy as to the position which I hold, that it is vitally necessary for us to be absolutely neutral, not only in deed but in word, lest we should, by some act of ours, increase the sufferings of ten millions of people.

"A third difficulty I have is to visualize to men who have not been in Europe since the War began the actual situation which exists in an occupied territory. Perhaps, if you would endeavor to imagine New York and about five adjoining counties occupied by an enemy army, blockaded from without and surrounded with a wall of steel, the normal flow of food, seventy per cent. of which food normally comes from without, stopped, you would awaken within thirty-six hours to find your markets empty and your bakeries stopped.

"Add to this that your railways would be taken over for military purposes; that your telephones and telegraphs would be suppressed; that your newspapers would be prohibited; that every form of communication and intellectual life would cease instantly; that you could not move outside your own wards and your own villages; that you could not assemble except by special permission; that every street corner and every crossroad would be occupied by a sentry; that the normal feeling of security which every man has, that he has at least an appeal to justice, is gone, submerged in the fact that he is subject only to an army—even then you have an inadequate picture because it is almost impossible to convey to you the psychology of a people in such a stress.

"The feeling that the food supply of the community, the food supply to the individual, may cease at any moment; that your women and children are in imminent jeopardy, and the feeling of every thinking man that disturbance by the population only means blood in the streets; that there is no possible salvation or solution; a population which shivers with rumors—it goes beyond ability to describe.

"That has been the situation of Belgium and northern France, with 10,000,000 of people, for nearly two years with one exception, and that exception was the Commission for Relief. The Commission for Relief has not only been the salvation of their food supply, but has been their protection in their despair.

"Now you will say at once, and I will answer it at once, that it is the duty of the occupying army to provision the civilian population. I commit no indiscretion when I repeat to you the official statement by the German government on the one side and the British government on the other. The Germans state that the shortage in food supply in Belgium is due to a blockade; the ports are open except for the Allied navies; the blockade is illegal and is inhumane; that as a result of the blockade they have not a sufficient supply of food of their own; that they invite relief and that they will support it in governmental

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measures, and that in the name of humanity it ought to be done. The British government, on the other hand, says that the prime responsibility and the prime wrong was the occupation of Belgium; that, therefore, the responsibility rests on the occupying army, and that in tradition and international law it is the obligation of an occupying army to provision the civilian population. The Englishman goes further than that and contends that the situation is this: As the British people are fighting for the independence of Belgium, Belgium comprises not only her territory but her people; it is, therefore, useless to re-establish the independence of Belgium if she is to be found an empty husk, and, therefore, they not only will support the relief morally but financially.

"Now, it is not for me to say what is right and what is wrong in these various contentions. It is not the right of any American to refuse to intervene to save a mass of 10,000,000 people from being ground between these millstones. Every thinking man in Europe knew that this situation must ensue and ensue quickly after the occupation.

"The Belgian people themselves sent up the first plea to the Americans for help, and through the American ambassadors in London, Brussels, and Berlin we opened the gate through this wall of steel, and we have tried to defend and have defended it since. These gentlemen, in their official capacities, could do no more than intervene for us, and they must, perchance, leave it to the many organizations to carry it forward. Under international agreements which surround the matter and which are recognized by both of the belligerents, we are under the control of both.

"Initially we appealed to the world for charity, as we had practically no resources except perhaps of some banking arrangements which we had created. We had a generous response to our appeal. When we started out, three to four million dollars a month seemed to be compassable by the charity of the world. None of us anticipated that more than three or four months of such a situation could exist. Within two or three months it was well understood that this was not a war of days, but would be a war of months, or perhaps years; that there was no solution to it except governmental assistance, and that it required wider and broader charity than had ever been known.

"We built up governmental assistance, first, through the Belgian government at Havre from their slender resources, and then through the Allied governments. We had added to our responsibilities, however, in addition to the Belgian civilian population, the civilian population of northern France. So that relief has grown in organization from a moderate charitable enterprise to one, I think, without a parallel in history.

"Up until the end of January we had spent over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars; we had imported into Belgium two and one-half million tons of concentrated food supplies, and we are now issuing over two hundred and twenty million pounds of bread every month and twenty-five to thirty million pounds of fat and distributing five million tins of condensed milk—but I won't worry you further with these statistics.

"It will occur to every business man to know something of this organization. Everyone has a right to know whether it is efficient; whether it is honest, and whether it accomplishes its purpose. Now there have been three tenets in this organization: the first is decentralization; second, voluntary service, and third, high ideals.

"We realized from the start that it was necessary to have the coöperation of every intelligent man in Belgium and northern France, and the assistance of every commercial house into whose realm we might tread. We have never appealed for assistance in any quarter, either to banks or commercial houses, or experts of any sort, that we have not received the fullest and most skillful advice.

"We have built up by degrees some four or five thousand committees recruiting charity throughout the world, and we have recruited about thirty millions of dollars, of which about nine millions came from this country.

"Our central organization consists of sub-committees here in New York, with my friends, Mr. Honnold as director and Mr. Hemphill as treasurer; a committee in London, and another in Rotterdam and again in Brussels. We coöperate again with the large committees in Belgium.

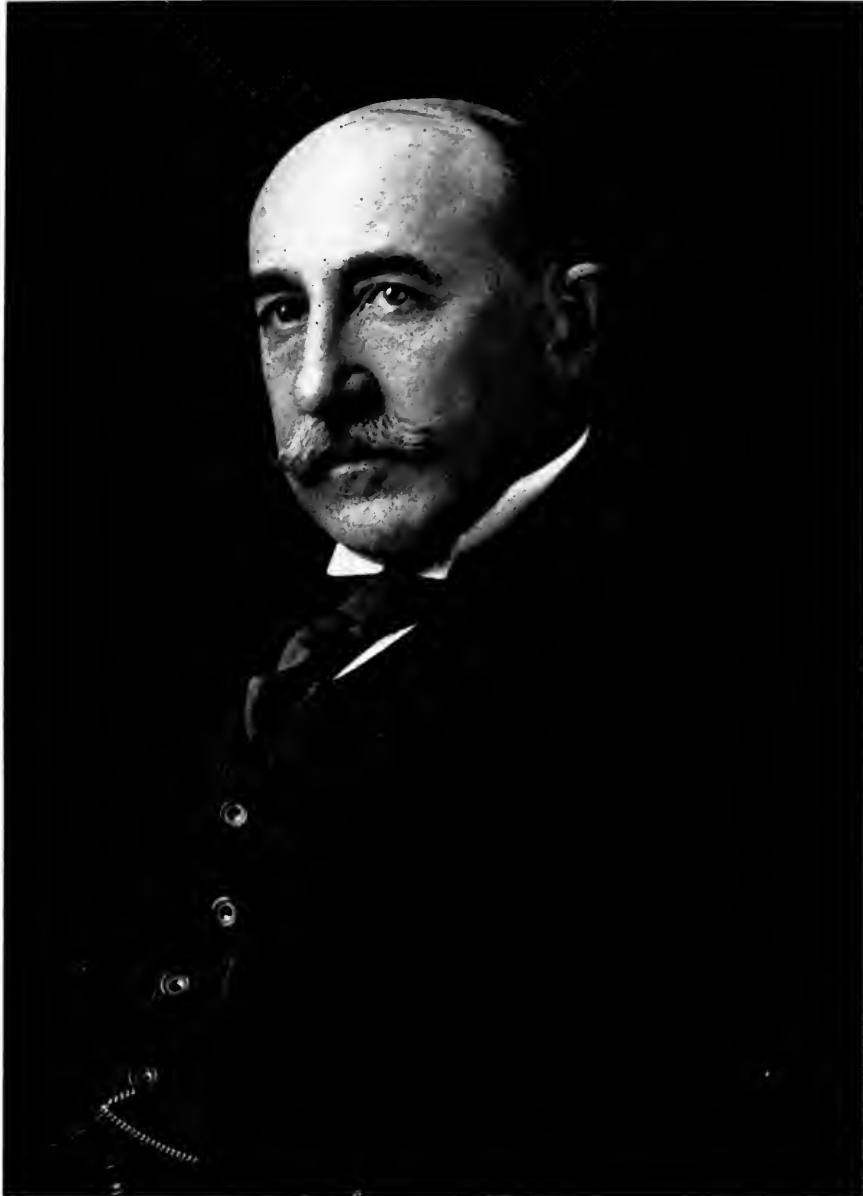
"The basis of our distribution organization lies in the creation of a committee in every commune, some 4,000 in all, each of which assists in the distribution of the food supply to the population. In addition, we have regional committees and central committees in all the important cities, over each of which is a general manager.

"Thus you will see we have built up about 8,000 sub-committees and have facilities for the collection of money on the one side and its distribution on the other.



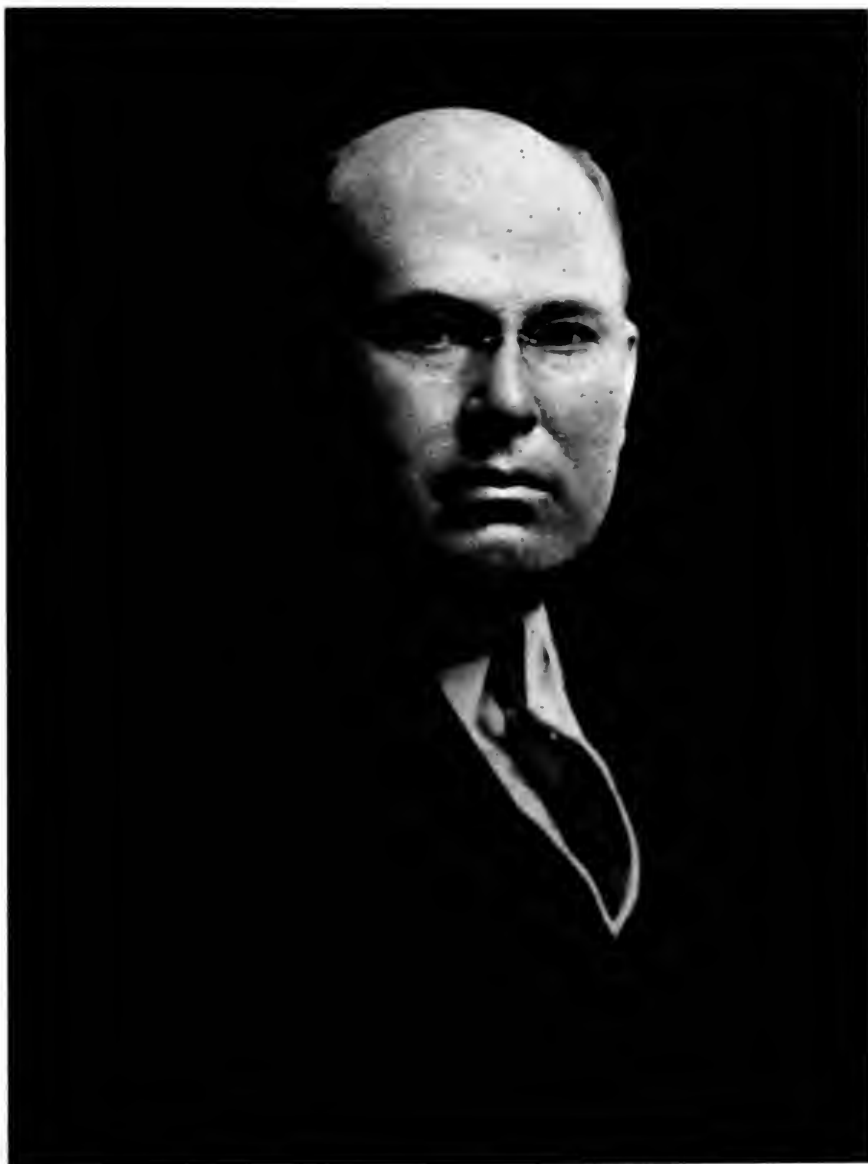
FACSIMILE OF AUTOGRAPHED PORTRAIT OF HENRIETTE, DUCHESS OF VENDOME, PRINCESS OF BELGIUM, AND SISTER OF KING ALBERT

Presented by her to the Rocky Mountain Club in grateful recognition of its services in the cause of Belgian Relief



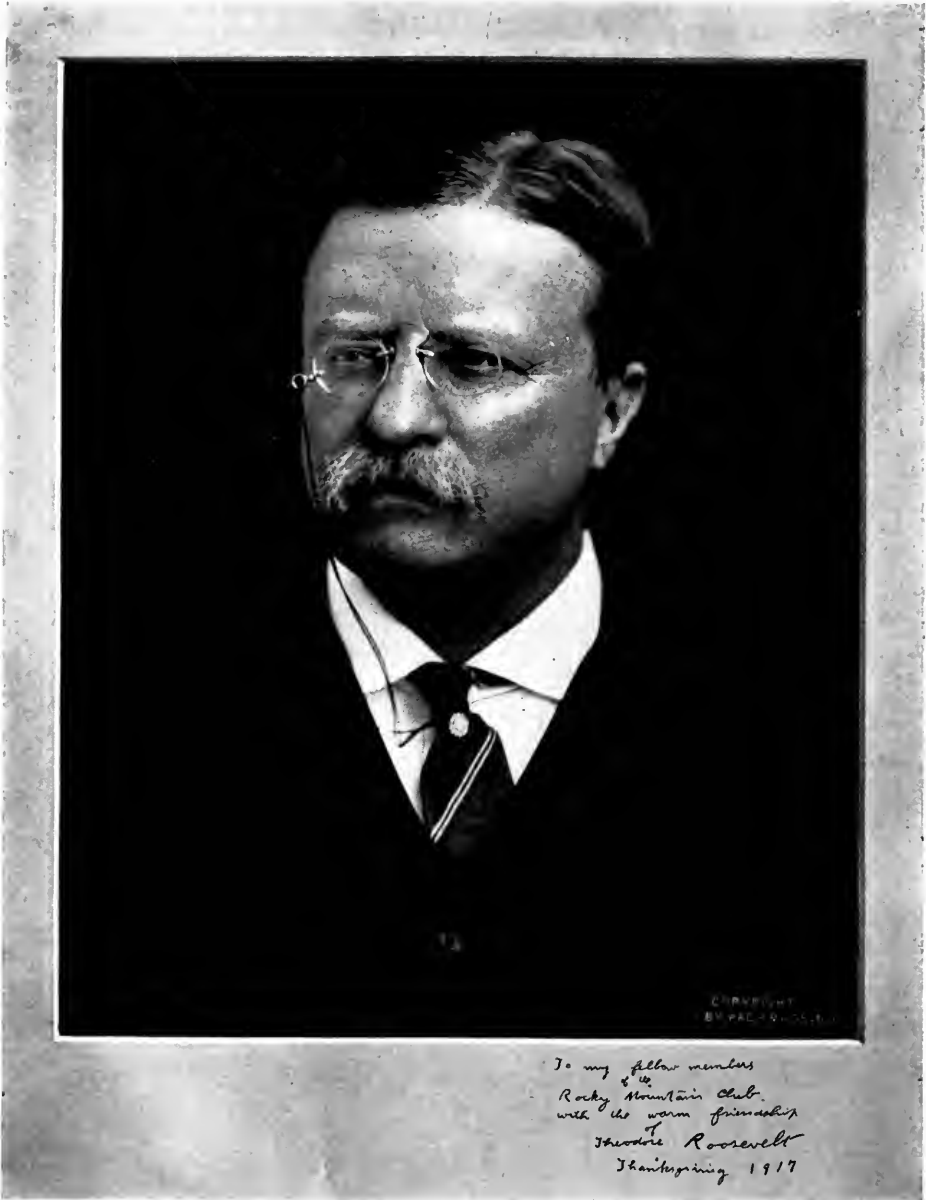
JOHN HAYS HAMMOND

Mining engineer; special ambassador of the United States to the coronation of King George V of Great Britain; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; first and only president Rocky Mountain Club, and one of its governors since its organization in 1907; born in California; home, Washington, D. C.



WILLIAM B. THOMPSON

Director Federal Reserve Bank of New York; president Inspiration Copper Company; director of many mining, manufacturing, and mercantile companies; treasurer Rocky Mountain Club-Hoover Fund for Relief in Belgium; during a large part of the past year, business head American Red Cross Mission in Russia, with rank of colonel; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907, and its vice-president; born in Montana; home, Yonkers, N. Y.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Former president of the United States; honorary chairman Rocky Mountain Club-Hoover Fund for Relief in Belgium; honorary member Rocky Mountain Club; born in New York; home, Oyster Bay, N. Y.



JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING

General commanding American expeditionary forces in France; honorary member Rocky Mountain Club; born in Missouri



OUT · WHERE · THE · WEST · BEGINS



Out where the handclasp's a little stronger,
Out where the smile dwells a little longer,
That's where the West begins;
Out where the sun is a little brighter,
Where the snows that fall are a trifle whiter,
Where the boys of home are a wee bit tighter,
That's where the West begins.



Out where the skies are a trifle bluer,
Out where friendship's a little truer,
That's where the West begins;
Out where a fresher breeze is blowing,
Where there's laughter in every streamlet flowing,
Where there's more of reaping and less of sowing,
That's where the West begins.



Out where the world is in the making,
Where fewer hearts with despair are aching,
That's where the West begins;
Where there's more of singing and less of sighing,
Where there's more of giving and less of buying,
And a man makes friends without half trying,
That's where the West begins.

—Arthur Chapman



COMPLIMENTS OF J. S. CULLINAN OF HOUSTON

FACSIMILE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB'S BEAUTIFULLY ILLUMINATED COPY OF
ARTHUR CHAPMAN'S POEM, "OUT WHERE THE WEST BEGINS"



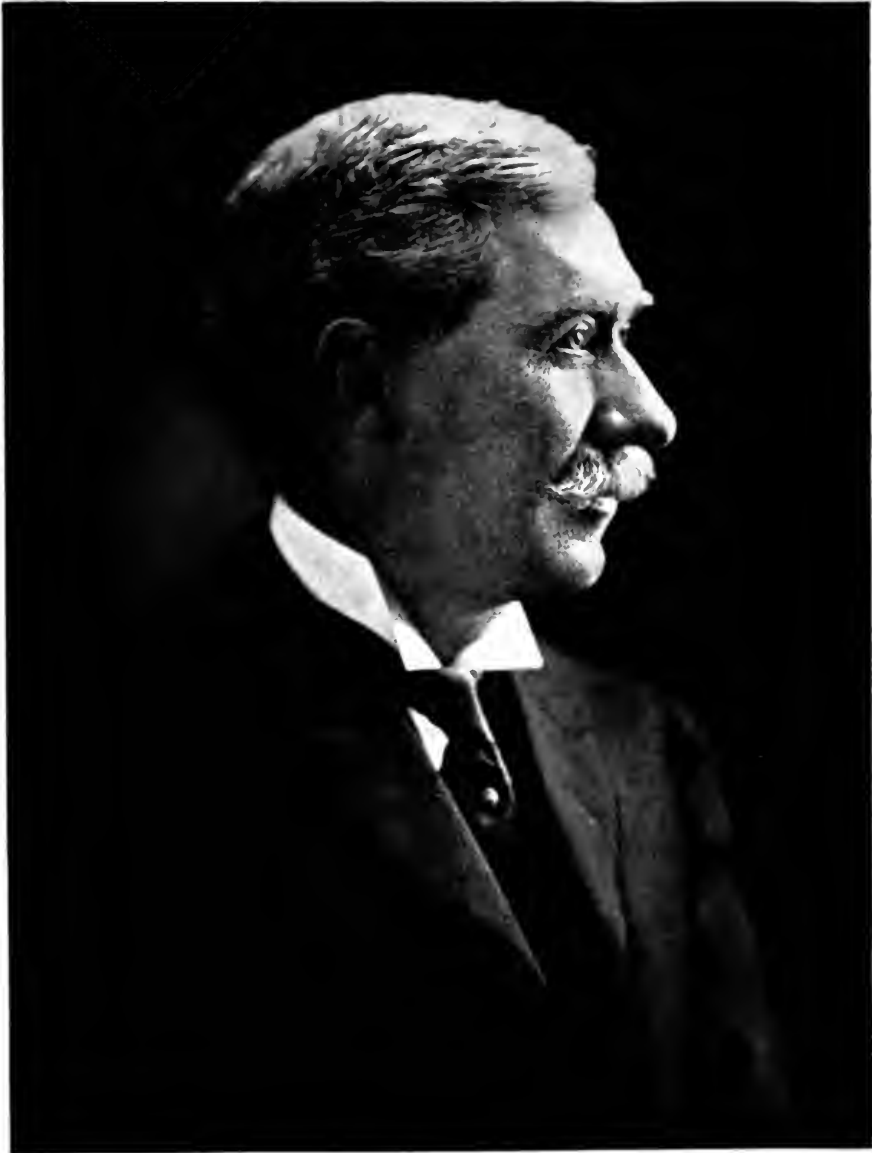
ARTHUR CHAPMAN

Managing editor *Denver Times*; author of "Out Where the West Begins"; born in Illinois; home, Denver, Colo.



HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

Mining engineer; chairman Commission for Relief in Belgium; food administrator of the United States; born in Iowa; home, Washington, D. C.



ALEXANDER J. HEMPHILL

Treasurer Commission for Relief in Belgium; chairman board of directors Guaranty Trust Company, New York City; born in Pennsylvania; home, New York City



JOHN VAN NOSTRAND DORR

Metallurgical engineer; chairman of committee of Belgian Kiddies, Limited, an organization of mining engineers prominent in Belgian Relief; born in New Jersey; home, New York City.



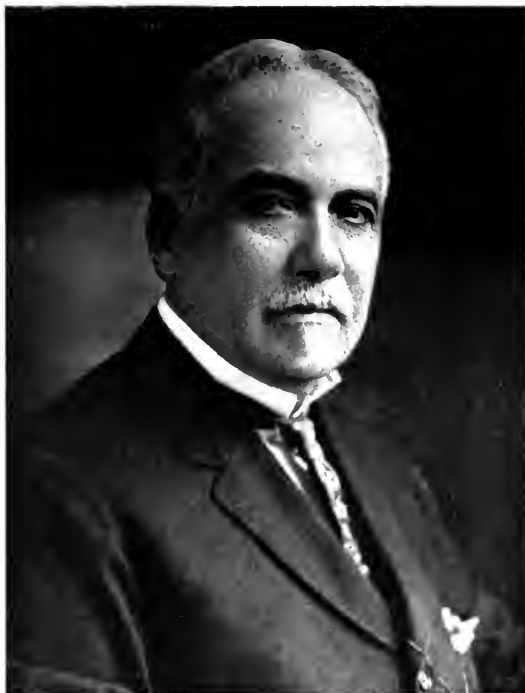
RICHARD MEAD ATWATER, 3d

Joined American Ambulance Field Service early in 1917, and drove an ambulance at the Verdun front practically continuously until his section was taken over by the U. S. army in October and he was disqualified, by reason of his youth, from enlisting in the American forces. Awarded the Croix de Guerre for "unswerving devotion to duty in continuously transporting wounded from the most advanced posts, under the heaviest shell fire and gas attacks, during three days in July." He was in hospital nine days with gas burns, and states the hospital was bombed every night by German aeroplanes. As his seventeenth birthday was on November 5, 1917, he is one of the youngest of any nationality to receive the much coveted War Cross of France. Returning to New York in November, he enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps, Canadian division, and is now in training at Camp Borden, Ont. He is the Rocky Mountain Club's youngest member.



JOHN C. MONTGOMERY

Miner; many years in Denver, Colo.; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907; born in Iowa; home, New Rochelle, N. Y.



CHARLES K. COLE

Retired physician; president A. Schrader's Sons, Inc.; chairman Council American International Congress on Tuberculosis, 1906; president Montana State senate, 1889; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907; born in Illinois; home, Chelsea-on-Hudson, N. Y.



GEORGE O. EATON

Consulting engineer; served in Civil War; member Montana State constitutional convention, 1889; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907; born in Maine; home, New York City.



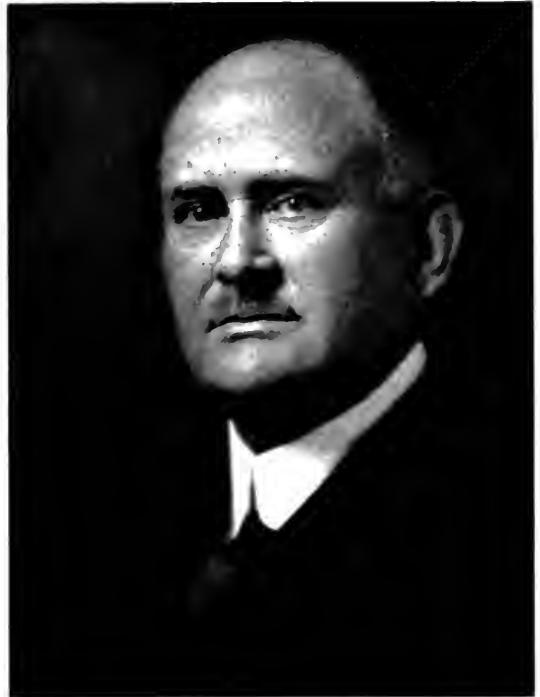
ALBERT J. SELIGMAN

Banker; chairman Republican State committee of Montana, 1889-90; member Territorial legislature, 1884-85; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907 and its first vice-president; born in New York; home, New York City.



CHARLES HAYDEN

Banker, senior partner Hayden, Stone & Company; director in many corporations, fourteen years in Massachusetts militia from private to paymaster-general; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1914; born in Massachusetts; home, Boston.



BENJAMIN B. THAYER

Mining engineer, vice-president Anaconda Copper Mining Company, former president American Institute of Mining Engineers, member Naval Advisory Board, governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1907; born in California; home, New York City.



ADOLPH LEWISOHN

Banker and mine owner; president Miami Copper Company; donor of the Stadium, College of the City of New York; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1910; born in Germany; homes, New York City and Ardsley-on-Hudson, N. Y.



WILLIAM C. POTTER

Firm of Guggenheim Brothers (M. Guggenheim's Sons); director in mining, banking, and other corporations; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1915; born in Illinois; home, New York City.



WILLIAM J. PALMER

Firm of Trippe & Company, bankers and brokers; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1909; born in England; home, New York City.



THOMAS B. HARDIN

Firm of Hardin & Hess, attorneys; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1911; born in Kentucky; home, New York City.



HENRY ALTENBRAND

Prominently identified with the barley and malt industry of Montana; governor Rocky Mountain Club since 1911; born in Brooklyn, N. Y.; home, New York City.



JAMES S. DOUGLAS

Miner; with American Red Cross in France; State chairman Rocky Mountain Club for Arizona; born in Canada; home, Douglas, Ariz.



E. GYBBON SPILSBURY

Mining engineer; head of E. G. Spilsbury Engineering Company; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; born in England; home, New Rochelle, N. Y.



ALBERT R. LEDOUX

Mining engineer, firm of Ledoux & Company; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; born in Kentucky; home, New York City.



JAMES GAYLEY

Manufacturer and inventor; a notable man in the steel industry; first vice-president U. S. Steel Corporation, 1901-9; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; born in Pennsylvania; home, New York City.



CHARLES F. RAND

Mine owner; president Spanish-American Iron Company; decorated by king of Spain, 1913; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; born in Maine; home, New York City.



ALBERT E. REYNOLDS

Miner; born in Niagara county, N. Y.; home, Denver, Colo.



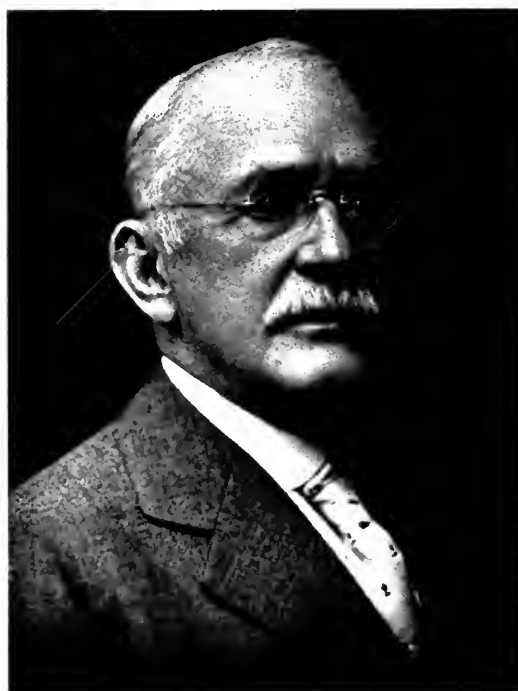
H. C. PERKINS

Mining engineer; prominently identified with development of the gold fields of South Africa; born on Staten Island, N. Y.; home, Washington, D. C.



LOUIS D. RICKETTS

Mining engineer; president Cananea Consolidated Copper Company, and identified with other important interests; former president American Institute of Mining Engineers; born in Maryland; home, New York City.



W. J. COX

Mining engineer; born in Orange county, N. Y.; home, Denver, Colo.

BELGIUM, AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB

"The distribution end is the most interesting end and the one which is confronted with the greatest difficulties. I cannot speak too highly of the devotion of the Belgian and French people to this cause. I cannot speak of the devotion those people have shown without emotion. For over two years there has been a constant consultation of committees—not any bi-weekly meetings. It has been a work of most exacting character, lasting from early morning until late at night. The problems have been enormous.

"If one is going to provision an entire nation, with the slender resources we could command, the first measure is the repression of the food consumption of the country by at least fifty per cent. The human family can live on that proportion of its normal food, and our only hope of success was to do it. When you exert a repression of that kind on food supply you must get absolute justice in distribution, lest, if one man gets too much, it means some other man must starve.

"If you couple the difficulties of an organization of that kind with the normal difficulties of shipping in these times, with the difficulties of financing in an organization that has never yet seen sixty days of certainty ahead, that has never seen the day that its contracts did not exceed its assets by from five to twenty-five million dollars; if you couple that with the incidental tragedies of the loss of six ships within a single week; with the difficulties of dealing with a people of so different a national character as the Americans in coöperation with Belgians and French, whose whole mental attitude is so different from ours, with the difficulties of dealing with an occupying army which, by necessity in any army, must be arbitrary in its methods; the difficulties of protecting the native food supply, which was as vital to us as our imports; the difficulties of negotiating with practically every government in Europe in a matter which to them was entirely a side issue—even then you could have but a dim picture of Belgian relief because no one who has not engaged in the work and seen its vital importance can realize the terror that goes through the relief at every slight break for fear it may fail.

"Now relief work consists not alone in the distribution of food, but in the handling of destitution. There is in Belgium about fifty per cent. of unemployment, and about seventy per cent. in the north of France. These people are absolutely destitute. They must have the means with which to obtain food; it is not enough to give them rations, they must have the means with which to buy their own production and their own local food supply. They must be clothed; they must be housed and they must be kept warm. All of this entails a vast organization of committees and sub-committees horizontally and vertically through the population, endeavoring constantly to remedy one weakness after another, because it is a situation of constant degeneration. The shortage of fertilizer, the shortage in seeds, the shortage in labor and cattle necessarily make each succeeding harvest poorer and poorer.

"So that every month or every few months there develops some new weakness; some class begins to show the signs of under-nourishment. We had such a case about five months ago, when we first heard of glandular tuberculosis among the adolescent children. We brought an American physician over, and he coöperated with the very skillful Belgian physicians, and together they developed the fact that this was a clean case of under-nourishment, a shortage of the necessary food supplies. We always try to apply a rough and ready remedy, and with our Belgian colleagues and the French we decided to install public feedings in the schools, and to give one meal a day as a supplement to the normal family ration; to give it direct to the children so as to be sure that it went to the right place.

"That service required an expenditure of two and one-half million dollars a month, of which one-half was for internal supplies, and which many families have themselves advanced from their own slender resources. The million and a quarter for the imported portion of that food supply amounted to about \$1 per child per month. We appealed to the American public to assume that responsibility, and it failed. We have not received the response which we should have. This failure is one which appears to us in a probably larger measure than it does to you.

"The Belgians have come to look upon Americans as their sole saviours; they look upon the American flag as the flag which is fighting to protect them. Within six weeks' time I have visited in the slums of Brussels where 1,500 children were sitting down to their one meal, and when they saw me those youngsters arose and warbled the first

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stanza of the Star Spangled Banner in French. Now I, knowing that that food supply was not American, could feel nothing but shame.

"Europe has begun to take stock of this Relief Commission. We started off with high promises as to American support and American ideals; we have rested on the belief that we had the undoubted backing of the American people in our endeavor to keep this gate open. Oftentimes we have had to defend the portals of the enclosure, and we have always used as our last and final weapon that interference with the Belgium Relief would offend the sensibilities of the American people more deeply than anything that has happened in this War. And yet Belgium Relief is being paid for with foreign money.

"But of more importance than this purely moral question is the fact that our finances are in great jeopardy. As time goes on, the situation becomes more desperate in Europe; our necessities grow greater; it is growing more and more difficult to see our way through. To-day our budget calls for about \$18,000,000 to \$19,000,000 a month if we are not to reduce the already short food supply of these people.

"We are receiving \$14,000,000 a month from the Allied governments. There is no hope for any increase in that, and there is always the possibility that at some stage we may lose it altogether. In any event, we are from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 a month short. We have to raise this money by public charity and the few financial concessions which we are able to secure, and we thought that perhaps the American people would take off our shoulders the burden of those 1,250,000 children.

"This failure is crushing our national pride; it undermines our ability to defend these people, and what is more, it is fraught with the utmost suffering, to a point which should touch the heart of every American deepest.

"I feel that the failure is perhaps partially or largely due to ourselves. I can assure you that my colleagues and myself have a sufficient labor in maintaining the detailed aspects of this organization; in buying \$18,000,000 worth of food and distributing it to the Belgian people, and the few hundred other things which tax the capacity of most men.

"We have not the time nor do we have the capacity to effectuate an organization in the United States which would give us the response that I believe the American people are willing to and are capable of giving, and it is to such organizations as yours we appeal to carry on the work in our behalf.

"I make this appeal here with a certain feeling of confidence because I know I am appealing to men largely from my own section of the United States. Many of you have been my friends for years; many of you are of my own profession—you are miners. Sometime ago, in a moment of desperation, I assessed the mines in Australia, where I had a connection for many years. I told each one what I thought they ought to do. I received a total, within, I think, about two months, of \$750,000 from a country already combed to the bottom for relief and distress work.

"We appealed to the miners in Johannesburg, and the laborers in the mines gave ten per cent. of their wages, and the owners duplicated the amount.

"I feel that in this stress the American miner might also give some help, and it was with that feeling of peculiar satisfaction that the first gentleman who rang me up on the telephone when I arrived here was a miner, and said 'My assessment is about \$100,000.'

"Now, gentlemen, this matter is one of more importance even than the feeding of 1,250,000 children, as large as that may be. This relief has come to be America's greatest exhibit in Europe. We are undertaking to do it with faith in the American people; we are undertaking to do it knowing that the American people will help in an American way. We want to give a demonstration of that great strain of humanity which we know runs through our people because we know the character of the people that make up this Republic.

"Now, gentlemen, if we succeed it will be because we have received the support of the American people instead of being forgotten."

Mr. Hoover's audience was composed almost entirely of men noted in public life, great financial and industrial affairs, the professions, and philanthropic activities. He stirred them to the deepest

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emotion, and repeatedly tears started from every eye. It is our undoubting belief that no one—speaking at least of the clientele of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*—who here reads this extraordinary speech can fail to be powerfully affected.

Replying to Mr. Hoover, President Hammond said:

"The Rocky Mountain Club is heartily interested in this fine movement, and will appoint committees to be composed of members of the Rocky Mountain Club in the East, in the West, and to consist also of every man interested in this beneficent movement to solicit subscriptions here and throughout the West, and I have the pleasure to tell you, as Mr. Hoover has already notified you, of a very generous contribution by one member of the Rocky Mountain Club, who, unfortunately, has made me promise to withhold his name, for the sum of \$100,000 to start this movement.

"The Rocky Mountain Club will constitute itself, each individual, a committee of one to further this great cause.

"Gentlemen, on behalf of the board of governors of the Rocky Mountain Club I thank you for your enthusiasm and for your promise of support, and we all thank Mr. Hoover for his very interesting and very convincing address as to the need of assistance from America, and I am sure you will all recognize with him the great opportunity this country has to prove to the rest of the world that the promises made in the early part of the campaign by Mr. Hoover and other Americans associated with him in this great work will be carried out, and that America will assist, materially assist in the amelioration of the condition of destitute Belgium.

"I believe that through a well organized campaign of education the people of the United States could be made to realize how intense and how general is the suffering among the peoples of Europe outside of the belligerent nations as a result of this great War.

"Up to this time the conditions referred to, I believe, have not been adequately recognized. When they are I am confident that propaganda throughout the country for the relief of those peoples would become so popular that our national government could be induced to adopt relief measures, and in that way to discharge not only duty as a nation that has profited enormously by this War, but at the same time to earn the admiration and gratitude of the civilized world.

"A million dollars a day till the end of the War and until such time afterward as pressing necessity for philanthropy of this kind is ended would be a mere bagatelle, having regard to the service rendered to suffering humanity."

The references to the gentleman who had inaugurated the Club's campaign with a personal donation of \$100,000 very much attracted the interest of the press and public. It had been desired by this donor to remain anonymous so far as all not having responsibly to do with his contribution were concerned. Upon consideration, however, the other officials of the Rocky Mountain Club felt that no exceptions ought to be made in giving credit to those who came forward in response to the nation-wide appeal for the splendid cause, and published his name—William B. Thompson, the Club's vice-president. Mr. Thompson is a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. He is preëminent in the metals (chiefly the copper) industry—comparatively young (forty-eight on his last birthday) for one of his great achievements, as, indeed, is to be remarked of a conspicuously large number of his co-members in the Club. For a large part of the past

year he was at the head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia. It is characteristic of every humane enterprise in which Mr. Thompson engages that it is amply provided for its work. His Russian Mission directly financed itself out of its own resources, without any assistance from the public.

The Rocky Mountain Club's notable acts on behalf of the sufferers of Belgium were given extensive publicity and applauded by the country and world. It was of course not considered exceptional that an organization of patriotic, forceful, and affluent men should assist a grievously needed work in a very liberal way. But the character of the assistance excited general attention and admiration, and gave a great stimulus to the relief movement. From many sources came expressions of appreciation and praise.

Sir William Dunn, lord mayor of London, cabled Mr. Hoover:

"The Rocky Mountain Club's generous sacrifice is a magnificent answer to the suggestion that America had forgotten Belgium. It also serves as a splendid inspiration to further efforts on the part of all those throughout the world who are united in the humane desire to alleviate the pitiful sufferings of the people in Belgium."

The Belgian minister for foreign affairs, Baron Beyens, wrote from Havre to John Hays Hammond, president of the Club:

"I have been informed of the magnificent gift of the Rocky Mountain Club to the Children's Fund of the Relief in Belgium, and I desire to express to you the very great gratitude of the King's Government on this occasion.

"We are all the most touched by the generous impulse of the Club as we have learned that in order better to relieve the distress of Belgian Children the members have deprived themselves of a new Club House by devoting to their gift the sum which they had set aside for building.

"This is another admirable instance of that noble Charity which the Americans have unceasingly bestowed upon the unhappy people of Belgium.

"To the gratitude which already fills Belgian hearts is now added the feeling of pride at being able to count the great nation of America amongst the number of our Allies for the triumph of right and Liberty. [Baron Beyens's letter was dated April 25, after our declaration of war.—Editor.]

"I shall be very much obliged to you if you will particularly express our thanks to Mr. W. B. Thompson, who has so generously contributed to the Children's Fund."

Former President Theodore Roosevelt, besides accepting the position of honorary chairman of the general committee appointed to raise the fund,¹ gave his whole-hearted support. This was of immense service,

1. Until the Rocky Mountain Club had started its fund for Belgium Mr. Roosevelt had never formally connected himself with War relief effort. He consented to lend his influence to the work of his Club because it appealed to him in an intimately personal way and for an object which he felt was of the greatest importance at a time of particular emergency. As an honorary member of the Rocky Mountain Club, and closely identified for a large part of his life with the far West, he regarded it as his duty to give the movement every assistance in his power—especially as this was the first and most promising public undertaking launched for the cause of Belgium after the facts as to the backwardness of the United States in financial contribution had become generally known.

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especially as extended through a most characteristic letter, which he addressed "To My Fellow Members of the Rocky Mountain Club and Men and Women of the West." He wrote:

"The action of the Rocky Mountain Club in devoting its energies to the relief of the suffering children of Belgium rang true to the Western spirit, as all of us who have lived in the mountains and the plains have come to know that spirit. I have gladly joined in the movement to do what I can for a gallant little nation which has been cruelly trampled under foot, for no fault of its own, and now lies prostrate, threatened with the loss of its spiritual as well as its physical being. It is the literal truth that rarely since the days of Herod has child-life been so menaced as to-day in Belgium.

"I shall not deal with the material side of this question, or tell how 1,250,000 children are compelled to go hungry and are threatened with disease and slow starvation. All this is being told in the West in speeches, in letters, in literature, in cartoons, and in personal pleas. Suffice it to say that Belgium to-day stands in mortal danger of losing both its bodily life and its soul.

"But what of us? What of our soul if like the Levite and the Priest we pass by on our business with averted eyes? The nation that turns a deaf ear to the sufferings of ten million people, including a million and a quarter children, is committing moral suicide. Diseases born of want and hunger are spreading with dreadful rapidity among these 1,250,000 children of Belgium. Shall we look idly on while these children die? Other nations do not sit idle. War-torn England and France have given largely. Brave little Holland has cared within her own borders for hundreds of thousands of refugees. The rest of the world has spent \$250,000,000 for Belgium. We have contributed only nine millions. Is this enough to make us think that we have done our duty? We say with unctuous self-satisfaction that we have been 'kept out of war.' We chuckle because in 1916 we sold five billions' worth of products to Europe. Are our souls rotted? Can we see only the dollar sign in the sky? What of our souls if we continue deaf to the crying need of a gallant nation, threatened with extinction through the loss of its first born? Can any man of high and generous nature, having been told the facts, continue to be indifferent?

"The West has done much, but it has not done enough. I appeal to the men of the West to follow the Rocky Mountain Club. I appeal to the women of the West to take the thought of wrecked and tormented Belgium to their hearts.

"I should like to see every school house in the West a collecting agency for the Rocky Mountain Club-Hoover Fund.

"I should like to see every Sunday School interested.

"I should like to know that every pulpit in the West was ringing with the story.

"I should like to see in every city and village a central agency collecting and forwarding relief to Mr. William B. Thompson, the treasurer of the Fund, No. 65 West Forty-fourth Street.

"I should like to see every cattle range a Rocky Mountain Club Fund.

"I should like to know that every mining superintendent had addressed his men telling them the story and asking them to contribute each pay day a regular sum, following the example of the miners in South Africa, who are giving ten per cent. of their wages.

"I should like to see every newspaper open its columns to the cause.

"I should like to see every social gathering wind up with a Belgian collection.

"I should like to see the West on fire over Belgium's wrongs and Belgium's needs.

"I cannot say more. I should be ashamed to say less."

Representative of the comments of the newspapers of the United States was an editorial in the *New York Evening World* (January 31), as follows:

"Well-to-do Americans have had no more practical hint of what they can do to help suffering, starving human beings in Europe than the example set by the Rocky Mountain Club in turning over its building fund to the Belgium Relief Commission. Here is

an instance of prompt, efficient response to a call which Americans of great wealth have been shamefully slow to heed. The determined and persistent work of the Belgian Relief Commission itself has been of immeasurably greater credit to the United States than the pitifully meager contributions that America has squeezed out of its prosperity and its enormous war profits. A club of rich mining men has decided that the luxury of a new club building will be less gratifying than the luxury of feeding thousands of hungry women and children left destitute and homeless. In this great emergency, the greatest the world has ever tried to meet, how many other groups of wealthy men in this country could, without feeling it, transfer millions from self-indulgence to humanity!"

The generous response of the Rocky Mountain Club to Mr. Hoover's appeal and the announcement of its action to the public occurred in just the last days of divided opinion on the question of the policy ultimately to be pursued by the United States in the World War—at the end of January. The country at that period continued to preserve a calm attitude of mind, as the situation still did not appear to affect us any more seriously than usual. In the absence of great national excitement, such an altruistic matter as the emergent need of the babies of Belgium for help from the big and rich United States, so powerfully presented by Mr. Hoover and practically recommended to the sympathies of the people of the Rocky Mountain Club, could receive the notice and interest that it deserved. As we have said, much publicity was given to the action of the Club; it was indeed a prominent feature of the news of the day; there was not a newspaper of any consequence in the country that did not accord it generous space and attention, and sentiment was thus widely made ready for subscriptions to all organizations interested in Belgian relief.

The sensational events which directly followed—the rupture of relations with Germany and the progress toward the inevitable conclusion of our neutrality—tended to help every instrumentality for awakening the public to its duty toward the nations that had been fighting our battles, not less than their own, from the beginning. The Rocky Mountain Club had led the way in a magnificent enterprise for noble and distressed Belgium; and as long as popular contributions for the Belgian cause continued necessary it was the Club's fund that was recognized as the foremost agency in the cause.

During the two months following the entrance of the Rocky Mountain Club into the field, about \$3,000,000 was raised in the United States for Belgium—more than had been secured in the whole year 1916. This sum included the contributions resulting from the Club's organization, and those made to other Belgian relief movements. For a general propaganda had sprung up, and large amounts were donated from a number of sources independently of the Club. The *Literary*

Digest established a "Belgian Children's Fund," to which a large total was given by its readers. Special mention is also to be made of the "Belgian Kiddies, Limited" (J. V. N. Dorr, chairman), sixty mining engineers—practically all of whom were members of the Rocky Mountain Club—acting as a committee; a large sum was raised, of which no part was deducted for expenses. There were national, State, and local contributing factors of many kinds and under various auspices, and all of these did valuable work.

Every dollar entrusted to the Rocky Mountain Club by its generous members and their friends bought a dollar's worth of food for the suffering children of Belgium. In addition to his very large contribution which has already been referred to, William B. Thompson, the vice-president of the Club and treasurer of its Belgian relief fund, paid all the expenses of the campaign.

John Hays Hammond, the Club's president, who has so long enjoyed a most distinguished reputation throughout the country and world and exercises a commanding influence in the West especially, devoted his abilities with the greatest ardor to the cause. By individual letters and telegrams, circulars, and other means of persuasion he incessantly presented and urged its aspects and claims. Only ill health prevented him making a tour of the country on behalf of the fund.

Edward H. Clark, governor of the Club and chairman of its general committee, did highly efficient work in the campaign.

In the States represented in the membership of the Rocky Mountain Club, the governors of the Club have the coöperation and advice of committees of members, headed in each case by a State chairman. All matters pertaining to the welfare of the Club in his State is referred to the State chairman. The committees in numerous instances gave their time and services—without recompense and at their own charge—to spreading the appeal for the relief of Belgium. The *Christian Science Monitor*, in an article published March 27, said: "In New Mexico the State chairman of the Rocky Mountain Club, Willard S. Hopewell, is traveling all over its vast territory exploiting the fund. In Arizona, James S. Douglas is working on the same line. In Oklahoma, O. J. McConnell has interested the press and State organizations in the work, and in Texas, J. S. Cullinan has carried the cause of Belgium all over the State."

The governors of the Western States are honorary vice-presidents of the Club. Many of them formed State-wide organizations, with in-

fluent committees as well as county and city organizations—members of the Rocky Mountain Club being prominent and active among the workers thus designated. These various agencies acted independently of the Club; but the Club's propaganda helped them immensely and every coöperation was shown for the promotion of the common object of relief to Belgium.

It is impossible here to attempt to particularize the varied efforts and results. Where such numbers were concerned—self-sacrificingly, industriously, and with noteworthy returns—the apportionment of credit and recognition would be an infinite task and indeed incapable of anything more than partial inclusions. In every human relation, however, the examples of noble things done are a very substantial part of the whole story. From among the diversified details we select a few that are representative.

Many workmen—those in the copper mines especially—subscribed by making allotments out of their wages. The interest of the miners was appealed to by means of a colored illustrated poster—a copy of a cartoon in the *New York Herald*,—which instanced the help provided by their brethren in South Africa, who gave to Belgium one-tenth of their earnings.

Appeals to the laboring people were particularly efficacious where the employing concerns volunteered to duplicate their contributions; this was done in a good many cases, and sometimes a still larger basis of inducement was offered. Captain John Barneson, a member of the Rocky Mountain Club and president of the General Petroleum Company of San Francisco, pledged an amount from that corporation, and in addition one from himself personally, equal to any sum given by the men—so that every dollar originally supplied would count for three dollars to the fund.

From distant Alaska the help afforded compared favorably with that in any of the States. Governor Strong secured the support of the mayors in several cities of the Territory.

Sums were sent by the employees of mines in Chili, Central America, and all parts of Canada from Nova Scotia to Yukon.

The cordial coöperation by the Women's Auxiliary of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, through its treasurer, Mrs. Louis D. Huntoon, was particularly appreciated by the Club.

An intimate relationship has at all times subsisted between the American Institute of Mining Engineers and the Rocky Mountain Club. The latter numbers among its members many members of the

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Institute—of these being seven past presidents of the Institute (whose portraits appear in connection with this article), including John Hays Hammond, president of the Rocky Mountain Club.

Spencer Penrose and Eugene P. Shove, of Colorado Springs, two of the leading and active men of the general committee having charge of the fund, were so impressed by the special work of the Club that they increased by more than double their contributions to Belgian relief, which were already large. Coöperating with H. Alexander Smith, chairman of the War Sufferers' Relief Committee of Colorado Springs, one of the most efficient organizations in the United States, these two members of the Club were instrumental in obtaining generous donations. Among other Colorado men who gave very noteworthy assistance were Lawrence C. Phipps (a member of the Club's general committee) and Verner Z. Reed, both of Denver.

In the State of Washington there had been in existence for two and one-half years a State Committee for Relief in Belgium of which the Hon. Thomas Burke, of Seattle, was chairman. He nevertheless gladly accepted an invitation to become a member of the Rocky Mountain Club's general committee, and gave his powerful moral support to the work—as did former United States Senator George Turner, of Spokane. Writing to Mr. Hammond, Judge Burke said that the public-spirited action of the organization in coming to the relief of the starving Belgian children was in "every way worthy of the Club, and such as was to be expected from it under the inspiring examples of its humane, enlightened, and broad-minded president and vice-president."

William H. Crocker, of San Francisco, serving as a member of the general committee of the Rocky Mountain Club and State chairman for California, gave active assistance, which was the more appreciated because of the claims already made upon his interest and support by the very important work of Mrs. Crocker in connection with the rebuilding of portions of northern France redeemed from the Germans.

The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Boston, contributed \$5,000 to the fund. Adam H. Dickey, treasurer of the church, sent a check for the amount to Theodore Roosevelt, requesting him to endorse it to the Rocky Mountain Club. In a letter to Mr. Roosevelt he wrote: "I have just read your article on the subject of the Hoover Fund for Belgian Relief, and am pleased that our Church can contribute to this worthy purpose. We have tried in many ways to get funds into Belgium direct, but have been unable to do so. There are a number of organizations collecting for this work, but we find that a large percentage of

the money is spent in forwarding relief to where it is needed, and this we seek to avoid." He added that the Christian Science churches in the United States had collected altogether about \$275,000 for war relief in various foreign countries, which had been disbursed through their own organizations without any charge for administration. "It is our intention," he concluded, "to keep this work up, and we are glad to have you call the attention of the country to the Rocky Mountain Club."

From the city of Seattle a ten year old girl, Mildred Stone, wrote on behalf of the Concord School: "We have a very small private school. We read your notice of the Rocky Mountain Hoover Club for the Belgian children. We read it in the *Christian Science Monitor*, so we knew it was all right. We want to help get money. If you have any literature that we could use to show people so that they will know we are honest in collecting money, please send us some. We are trying to interest every one. We are to have a large vegetable garden to help. We are enclosing six dollars for you." Other sums were sent afterward by the children of this school.

The solicitations for the fund were brought to a happy conclusion in the spring by the decision of the United States government to assume the whole responsibility (so far as concerned the American people) for relief in Belgium and northern France. A loan of \$75,000,000 was made to the Belgian and French governments for assistance to their countrymen living under German domination. This was to be distributed in monthly installments (beginning June 1) of \$7,500,000 to Belgium and \$5,000,000 to France. The requirements of the work were thus measurably taken care of for a period of six months—at the termination of which time, it was provided, application could be made to our government for further loans.

In a circular of congratulations and thanks to his associates and the supporters of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Mr. Hoover said that the government's action was what the Commission and those so ardently coöperating with it had long striven to bring about. Testifying to the special value of the services rendered by the assisting organizations he said: "We feel that the sympathy with our work and the support of the public have largely influenced the government in finally granting the request of the Belgian and French governments. Therefore our appeals have done more than to bring in immediate contributions; they have helped to insure the relief of Belgium and northern France throughout the War. . . . We feel that you will join

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with us in intense satisfaction that the work has now become a responsibility and duty shared by the whole American people."

At the time when announcement was made of our government's action on behalf of relief in Belgium and northern France, the Rocky Mountain Club was receiving thousands of dollars in monthly subscriptions and was daily making arrangements to increase the donations very materially. Many of its subscribing members had promised large sums per month, for the period of the war and as long as the needs of Belgium required.

The government's assumption of financial responsibility was a result that had always been held primarily in view by the Rocky Mountain Club. Its members most concerned in the inception and prosecution of its campaign were aggressive advocates of a program of direct government support for Belgium as the only thing compatible with the dignity and greatness of the country and adequate to the necessities of the case. Their advocacy had long antedated the declaration of war by the United States and the breaking of relations with Germany. Mr. Roosevelt, the honorary chairman of the Club's general committee, had ceaselessly demanded such a course on the part of the government as one of the foundation proposals in all his vigorous and unqualified appeals for action instead of notes and for help to the world's common cause of liberty and humanity instead of passive contemplation. By the whole character of its effort and the wide extent of its influence the Club stood in the foremost rank of the public instrumentalities which, as pointed out by Mr. Hoover, succeeded in transferring the duty and honor of giving sustenance to Belgium from private individuals to the United States government.

The closing of the Belgian fund was in no manner regarded by the Rocky Mountain Club as putting either a period or an interval to its public-spirited activities. Its organization and its money have ever since been maintained and applied for patriotic work and patriotic stimulation in the various ways that have come up to the American people at war; and indeed one might almost say that the Club has made it a business to seek intensified and specialized ways for lending assistance and encouragement to the general cause and aims to which we are all committed. Letters, telegrams, and money have continually gone out from the Club to the end of prompting and substantially supporting sentiment, energies, and direct personal service among and by the people. In no respect have these endeavors done

the Club more honor than in that of reinforcing to the entire extent of its influence the many and strenuous appeals of the government for individual self-sacrifices and general conservation and concentration of resources for the purposes of the War.

The clubhouse building project is still in abeyance. Some time a clubhouse will be built on the original—and perhaps even more elaborate and expensive—plans. But not while the War lasts or any of the national necessities or desiderata incidental to the War obtain. Meantime there is not and will not be a single dollar held or accepted by the Club for application to the so much desired and required building.

On the subject of questionable indulgences at this time and in the probably still more serious times to come, the Club has earned the right to be an adviser. We take the liberty of very particularly recommending it as an adviser to any who may happen to be balancing considerations for and against a certain proposed indulgence; just write a letter to the Club, and you will get a letter back that will disperse your doubts. The following is from a reply sent by its secretary, Herbert Wall, to a member of a prominent eastern social organization which, while already owning a clubhouse, was thinking of building a better one, and who had requested the opinion of the Rocky Mountain Club as to the propriety of such a step¹:

“November 15, 1917.

“As secretary of the Rocky Mountain Club I wish to thank you for your commendatory expressions relative to the Club’s action in giving up the plans for the erection of a permanent clubhouse in New York City in order that the subscriptions intended for that purpose could be devoted to the relief of the suffering mothers and children of bleeding Belgium, the brave country that saved civilization; and of the Club’s further action in investing its surplus funds in the Liberty and Victory loans of the United States and Canada, a step that needed no thanks, because they made a most excellent investment in the best securities in the world, and in helping our country and the common cause in its hour of need they only helped themselves.

“While I know that it is quite unnecessary for me to tell you that the United States and her Allies should have the loyal and unqualified support of every patriotic citizen and organization, you will, I am sure, pardon me if I do make a few remarks.

“What will our money be worth if we lose this War? We will have no principal and will get no interest, but will pay tribute to the Hun and his barbarian forces forever. No man or organization, when his country needs his aid, if found wanting in the hour of need, is a patriot. To waste our substance in needless, and at this time criminal extravagance, is lending aid to the enemy. The man, be he rich or poor, is little to be envied who at this supreme moment fails to bring forward his savings for the security of his country. The country needs our money NOW, and not ten years from now, we hope. We

1. Later the Club received a similar inquiry from another correspondent, to whom a like reply was sent. The correspondence came to the attention of Hon. William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury. Mr. McAdoo wrote the Club’s secretary as follows: “I wish to express my deep appreciation for the splendid letter as to the propriety of building new clubhouses and carrying on other work of this character during the war period. Such action as this will be of great assistance in restraining useless expenditures and reserving for the use of the government the labor and material which are to-day so badly needed.”

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do not need an elaborate clubhouse now, but when we do build we will have built upon a foundation that is as solid as the rock upon which America was founded. Our boys are giving up their lives to-day for their country and for civilization. The *Evening Telegram*, just before me, says: 'AMERICANS SLAIN IN BIG GUN DUEL.' Are our dollars, without which man came into the world and without which he must leave it, more sacred than the lives of those brave patriots who have gone never more to return, and of the millions who may yet shed their blood for their country? How many bullets will the money spent in a new clubhouse buy for our boys at the front?

"Giving never impoverishes, and your club will build a more noble structure when in doing its duty TO-DAY it helps the country in the hour of need.

"Please accept these expressions in the manner in which they are offered, with all sincerity."

In addition to purchasing bonds of the first Liberty loan of the United States, the Club took those of the second issue to the amount of \$25,000; and by every means possible it encouraged its members and the public generally to support both the loans to the extent of their ability. At the opening of the campaign for the Victory loan of Canada in November, 1917, the Rocky Mountain Club sent out telegrams expressing its warm interest and made a subscription of \$5,000.

On Thanksgiving Day of this year the Club acted as host to some three hundred soldiers and sailors of the United States and our Allies—all who could be entertained in its rooms, of which every available foot of space was occupied by dinner tables disposed to accommodate as many as possible. It was not an affair of distinction or ceremony; the guests were just the plain grand young men of the rank and file, so soon to go forward and battle for us. Before dinner the boys, by the Club's invitation, enjoyed an afternoon theatrical performance.¹ Taking thought of what more might be pleasantly done, the Club adopted them, one and all; as a privilege and an honor to itself; a proof of personal interest; a loving pledge of intimate feeling at all times and of substantial responsibility to both them and theirs in any time of trouble. A special register was provided, in which all the boys inscribed their names with the items required for keeping in touch with them and their families.

Each of the guests received a card on which was imprinted a mes-

1. Upon leaving the theater the boys marched in double file to the Club. Before being seated at the tables they were led past the magnificent life-size painting by Lotave of Marshal Joffre—"Hero of the Marne, Savior of France, Godfather of the American Army,"—which hangs in a place of honor in the club rooms. Each paused a moment in front of the picture and gave salute.

Earlier in the day contingents of colored soldiers and sailors, numbering, respectively, 50 and 110, were received at the Club and passed before the portrait with salute. These colored troops were on their way to Thanksgiving dinners provided for them by Nathan Straus and Louis V. Bell, well-known New Yorkers. Both Mr. Straus and Mr. Bell had written to the secretary of the Rocky Mountain Club, advising him of their intentions and requesting him to arrange for assignments to them of guests from among the colored forces. Mr. Straus, in his letter, said: "The bravery and patriotism they [the colored soldiers and sailors] displayed whenever our democracy was imperilled, entitles them to the highest degree of respect and admiration." Mr. Bell wrote: "As a boy during the Civil War I recollect the bravery displayed by our colored troops, and also General Joe Wheeler's statement to me personally that a braver lot of men never wore the army uniform than the colored cavalry regiment in Cuba."

sage from Henriette, duchess of Vendôme, princess of Belgium, and sister of King Albert, as follows: "I would be so glad to see and help some of your boys coming to France. Do say if they are in trouble or want anything. A faithful friend of America, who has a debt of gratitude to pay, would be happy to help and comfort them." The cards had been sent to the Club for distribution to its boys. Accompanying them, as a present to the Club, was a beautiful steel-engraved portrait of the princess bearing her autograph and—also in her handwriting—an expression of deep appreciation of the Rocky Mountain Club's work for Belgian relief. The portrait and cards were transmitted for the princess by John McChesney Chapman, of New York—a member of the Club,—with a letter by him on her behalf.

The Club is now about completing the eleventh year of its existence. Concerning its original organization the *New York Sun* of January 20, 1907, said:

"The peaceful braves of the Montana Society held their big pow-wow last night in the tepee of old Chief Delmonico, at Fifth avenue and Forty-fourth street, just east of the Broadway badlands. William B. Thompson, president of the Montana Society, introduced Mr. Edwin O. Holter as toastmaster. Mr. Holter did not waste breath in a long talk. He said: 'Montana is a great State. The Lord has given us the biggest deposit of copper in the whole world. Look at the alfalfa we raise! Look at the hell we could raise if the country needed us!' (Cries of 'Hurrah for the old U. S. A.')

"Mr. Holter then turned Mr. Albert J. Seligman over to the tender mercy of the Indians. He immediately calmed them with the announcement of the organization, incorporation, and capitalization of the new Rocky Mountain Club. 'We settled the details today,' said Mr. Seligman. 'We elected for our first president John Hays Hammond (cheers), who sent me the following telegram: "I am with you heart and soul in this project." (Whoops and yells of delight.) We will start with a membership of three hundred, and to insure the success of the Club some of us have clubbed together and put up \$50,000 to make it a certain go. We intend to make it the biggest club in this country, and we are now looking for suitable headquarters.'"

As there was in the beginning, there is need to-day of an organization of the character of the Rocky Mountain Club. Western men and those concerned in the development of the West needed it then and need it now. To-day the United States of America needs it and more organizations like it.

As in the beginning, the Rocky Mountain Club is still looking for suitable headquarters. But it has not far to look for its permanent abiding place:—it is in the hearts of the suffering mothers and children of Belgium and northern France.

The Rocky Mountain Club is well named. Not because its founders were residents or former residents of the Rocky Mountain States, but because its founders took unto themselves the rugged character of the Rocky Mountains when they took out of those noble ranges the

wealth that has helped to make America what it is to-day. The Rocky Mountains are the backbone of America. The Rocky Mountain Club is recognized as one of the upstanding pillars of Americanism. The Rocky Mountains divide the East and West. The Rocky Mountain Club aims to eliminate all sectional lines by bringing into closer intimacy the representative men of every section of America.

Its intense patriotic character, great energy in everything it undertakes, and the unity of its membership for all that it signifies and to which it aspires have given to this organization an exceptional repute and weight of good influence. "I am proud of my membership in the Rocky Mountain Club," wrote Mr. Roosevelt in a recent letter. "It is known throughout the world for its generosity," said Arthur Woods, commissioner of police of New York City. First and last it is American and looks to the best and most practical things that can be done for and in the whole country. Its point of view and aims are identical with those that animated the mighty movement from which resulted the upbuilding of the West—and most especially its outlook is upon the future.

A cardinal idea of the Club is to promote—to particularize—knowledge and appreciation of the West, its conditions, and its opportunities, for the great good that will flow to all America, Americans, and intending Americans. It holds that the immortal advice, "Go West," was never more relevant or wise than right now. The familiar reasons of congestion and poverty in the East and room and independence in the West are not the essential ones in the opinion of the Club. It believes that the West will make better American citizens out of present bad or indifferent Americans, and fashion into loyal and worthy Americans the anti-Americans now among us and the millions of strangers who will surely come from Europe after the War. The process of reasoning to that conclusion is irresistible. A large immigrant element in the East is lacking in the noble conception of Country because it has not been assimilated to our institutions and spirit. The divergent environment and inducements of the West will tend to afford the assimilation. Immigrants arriving in the East cannot be expected to be much for the United States if under wrong control and tutelage. It may be granted that they come with good intentions and sincerely desire to help themselves and develop the country. But their impressions and attitude concerning and toward America are necessarily derived from people of their own nationalities already here, who to a great extent have not been made into acceptable Americans;

and from the same associations they are equally imbued with standards repugnant to every idea of good citizenship and government, and directed to the choice of nefarious ways of living. There is one sure solution—remove them from the unfavorable associations; give them the chance that the pioneers of the West embraced and in embracing secured a happy destiny for themselves, and for America and Americanism wonderful new resources, strength, and vigor.

The Club advocates national legislation to encourage and accelerate the movement westward, and particularly to direct it to the land, of which there are still millions of acres as fallow as when Columbus made his discovery.

A permanent exhibition of the West, to be established in New York on a comprehensive scale and with express attention to details of practical information and suggestion, is a favorite project of many members of the Club. This ambitious undertaking has so far only been formulated. If brought to a successful result, a service of very great benefit to the nation will be rendered.

The Club is fortunate in its officers. Its administration is distinguished by a direction and energy that one expects usually to find in a highly efficient business organization, but not usually in a body of gentlemen associated for the reasons and objects of amenity mainly. Circumlocution and delays are avoided by placing the necessary discretion in the logical quarters; and the membership responds with promptitude and generosity. The great success of its Belgian relief campaign was due to the fundamental management, from which the manifold results flowed as a sequential matter. In its occasional endeavors for itself there are the same methods and realizations. When the Club wants more members they are secured to the stipulated number. During the fall of 1916 it decided to celebrate its tenth anniversary, in the month of January following, by increasing its membership from six hundred to one thousand. At the appointed time there were twelve hundred on the roll.

The following are the present officers of the Rocky Mountain Club:

President, John Hays Hammond.
 Vice-President, William B. Thompson.
 Treasurer, William J. Palmer.
 Assistant-Treasurer, Frank W. Holmes.
 Secretary, Herbert Wall.

The Club's first board of governors, elected for the year 1907, consisted of the following:

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A. Chester Beatty, Frederick R. Burnham, Edward H. Clark, Charles K. Cole, George O. Eaton, Silas W. Eccles (deceased), John B. Farish, John Hays Hammond, J. Guthrie Hopkins, Thomas H. Leggett, James J. McEvilly (deceased), John C. Montgomery, Albert J. Seligman, Benjamin B. Thayer, and William B. Thompson.

Of these fifteen original governors, Messrs. Clark, Cole, Eaton, Hammond, Montgomery, Seligman, Thayer, and Thompson were still serving as governors at the anniversary which marked the completion of the first decade of the life of the Club; and all the others now surviving—Messrs. Beatty, Burnham, Farish, Hopkins, and Leggett—still continue as members.

Present governors:

Henry Altenbrand, Edward H. Clark, Charles K. Cole, George O. Eaton, John Hays Hammond, Thomas B. Hardin, Charles Hayden, Thomas M. Hodgens, Adolph Lewisohn, John C. Montgomery, J. Oppenheim, William J. Palmer, William C. Potter, Albert J. Seligman, Benjamin B. Thayer, and William B. Thompson.

The Honor Roll, embracing members in the active service of the army and navy of the United States or its Allies, was as follows at the time of the final revision of this article in type (December 22):

Army.—Frank Altschul, Richard M. Atwater 3d, Robert L. Bacon, Lester Baker, Sanford B. Belden, John A. Bense, William C. Burdett, Robert H. Chapman, Edward B. Close, Philip G. Cole, Herbert D. Fransioli, Evan Fraser-Campbell, Edwin J. Greer, William Hague, Bartlett H. Hayes, Charles F. Humphrey, James Imbrie, Joseph W. Jeffrey, William H. Leonard, William J. Linn, Medad C. Martin, Tredwell W. Moore, Birger Osland, C. H. Palmer, Jr., O. B. Perry, R. S. Rainsford, W. P. Richardson, Robert H. Sayre, Evarts Tracy, Benjamin W. Vallat, Alfred B. Welch, James N. Wheelan, Herbert S. Whipple.

Navy.—William B. Dunning, J. C. Gillmore, Harry F. Guggenheim, Charles W. Littlefield, Henry K. McHarg, Jr., Arthur H. Marks, Alfred R. Meyer, Clarence Powell, George D. Ryall.

The Club has these honorary members:

Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, John J. Pershing, Luther Burbank, and William H. Hunt.

The State chairmen are:

Alaska, Royal A. Gunnison; Arizona, James S. Douglas; California, William H. Crocker; Colorado, Eugene P. Shove and J. B. Andrews; Idaho, Stanly A. Easton; Illinois, Maurice S. Dean; Kansas, E. L. Copeland; Massachusetts, W. F. Bartholomew; Michigan, James MacNaughton; Minnesota, Archibald M. Chisholm; Missouri, Benjamin F. Bush; Montana, Sam D. Goza; Nevada, George Wingfield; New Mexico, Willard S. Hopewell; North Dakota, Clarence B. Little; Ohio, Price McKinney; Oklahoma, O. J. McConnell; Oregon, Russell Hawkins; Pennsylvania, W. Hinckle Smith; South Dakota, Robert H. Driscoll; Texas, J. S. Cullinan and Donald B. Gillies; Utah, C. W. Whitley; Washington, William A. Nicholls; Wyoming, P. J. Quealy.

Chairman for all Canada, E. P. Mathewson.

Following is the full list of members to December 22:

Abrams, Eugene D., Helena, Mont.	Adams, Leland D., Montreal, Can.
Adams, Cuyler, Deerwood, Minn.	Agassiz, Rodolphe L., Boston, Mass.
Adams, Frederick B., New York City.	Ahles, Robert L., Williamsport, Pa.
Adams, John T., Dubuque, Iowa.	Albin, B. R., Billings, Mont.

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- Aldrich, Sherwood, New York City.
 Aldridge, Walter H., New York City.
 Alexander, Harry H., Maurer, N. J.
 Alexander, Hubbard F., Tacoma, Wash.
 Alexander, M. (governor), Boise, Idaho.
 Allen, Benjamin C., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Allen, Charles L., Denver, Colo.
 Alley, Roy S., Butte, Mont.
 Altenbrand, Henry, New York City.
 Altschul, Frank, New York City.
 Alvord, John F., New York City.
 Amster, Nathan L., Boston, Mass.
 Anderson, William G., Northbrook, Ont., Can.
 Andrews, John B., Denver, Colo.
 Andrews, Walter P., Atlanta, Ga.
 Anthony, Walter M., Detroit, Mich.
 Apperson, A. B., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Armsby, George N., San Francisco, Cal.
 Armsby, J. K., San Francisco, Cal.
 Armistead, Henry H., Washington, D. C.
 Armstrong, William W., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Arnold, Ralph, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Arthur, Thomas, Billings, Mont.
 Atherton, D. B., New York City.
 Atwater, Maxwell W., Basin, Mont.
 Atwater, Richard M., Jr., New York City.
 Atwater, Richard M., 3d, Scarsdale, N. Y.
 Austin, E. A., Jarbidge, Nev.
 Ayer, Charles F., New York City.
 Ayer, Charles F., Boston, Mass.
 Babbitt, Kurnal R., New York City.
 Bache, Jules S., New York City.
 Bacon, Maurice W., Spokane, Wash.
 Bacon, Robert L., New York City.
 Baker, Lester, Washington, D. C.
 Baldwin, William D., New York City.
 Ballard, Russell H., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Bamberger, J. E., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Bamberger, Simon (governor), Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Bangs, Francis S., New York City.
 Barnard, G. H. (lieutenant-governor), Victoria, B. C., Can.
 Barnes, Cornelius A., Missoula, Mont.
 Barneson, John, San Francisco, Cal.
 Barnewall, William G., Fairview, N. Mex.
 Barrett, Clifford P., Chicago, Ill.
 Barrett, James A., Sidney, Mont.
 Barringer, Daniel M., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Barron, Clarence W., Boston, Mass.
 Bartholomew, W. F., Boston, Mass.
 Baruch, Bernard M., New York City.
 Baruch, H. B., New York City.
 Bassett, William H., Waterbury, Conn.
 Baum, Frank G., San Francisco, Cal.
 Bausman, Frederick, Seattle, Wash.
 Bayless, William S., San Francisco, Cal.
 Beale, Horace A., Jr., Parkesburg, Pa.
 Bean, Louis, Tacoma, Wash.
 Beatty, A. Chester, New York City.
 Beatty, Ross J., Chicago, Ill.
 Belden, Sanford B., Columbus, Ohio.
 Bellinger, H. C., Chuquicamata, Chile, S. A.
 Bensel, John A., New York City.
 Benwell, Oswald F., Denver, Colo.
 Betts, Robert M., Cornucopia, Ore.
 Beymer, Albert S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Bickford, Walter M., Missoula, Mont.
 Biddison, Ned D., New York City.
 Biesel, Charles, El Paso, Tex.
 Bilharz, Oscar M., Baxter Springs, Kan.
 Billingsley, Paul, Butte, Mont.
 Bingham, Charles W., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Blackburn, William H., Tonopah, Nev.
 Blakeman, Thomas G., Melville, Mont.
 Bleecker, J. V. B., New York City.
 Block, E. J., Chicago, Ill.
 Blumenthal, George, New York City.
 Blumenthal, Hugo, New York City.
 Boericke, Harold, Boulder, Colo.
 Boettcher, Charles, Denver, Colo.
 Boll, Charles S., Harrisburg, Pa.
 Bond, Stephen N., New York City.
 Booraem, Robert E., New York City.
 Bourne, Jonathan, Jr., Portland, Ore.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola, Kan.
 Bowser, Alfred, Montreal, Can.
 Boyd, John, San Simon, Bolivia.
 Boyer, Isaac, Helena, Mont.
 Boyle, Emmet D. (governor), Carson City, Nev.
 Boyle, Joseph J., Dawson City, Yukon.
 Boyle, Joseph W., Dawson City, Yukon.
 Boyle, Joseph W., Jr., Dawson City, Yukon.
 Bradley, Philip R., Treadwell, Alaska.
 Bradley, William M., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Bradshaw, Frederick, Tonopah, Nev.
 Brady, Samuel O'N. C., Livingston, Mont.
 Bragg, Everett B., Chicago, Ill.
 Brainard, Clinton T., New York City.
 Braman, Dwight, New York City.
 Brandes, Juan Felix, Santa Barbara, Cal.
 Bray, Elmer M., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Breitung, Edward N., New York City.
 Brewster, James I., Banff, Alta., Can.
 Brigham, Alexander F., Jagersfontein, O. F. S., S. Africa.
 Bronson, Edmond B., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Brooker, Charles F., Ansonia, Conn.
 Brophy, William H., Bisbee, Ariz.
 Brown, Colvin B., Washington, D. C.
 Brown, Dickson Q., New York City.

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- Brown, E. A., Butte, Mont.
 Brown, Edward L., Denver, Colo.
 Brown, Frank L., New York City.
 Brown, H. S., New York City.
 Bryant, George W., Guanajuato, Mexico.
 Bullard, Percy, New York City.
 Burbidge, Frederick, Wallace, Idaho.
 Burch, Albert, San Francisco, Cal.
 Burch, H. Kenyon, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Burdett, William C., Martel, Tenn.
 Burdick, Charles A., New York City.
 Burger, C. C., New York City.
 Burke, Edmund, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Burke, John H., Helena, Mont.
 Burke, Thomas, Seattle, Wash.
 Burnham, Frederick R., Three Rivers, Cal.
 Burnquist, J. A. A. (governor), St. Paul, Minn.
 Burns, James F., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Burrage, Albert C., Boston, Mass.
 Burton, A. G., Denver, Colo.
 Burton, John R., Oakland, Cal.
 Bush, Benjamin F., St. Louis, Mo.
 Cain, Ben. B., Dallas, Tex.
 Calhoun, Scott, Seattle, Wash.
 Calkins, Ben E., Butte, Mont.
 Callbreath, J. F., Washington, D. C.
 Calvin, Edgar E., Omaha, Neb.
 Cameron, Frank N., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Campbell, Henry W., Detroit, Mich.
 Campbell, John W., New York City.
 Campbell, M. R., New York City.
 Campbell, Thomas E. (governor), Phoenix, Ariz.
 Campbell, Thomas H., Huron, S. Dak.
 Campbell, Will A., Helena, Mont.
 Canby, Robert C., Wallingford, Conn.
 Carlisle, G. Lister, Jr., New York City.
 Carlton, Albert E., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Carpenter, Clarence, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Carpenter, E. L., New York City.
 Carpenter, George O., St. Louis, Mo.
 Carpenter, M. B., St. Paul, Minn.
 Carrigan, Andrew, San Francisco, Cal.
 Castle, William B., Duluth, Minn.
 Chadbourne, Thomas L., Jr., New York City.
 Chambers, Edward, Chicago, Ill.
 Chance, Henry M., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Chandler, Frederick T., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Chapman, Arthur, Denver, Colo.
 Chapman, John McChesney, New York City.
 Chapman, Robert H., Washington, D. C.
 Chase, Warren D., Hartford, Conn.
 Chedsey, William R., State College, Pa.
 Cheyne, John S., Miami, Okla.
 Chilberg, J. E., Seattle, Wash.
 Chilberg, Joseph, Denver, Colo.
 Childs, Herbert H., New York City.
 Chisholm, Archibald M., Duluth, Minn.
 Chisholm, Duncan, Toronto, Ont.
 Christie, William, Helena, Mont.
 Christie, W. H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Clark, C. Dawes, New York City.
 Clark, Clarence M., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Clark, Edmund, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Clark, Edward H., New York City.
 Clark, J. F. A., New York City.
 Clark, J. Murray, Toronto, Ont.
 Clark, P. W., Silverton, B. C., Can.
 Clark, William A., Jr., Butte, Mont.
 Clarke, John T., New York City.
 Clarke, William R., New York City.
 Clarkson, Charles H., New York City.
 Close, Edward B., New York City.
 Clyde, William P., New York City.
 Coady, Charles B., New York City.
 Cobb, Collier, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Cobb, Harold M., Guanacevi, Mex.
 Coffin, Charles A., New York City.
 Cole, Charles K., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Cole, Howard, New York City.
 Cole, H. M., Boston, Mass.
 Cole, Philip G., Am. Expeditionary Force, France.
 Coleman, T. A., San Antonio, Tex.
 Coleman, William W., South Milwaukee, Wis.
 Collier, D. C., Santa Fe, N. Mex.
 Collins, F. V. H., Forsyth, Mont.
 Collins, George H., New York City.
 Collins, Glenville A., Seattle, Wash.
 Collins, Jeremiah, Washington, D. C.
 Collins, Ted E., Helena, Mont.
 Collins, Walter J., New York City.
 Comstock, Albert H., Duluth, Minn.
 Congdon, Walter B., Duluth, Minn.
 Conklin, Roland R., New York City.
 Conn, George C., Flint, Mich.
 Connell, J. Arthur, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Conover, Bruce K., New York City.
 Content, Harry, New York City.
 Cook, A. B., Helena, Mont.
 Coolidge, William H., Boston, Mass.
 Coombs, Christopher F., Boston, Mass.
 Copeland, Edward L., Topeka, Kan.
 Copeland, Frederick K., Chicago, Ill.
 Corey, William E., New York City.
 Corliss, Charles A., New York City.
 Cornwell, William C., New York City.
 Corrigan, Charles E., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Corrigan, James W., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Corse, George H., Jr., Chicago, Ill.

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 Cox, W. Rowland, New York City.
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 Craig, William W., New York City.
 Craney, A. H., Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
 Creden, W. L., Butte, Mont.
 Crocker, Frank Walter, Denver, Colo.
 Crocker, William H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Crosby, George H., Duluth, Minn.
 Crosby, George H., Chicago, Ill.
 Cullen, W. E., Jr., Spokane, Wash.
 Cullinan, J. S., Houston, Tex.
 Curtis, John F. L., Chicago, Ill.
- Danforth, Charles E., New York City.
 Banziger, J. M., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Davidson, James E., Bay City, Mich.
 Davis, Andrew J., Butte, Mont.
 Davis, Francis H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Davol, Charles J., Providence, R. I.
 Day, Harry L., Wallace, Idaho.
 Dean, Maurice S., Chicago, Ill.
 Dee, James R., Houghton, Mich.
 De Forest, A. T., San Francisco, Cal.
 De Golyer, E., New York City.
 DeLashmutt, Ivan, Silverton, B. C., Can.
 Delano, Warren, New York City.
 DePue, Elmer, New York City.
 DeSabra, Eugene J., Jr., New York City.
 DeYoung, M. H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Dickey, Walter S., Kansas City, Mo.
 Diggs, Roy L., Helena, Mont.
 Dillingham, Frank A., New York City.
 Dimmick, J. Benjamin, Scranton, Pa.
 Dingwall, W. B. A., San Antonio, Tex.
 Dixon, Samuel, Hewlett, Va.
 Dodge, Clarence P., Houston, Tex.
 Dodge, H. E., New York City.
 Donner, William H., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Donohue, D. J., Missoula, Mont.
 Dorr, John V. N., New York City.
 Douglas, James S., Douglas, Ariz.
 Douglas, Walter, New York City.
 Dowd, William B., New York City.
 Dowell, Grant H., Douglas, Ariz.
 Downs, William D., Denver, Colo.
 Drew, Charles V., New York City.
 Driscoll, Robert H., Lead, S. Dak.
 Drucker, George W., New York City.
 Drum, Frank G., San Francisco, Cal.
 Drury, W. M., El Paso, Tex.
 Duke, B. Lawrence, New York City.
 Dunham, W. P., New York City.
 Dunning, William B., Oakland, Cal.
 Dunstan, James S., New York City.
 duPont, T. Coleman, New York City.
- Earling, Albert J., Chicago, Ill.
 Easley, George A., La Paz, Bolivia, S. A.
 Easton, Stanly A., Kellogg, Idaho.
- Eaton, George O., New York City.
 Eccles, L. R., Ogden, Utah.
 Ede, J. A., LaSalle, Ill.
 Edwards, G. L., St. Louis, Mo.
 Edwards, John E., Forsyth, Mont.
 Edwards, J. Warner, Denver, Colo.
 Edwards, Richard M., Houghton, Mich.
 Eilers, Karl, New York City.
 Elling, Karl, Virginia City, Mont.
 Ellinger, Julian O., Paris, France.
 Elliott, E. A., Glen Head, N. Y.
 Ellis, Wyman, Helena, Mont.
 Ernest, Richard H., Round Mountain,
 Nev.
- Escarra, Juan M., Camaguey, Cuba.
 Estabrook, Arthur F., Boston, Mass.
 Evans, Evan E., Denver, Colo.
 Evans, John, Denver, Colo.
 Evans, L. O., Butte, Mont.
 Evered, N. J., Timmins, Ont.
 Eyerman, John, Easton, Pa.
- Fairbairn, Charles T., Birmingham, Ala.
 Fairchild, Samuel W., New York City.
 Farish, John B., San Francisco, Cal.
 Farr, George W., Miles City, Mont.
 Farrell, Austin, Marquette, Mich.
 Farrar, B. L., El Paso, Tex.
 Feder, Joseph F., New York City.
 Fell, Edward N., Warrenton, Va.
 Field, Edward B., Denver, Colo.
 Filor, Walter H., New York City.
 Fink, William N., El Paso, Tex.
 Fisher, Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Fiske, E. W., Helena, Mont.
 Fiske, Redington, Boston, Mass.
 Fitch, Walter, Eureka, Utah.
 Fitzgerald, William F., Boston, Mass.
 Flagg, Stanley G., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Flanders, Walter E., Detroit, Mich.
 Fleishhacker, Herbert, San Francisco,
 Cal.
- Fleming, Arthur H., Pasadena, Cal.
 Fleming, Stephen B., New York City.
 Flint, Charles R., New York City.
 Flynn, Charles B., New York City.
 Flynn, John P., Lexington, Ky.
 Flynn, Joseph A., New York City.
 Fobes, William H., St. Paul, Minn.
 Ford, Samuel C., Helena, Mont.
 Fovargue, Franklin H., Terlingua, Tex.
 Fowler, George A., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
- Fowles, Charles, El Paso, Tex.
 Frambach, Charles L., New York City.
 Frank, Alfred, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Franklin, N. E., Deadwood, S. Dak.
 Fransoli, Herbert D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Fraser-Campbell, Evan, Tarbert, Loch
 Tynne, Argyllshire, Scotland.

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- Frazier, Lynn J. (governor), Bismarck, N. Dak.
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 Freeman, Zoheth S., New York City.
 Freudenthal, Ph., Solomonville, Ariz.
 Frueauff, Frank W., New York City.
 Frye, Walter P., Marlboro, Mass.
 Fulton, Chester A., Havana, Cuba.
 Furlow, Floyd C., New York City.
- Gaffney, William B., Seattle, Wash.
 Gahl, Rudolf, Miami, Ariz.
 Gale, George H. G., New York City.
 Galland, Julius, Spokane, Wash.
 Galland, Samuel, Spokane, Wash.
 Garvan, Francis P., New York City.
 Gatch, Elias S., St. Louis, Mo.
 Gayley, James, New York City.
 Gerry, M. H., Jr., Helena, Mont.
 Gibson, Paris, Great Falls, Mont.
 Giese, Herman A., Denver, Colo.
 Gillies, Donald B., El Paso, Tex.
 Gillies, John J., New York City.
 Gillmore, J. C., Washington, D. C.
 Gilpin, Francis, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Glover, John I., Kansas City, Mo.
 Godfrey, Henry F., New York City.
 Godfrey, James J., New York City.
 Goldberg, David, New York City.
 Goldman, Samuel P., New York City.
 Goodale, Charles W., Butte, Mont.
 Goodall, F. E., San Francisco, Cal.
 Goodfriend, Sig., Anaconda, Mont.
 Goza, Samuel D., Helena, Mont.
 Graham, James B., Williamsport, Pa.
 Gray, E. F., New York City.
 Green, Hugh A., Montreal, Can.
 Greene, Charles T., New York City.
 Greenebaum, Fred H., New York City.
 Greenough, Harry P., Potomac, Mont.
 Greenwood, George W., San Domingo.
 Greer, Edwin J., Pontiac, Mich.
 Gross, Theodore, New York City.
 Grosvenor, Graham B., San Francisco, Cal.
- Guess, Harry A., New York City.
 Guggenheim, Daniel, New York City.
 Guggenheim, Harry F., New York City.
 Guggenheim, Simon, New York City.
 Guggenheim, S. R., New York City.
 Gunn, Milton S., Helena, Mont.
 Gunnison, Royal A., Juneau, Alaska.
 Gunter, Julius C. (governor), Denver, Colo.
 Guyer, George V., New York City.
- Hadsell, Frank A., Rawlins, Wyo.
 Haff, Raymond E. T., City Point, Va.
 Hager, Wilfrid M., Colorado Springs, Colo.
- Hagerman, Percy, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hague, William, Grass Valley, Cal.
 Hall, Asa Burton, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Hall, James M., Helena, Mont.
 Hall, Lewis B., Jr., New York City.
 Hall, W. H., Butte, Mont.
 Hamilton, James M., Bozeman, Mont.
 Hamilton, Walter R., San Francisco, Cal.
 Hamlin, C. C., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hamlin, Philip, Spokane, Wash.
 Hammon, W. P., San Francisco, Cal.
 Hammond, A. B., San Francisco, Cal.
 Hammond, Harris, New York City.
 Hammond, John Hays, New York City.
 Hammond, John Hays, Jr., Gloucester, Mass.
 Hammond, Lyman P., Denver, Colo.
 Hanauer, Adrian G., Spokane, Wash.
 Hanley, Daniel J., New York City.
 Hannaford, Jules M., St. Paul, Minn.
 Hardin, Thomas B., New York City.
 Harlow, Richard A., Moore, Mont.
 Harper, Walter S., New York City.
 Harriman, W. Averell, New York City.
 Harris, Beverly D., New York City.
 Harris, Lawrence W., San Francisco, Cal.
 Harris, Sanford, Chicago, Ill.
 Harvey, George, New York City.
 Hatch, Edwin G., New York City.
 Hathaway, Charles, New York City.
 Hawkins, Ebenezer B., Duluth, Minn.
 Hawkins, Russell, Portland, Ore.
 Hawley, James H., Boise, Idaho.
 Hay, John W., Rock Springs, Wyo.
 Hayden, Charles, New York City.
 Hayes, Bartlett H., Boston, Mass.
 Hayes, J. A., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hays, Samuel H., Boise, Idaho.
 Hazen, William E., New York City.
 Hearst, William R., New York City.
 Hebbard, Edgar C., New York City.
 Heigho, Edgar M., New Meadows, Idaho.
 Heilbronner, I. A., Butte, Mont.
 Heiser, Henry A., New York City.
 Heller, Martin J., New York City.
 Hemming, Wilmer D., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hemphill, Alexander J., New York City.
 Hemrich, Louis, Seattle, Wash.
 Hendrickson, W. H., Frisco, Utah.
 Hewett, Marcus L., New York City.
 Hewitt, Herbert H., New York City.
 Hidden, William Earle, Ocean Grove, N. J.
 Higgins, John W., Chicago, Ill.
 Hill, C. P., Montreal, Can.
 Hill, Howard, Kansas City, Mo.
 Hill, Louis W., St. Paul, Minn.

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- Hitchcock, Frank H., New York City.
 Hitchcock, Frederick C., Peking, China.
 Hoatson, James, Calumet, Mich.
 Hodgens, Thomas M., New York City.
 Hodges, George W., New York City.
 Hodges, William V., Denver, Colo.
 Hodgkins, Arthur E., Port Henry, N. Y.
 Hoffman, Ross B., Oakland, Cal.
 Hogg, William C., Houston, Tex.
 Holbrook, Dwight G., Hartford, Conn.
 Holden, Hale, Chicago, Ill.
 Holmes, Frank W., New York City.
 Holmes, Ralph C., Houston, Tex.
 Holt, A. S. J., Seattle, Wash.
 Holt, Ben C., Spokane, Wash.
 Holter, Anton M., Helena, Mont.
 Holter, Edwin O., New York City.
 Holter, Norman B., Helena, Mont.
 Holterhoff, Godfrey, Jr., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Homer, Robert H., Laramie, Wyo.
 Hoover, Herbert, Washington, D. C.
 Hopewell, Willard S., Albuquerque, N. Mex.
 Hopkins, Berne H., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hopkins, J. Guthrie, Greenwood, Va.
 Hoppe, Reinhold, Oakland, Cal.
 Hornblower, Henry, Boston, Mass.
 Hornblower, Ralph, Boston, Mass.
 Hovland, Henry B., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Howard, Clarence H., St. Louis, Mo.
 Howard, Edward O., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Howard, H. O., Prescott, Ariz.
 Howbert, Irving, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Hubbard, John W., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Hughes, E. C., Seattle, Wash.
 Hughes, Howard R., Houston, Tex.
 Hughes, John S., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Hughes, Patrick L., Boston, Mass.
 Humbert, William C., Pecksville, Pa.
 Humphrey, Charles F., Washington, D. C.
 Humphrey, H. G., Reno, Nev.
 Hurvitch, Samuel, Boston, Mass.
 Hutchinson, J. W., Goldfield, Nev.
 Huttig, William, Kansas City, Mo.
 Hutton, Edward F., New York City.
 Hynds, Harry P., Cheyenne, Wyo.
 Imbrie, James, New York City.
 Ingalls, J. Aaron, Reno, Nev.
 Insull, Samuel, Chicago, Ill.
 Ireland, James Duane, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Ireland, Robert L., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Jackling, Daniel C., San Francisco, Cal.
 Jeffrey, Joseph W., Columbus, Ohio.
 Jeffrey, Robert H., Columbus, Ohio.
 Jessup, A. B., Pocatello, Idaho.
 Johnson, Maurice M., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Johnson, Roswell H., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Johnston, Samuel, Detroit, Mich.
 Jones, Andrieus A. (U. S. Senator), Las Vegas, N. Mex.
 Jones, Henry W., Rancagua, Chile.
 Jones, William, Tacoma, Wash.
 Joslin, Falcon, New York City.
 Joyce, William B., New York City.
 Julian, Estey A., San Francisco, Cal.
 Kaeding, C. D., New York City.
 Kahn, Max, Helena, Mont.
 Kann, William L., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Kaufman, Harry L., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Kaufman, S. R., Marquette, Mich.
 Kearny, C. H., San Antonio, Tex.
 Keefe, M. H., Yonkers, N. Y.
 Keith, Albert Guy, Boston, Mass.
 Keith, Charles S., Kansas City, Mo.
 Kellar, Chambers, Lead, S. Dak.
 Kelley, C. F., New York City.
 Kelly, Daniel M., Butte, Mont.
 Kennalley, John, Jr., Dawson City, Yukon.
 Kennedy, Hugh, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Kennedy, Jacob M., Helena, Mont.
 Kerr, Robert J., Birmingham, Ala.
 Kidder, Sidney J., Mogollon, N. Mex.
 Kingsmill, Harold, Morococha, Peru.
 Kirby, A. G., Toronto, Ont.
 Kirby, Edmund B., New York City.
 Kirby, Fred M., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
 Kirchen, John G., Tonopah, Nev.
 Kittle, Gilbert R., Columbus, Ohio.
 Kittredge, Charles H., New York City.
 Klopstock, Paul, New York City.
 Knobloch, Henry F. J., New York City.
 Knox, Renwick B., Duluth, Minn.
 Kohlberg, Herbert S., New York City.
 Kohlberg, Walter L., El Paso, Tex.
 Koster, Frederick J., San Francisco, Cal.
 Krakauer, Robert, El Paso, Tex.
 Kremer, J. Bruce, Butte, Mont.
 Kroger, Walter W., Philipsburgh, Mont.
 Krumb, Henry, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Lachmund, Oscar, Greenwood, B. C., Can.
 Ladd, D. H., Milford, Mich.
 Lakenan, C. B., Ely, Nev.
 Lalor, John C., St. Louis, Mo.
 Lambert, Harry P., Round Up, Mont.
 La Montagne, Maurice, New York City.
 La Montagne, Montaigu, New York City.
 Landers, Douglas J., Springfield, Mo.
 Landgrebe, Karl L., Ensley, Ala.
 Langshaw, Walter H., New Bedford, Mass.

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- Lanstrum, Oscar M., Helena, Mont.
 Lasier, Frederick G., Holly, Mich.
 Lasley, William M., Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Laurie, Frank C., Tampico, Mex.
 Lawrence, Benjamin B., New York City.
 Lednum, E. T., Joplin, Mo.
 Ledoux, Albert R., New York City.
 Le Duc, Ernest, Duluth, Minn.
 Lege, Frederick M., Jr., Galveston, Tex.
 Leggett, Thomas H., New York City.
 Leonard, Franklin, Jr., New York City.
 Leonard, William H., Denver, Colo.
 Levey, Charles M., San Francisco, Cal.
 Levy, E. D., St. Louis, Mo.
 Levy, Guy W., New York City.
 Lewis, Clinton R., Dawson City, Yukon.
 Lewis, John C., Portland, Ore.
 Lewis, William B., New York City.
 Lewisohn, Adolph, New York City.
 Lewisohn, Frederick, New York City.
 Lewisohn, Sam A., New York City.
 Lindsey, W. E. (governor), Santa Fe, N. Mex.
 Linn, William J., Chicago, Ill.
 Lister, Ernest (governor), Olympia, Wash.
 Little, Clarence B., Bismarck, N. Dak.
 Little, Edward S., New York City.
 Little, L. Freeman, Owensboro, Ky.
 Littlefield, Charles W. (Pay Director, U. S. N.), New York City.
 Littlejohn, Lomax, Jr., New York City.
 Littlejohn, Robert M., New York City.
 Livermore, Arthur L., New York City.
 Livingston, Henry B., New York City.
 Livingston, R. A., Jr., Hamilton, Bermuda.
 Logan, Howard H., Chicago, Ill.
 Longyear, Edmund J., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Loring, Augustus P., Boston, Mass.
 Loring, William C., Boston, Mass.
 Loring, W. J., San Francisco, Cal.
 Lott, E. C., Chicago, Ill.
 Loucks, William D., New York City.
 Lounsbery, S. Durell, New York City.
 Lovell, Joseph N., Boston, Mass.
 Lyon, Walter, New York City.
 McAllister, Henry, Jr., Denver, Colo.
 McBride, Wilbert G., Globe, Ariz.
 McCall, Louis D., Denver, Colo.
 McCann, Charles E. F., New York City.
 McCart, Robert, Jr., El Paso, Tex.
 McCarty, George J., Mexico, D. F.
 McCaskell, Jasper A., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 McClurg, Gilbert, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 McConnell, O. J., Miami, Okla.
 McCulloch, John W., Owensboro, Ky.
 McCurdy, Leslie T., New York City.
 McDowell, William W., Butte, Mont.
 McGill, T. Julian, Chicago, Ill.
 McGill, W. N., Ely, Nev.
 McGrath, Thomas S., New York City.
 McHarg, Henry K., Jr., New York City.
 McKay, Robert I., Cooke, Mont.
 McKinlay, William B., Pinar del Rio, Cuba.
 McKinney, Price, Cleveland, Ohio.
 McLean, Milton H., Morenci, Ariz.
 McMahon, Francis M., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 McMartin, John, Cornwall, Ont.
 McMullin, John H., Prince Rupert, B. C., Can.
 McMurray, Edwin H., Tonopah, Nev.
 McMurray, Max, Cleveland, Ohio.
 McQuatters, A. J., El Paso, Tex.
 Macdonald, Donald C., Boston, Mass.
 Macfarlane, Graham, Clarksville, Tenn.
 Macfarlane, James, Hebron, Colo.
 MacGinniss, John, Butte, Mont.
 MacKellar, John A., Toronto, Ont.
 MacKelvie, N. B., New York City.
 Mackenzie, Sir William, Toronto, Can.
 MacLean, Daniel, Durango, Colo.
 MacLennan, F. W., Miami, Ariz.
 MacMillan, Donald, Chicago, Ill.
 MacNaughton, James, Calumet, Mich.
 MacNeill, Charles M., New York City.
 Madero, Raul, New York City.
 Mahony, Edward P., Havana, Cuba.
 Maitland, Alexander, Negaunee, Mich.
 Manion, Edward, Lead, S. Dak.
 Manson, Thomas L., New York City.
 Mantle, Lee, Butte, Mont.
 Manville, T. Frank, New York City.
 Markle, John, New York City.
 Markowitz, A. Lincoln, New York City.
 Marks, Arthur H., Akron, Ohio.
 Marlow, Thomas A., Helena, Mont.
 Marshall, A. M., Duluth, Minn.
 Marshall, Edward J., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Marshall, Thomas H., Denver, Colo.
 Martin, Albert W., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Martin, Medad C. (U. S. A., ret.), New York City.
 Martin, John, San Francisco, Cal.
 Masten, Fred C., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Mather, T. W., New York City.
 Mathewson, E. P., Toronto, Ont.
 Mayo, William J., Rochester, Minn.
 Mead, Harry L., Waldo, Ore.
 Mears, Otto, Silverton, Colo.
 Mercer, John W., New York City.
 Merrill, Charles W., San Francisco, Cal.
 Metson, William H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Meyer, Alfred R., Boston, Mass.
 Meyer, Eugene, Jr., Washington, D. C.
 Miller, Francis E., Chicago, Ill.

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- Miller, Richard E., New York City.
 Miller, W. Clayton, Spokane, Wash.
 Milliken, Foster, New York City.
 Mills, Charles E., Miami, Ariz.
 Mills, Edwin W., Pekin, China.
 Mills, J. H. G., New York City.
 Mills, Ogden, New York City.
 Minard, Frederick H., New York City.
 Mitchell, George, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Mitchell, John C., Denver, Colo.
 Mitchell, John H., Chicago, Ill.
 Mitchell, Susman, Visalia, Cal.
 Mitchell, S. Z., New York City.
 Mo, E. J., Big Timber, Mont.
 Mohr, Louis, Chicago, Ill.
 Monasmith, Harold B., New York City.
 Montgomery, E. A., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Montgomery, John C., New York City.
 Montgomery, R. E., Portland, Ore.
 Montgomery, W. M., Anaconda, Mont.
 Moore, Edward W., El Cajon, Cal.
 Moore, Tredwell W. (U. S. A., ret.),
 New York City.
 Morehead, Charles R., El Paso, Tex.
 Morgan, Charles T., New York City.
 Morgan, Percy T., San Francisco, Cal.
 Morgan, W. Forbes, Jr., New York City.
 Morley, E. A., Butte, Mont.
 Morley, George B., Saginaw, Mich.
 Morris, Eugene, Chicago, Ill.
 Morris, Lewis R., New York City.
 Morse, Samuel F. B., San Francisco,
 Cal.
 Morse, Willard S., New York City.
 Mott, Garret, New York City.
 Mott, Howard S., New York City.
 Mudd, Seeley W., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Muir, John, New York City.
 Mulkey, Frederick W., Portland, Ore.
 Mullin, William V., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Munds, J. Theus, New York City.
 Munroe, Harold S., Concrete, Colo.
 Murphy, Dan, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Murphy, D. Hayes, New Kensington, Pa.
 Murrin, Thomas D., Lead, S. Dak.
 Mussigbrod, Peter S., Garnet, Mont.
 Neal, Fernando P., Kansas City, Mo.
 Newhouse, Samuel, Salt Lake City,
 Utah.
 Newman, Charles M., El Paso, Tex.
 Newman, Louis, Great Falls, Mont.
 Nicholls, Walter J., Spokane, Wash.
 Nicholls, William A., Spokane, Wash.
 Nichols, Morton C., Greenwich, Conn.
 Nichols, Warren, Chicago, Ill.
 Nicholson, Angus K., New York City.
 Nicholson, Samuel L., East Pittsburgh,
 Pa.
 Nixon, Willard J., Orange, N. J.
 Noble, James B., Vancouver, B. C., Can.
 Nolte, Henry, Duluth, Minn.
 Norbeck, Peter (governor), Pierre, S.
 Dak.
 Nordenholt, George D., Stagg, Cal.
 Norton, E. G., Cranford, N. J.
 Notman, Arthur, Bisbee, Ariz.
 Nye, George L., Denver, Colo.
 Oakes, Francis J., Jr., Boston, Mass.
 O'Connor, James F., Livingston, Mont.
 O'Connor, John W., Denver, Colo.
 O'Laughlin, J. Callan, Washington,
 D. C.
 Olsen, Olaf J., New York City.
 Oppenheim, J., New York City.
 Oppenheimer, J. E., Butte, Mont.
 O'Reilly, Drake C., Portland, Ore.
 Orndorff, R. Burt, El Paso, Tex.
 Osgood, Frank H., Seattle, Wash.
 Osgood, John C., Redstone, Colo.
 Osland, Birger, Chicago, Ill.
 Otis, William A., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Overfield, Chauncey P., Salt Lake City,
 Utah.
 Page, William H., New York City.
 Paggiuchi, Frank D., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Paine, Rene E., Boston, Mass.
 Palmer, C. H., Jr., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Palmer, Howard, F. R. G. S., New Lon-
 don, Conn.
 Palmer, Warren S., San Francisco, Cal.
 Palmer, William F., Miami, Ariz.
 Palmer, William J., New York City.
 Pam, Max, Chicago, Ill.
 Parker, Chauncy D., Boston, Mass.
 Parks, Fred W., Denver, Colo.
 Parrish, Karl C., Cartagena, Colombia,
 S. A.
 Parsons, Noel, London, Eng.
 Parsons, Reginald H., Seattle, Wash.
 Patterson, John H., Dayton, Ohio.
 Pattison, Martin, Superior, Wis.
 Paul, Frank, Berkeley, Cal.
 Penrose, Spencer, Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Penwell, Lewis, Helena, Mont.
 Perkins, George W., New York City.
 Perkins, Henry C., New York City.
 Perry, Howard E., Portland, Me.
 Perry, John E., Wharton, N. J.
 Perry, O. B., New York City.
 Peterson, Frank, Dos Cabezas, Ariz.
 Pettengill, H. J., St. Louis, Mo.
 Phelan, James D. (U. S. Senator),
 San Francisco, Cal.
 Phelan, James J., Boston, Mass.
 Phipard, Charles K., New York City.
 Phippen, F. H., Toronto, Ont.

BELGIUM, AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB

- Phipps, Lawrence C., Denver, Colo.
 Pierce, Henry J., Seattle, Wash.
 Pill, John R., Corona, Ala.
 Pitcher, James R., Jr., Silverton, Colo.
 Pitkin, Stephen H., Akron, Ohio.
 Plate, H. R., New York City.
 Platt, E. H., Denver, Colo.
 Pomeroy, William E., El Paso, Tex.
 Potter, Charles F., San Francisco, Cal.
 Potter, E. C., Potomac, Mont.
 Potter, Francis D., New York City.
 Potter, William C., New York City.
 Pouch, Edgar D., New York City.
 Powell, de Veaux, New York City.
 Powell, Clarence A., Chicago, Ill.
 Power, Charles B., Helena, Mont.
 Power, Thomas C., Helena, Mont.
 Powers, Barnard, New York City.
 Prescott, E. Wentworth, Boston, Mass.
 Preston, Orlando, Denver, Colo.
 Prince, John S., Mexico City, D. F.
 Proskey, Winfield Scott, New York City.
 Prosser, E. W., Helena, Mont.
 Pruyn, Robert D., New York City.
 Pulsifer, Fred K., New York City.
 Pyle, Joseph C., Butte, Mont.
- Qualey, Joseph S., New York City.
 Quealy, Patrick J., Kemmerer, Wyo.
 Quigly, William J., El Paso, Tex.
- Raban, Harry P., Great Falls, Mont.
 Rae, Robert, Douglas, Ariz.
 Rainsford, Ralph S., New York City.
 Ramsey, George L., Helena, Mont.
 Rand, Charles F., New York City.
 Randolph, Edward, Newark, N. J.
 Randolph, George F., New York City.
 Ransom, Frank T., Wichita, Kan.
 Reed, Verner Z., Denver, Colo.
 Reeves, Mark W., New York City.
 Regan, Daniel C., Lead, S. Dak.
 Reid, James W., San Francisco, Cal.
 Reid, William M., Kansas City, Mo.
 Remick, William H., New York City.
 Revett, Ben Stanley, Breckenridge,
 Colo.
 Reynolds, Albert E., Denver, Colo.
 Rice, John A., San Francisco, Cal.
 Rich, David, San Francisco, Cal.
 Richards, John W., Denver, Colo.
 Richards, William F., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Richardson, William E., Los Angeles,
 Cal.
 Richardson, W. P. (U. S. A.), Washing-
 ington, D. C.
 Ricketts, L. D., New York City.
 Riordan, Denis M., San Francisco, Cal.
 Risque, James B., New York City.
 Rittenhouse, J. V., Prince Rupert, B. C.
- Robbins, Percy A., Timmins, Ont.
 Robertson, F. Y., New York City.
 Robinson-Duff, J., New York City.
 Rodgers, Harry L., Spokane, Wash.
 Rodgers, William B., Butte, Mont.
 Rogers, Allen H., Boston, Mass.
 Rogers, Edwin M., New York City.
 Rogers, John, Spokane, Wash.
 Rohn, Oscar, Butte, Mont.
 Ropp, Alfred de, New York City.
 Rose, Hugh, Mexico City, Mex.
 Rosenstanm, Samuel S., New York City.
 Ross, Louis, Boston, Mass.
 Rothrock, James H., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Rowley, H. W., Billings, Mont.
 Russell, Philip W., New York City.
 Russell, Robert, Charlotte, N. C.
 Rutherford, Forest, Douglas, Ariz.
 Ryall, George D., San Francisco, Cal.
 Ryall, George M., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Ryan, Edwin P., El Paso, Tex.
 Ryan, John D., New York City.
 Ryan, Richard S., New York City.
 Ryan, W. E., Independence, Colo.
 Ryder, Thomas J., Mexico, D. F.
- Sabin, Charles H., New York City.
 Salisbury, Earl F., Monterey, N. L.,
 Mexico.
 Sandoval, Aurelio, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Sanger, John F., New York City.
 Sargeant, Francis E., Washington, D. C.
 Sayre, Robert H., Central City, Colo.
 Scallon, William, Helena, Mont.
 Scanland, John M., Warm Springs,
 Mont.
 Schader, Carl F., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Schafer, Algernon S., New York City.
 Schall, F. Muller, New York City.
 Scheuer, Arnold L., New York City.
 Schieren, Charles A., New York City.
 Schiff, Jacob H., New York City.
 Schiff, Mortimer L., New York City.
 Schloss, Joseph A., New York City.
 Schnitzel, Henry, Lead, S. Dak.
 Schoenwald, Ernest F., Seattle, Wash.
 Schoyer, A. M., Chicago, Ill.
 Schroter, George A., New York City.
 Schuyler, Walter F., Denver, Colo.
 Schuyler, Walter S. (U. S. A., ret.),
 San Francisco, Cal.
 Scott, B. A., Quebec, Can.
 Seagrave, William H., Seattle, Wash.
 Sears, Stanley C., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Seidel, Victor B., Elmhurst, N. Y.
 Seligman, Albert J., New York City.
 Selway, Ernest O., Dillon, Mont.
 Sellwood, Richard M., Duluth, Minn.
 Sexton, J. E., Palisade, Nev.
 Shaffer, John C., Chicago, Ill.

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- Sharer, Edward C., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Sharp, William G., Boston, Mass.
 Sharp, William Willoughby, New York City.
 Shaw, Percival M., Jr., Duluth, Minn.
 Shearer, L. V., Chicago, Ill.
 Shepard, Finley J., New York City.
 Shepherd, Owen, New York City.
 Sherwin, Frederic L., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Shonnard, Horatio S., New York City.
 Short, Frank H., Fresno, Cal.
 Shotwell, Thomas C., New York City.
 Shoup, Oliver H., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Shove, Eugene P., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Siderfin, William C., Butte, Mont.
 Silverman, Samuel I., Seattle, Wash.
 Simmons, Wallace D., St. Louis, Mo.
 Simonsen, Lee, Billings, Mont.
 Sinclair, H. F., New York City.
 Skliris, Leonidas G., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Slater, Frederick R., Dallas, Tex.
 Slocum, Herbert J., Jr., New York City.
 Sloss, Louis, San Francisco, Cal.
 Small, Harvey B., Dulzara, Cal.
 Smith, Arthur, East Ely, Nev.
 Smith, Arthur J., Chicago.
 Smith, C. Wesley, Brookline, Mass.
 Smith, Francis D., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Smith, Frank M., East Helena, Mont.
 Smith, Fred T., Denver, Colo.
 Smith, H. Alexander, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Smith, Hiram C., San Francisco, Cal.
 Smith, Milton, Denver, Colo.
 Smith, Mortimer, New York City.
 Smith, W. Hinckle, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Smyth, David W., New York City.
 Smyth, Henry L., Cambridge, Mass.
 Solomon, Charles F., Tucson, Ariz.
 Somerville, Robert, Chicago, Ill.
 Soss, Joseph, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Spadone, Henry, New York City.
 Spelman, James F., Anaconda, Mont.
 Speyer, James, New York City.
 Spilsbury, E. Gybon, New York City.
 Spottswood, Edward W., Missoula, Mont.
 Spriggs, Archibald E., Helena, Mont.
 Sproule, William, San Francisco, Cal.
 Stanford, Grattan T., New York City.
 Stanford, James T., Great Falls, Mont.
 Stanton, George H., Great Falls, Mont.
 Stanton, J. R., New York City.
 Starek, Charles, New York City.
 Stark, Edwin M., Mansfield, Ohio.
 Stave, Theodore, New York City.
 Stearns, Thomas B., Denver, Colo.
 Steindler, David M., New York City.
 Stephens, George C., San Diego, Cal.
 Stephens, William D. (governor), Sacramento, Cal.
 Stephens, W. H., New York City.
 Stewart, Charles T., Helena, Mont.
 Stewart, Samuel V. (governor), Helena, Mont.
 Stewart, Ulysses S., El Paso, Tex.
 Stimpson, Charles W., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Stine, Marcus, New York City.
 Stone, Galen L., Boston, Mass.
 Stott, Louis N., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Strahorn, Robert E., Spokane, Wash.
 Strickland, J. F., Dallas, Tex.
 Strong, John F. A. (governor), Juneau, Alaska.
 Sturges, Lee, Chicago, Ill.
 Sturm, Enos E., Casper, Wyo.
 Sussmann, Otto, New York City.
 Sussman, Theodor L., New York City.
 Sutro, Richard, New York City.
 Sweeny, Robert, New York City.
 Sweet, Henry N., Boston, Mass.
 Swindelhurst, Joseph E., Livingston, Mont.
 Swinehart, D. E., Missoula, Mont.
 Sykes, Wilfred, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Symons, Harry, New York City.
 Talbott, Harry E., Dayton, Ohio.
 Taliaferro, Thomas S., Jr., Rock Springs, Wyo.
 Tally, Robert E., Jerome, Ariz.
 Taylor, Clarence C., New York City.
 Taylor, Eugene M., New York City.
 Taylor, Fred C., Helena, Mont.
 Taylor, Frederick M. P., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Taylor, H. L., Toronto, Can.
 Taylor, John C., New York City.
 Taylor, Knox, High Bridge, N. J.
 Templeman, John L., Butte, Mont.
 Tener, George E., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Thacher, Arthur, St. Louis, Mo.
 Thane, B. L., Juneau, Alaska.
 Thayer, Benjamin B., New York City.
 Thomas, Chester A., San Francisco, Cal.
 Thompson, F. Clark, New York City.
 Thompson, John B., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Thompson, J. E., New York City.
 Thompson, James R., Tacoma, Wash.
 Thompson, William B., New York City.
 Thompson, William R., Hancock, Mich.
 Thomson, Alexander T., New York City.

BELGIUM, AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB

- Thomson, Samuel C., New York City.
 Thorn, Joseph F., San Francisco, Cal.
 Thorne, Chester, Tacoma, Wash.
 Thornton, William D., New York City.
 Tinker, Edward R., New York City.
 Titus, Court C., Helena, Mont.
 Titus, Louis, San Francisco, Cal.
 Todd, W. Parsons, New York City.
 Tombo, Carl, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Toole, J. K., Helena, Mont.
 Tootle, John J., St. Joseph, Mo.
 Torbert, James B., Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Torr, J. M., New York City.
 Towle, George N., Mountain View, N. H.
 Tracy, Evarts, Am. Expeditionary Force,
 France.
 Treacy, John L., Helena, Mont.
 Trent, Walter E., New York City.
 Trerise, Josiah H., Helena, Mont.
 Tucker, Herbert A., Boston, Mass.
 Tucker, William A., New York City.
 Turner, George, Spokane, Wash.
 Turner, George D. B., Butte, Mont.
 Turner, Henry W., Butte, Mont.
 Turner, J. K., Goldfield, Nev.
 Turner, William G., Memphis, Tenn.
 Tutt, Charles L., Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Tyler, Victor M., New Haven, Conn.
 Uhl, Leland M., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Utermohle, Herman, Big Timber, Mont.
 Vallat, Benjamin W., Detroit, Mich.
 Van Campen, Frank R., Seward, Alaska.
 Vance, William M., Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Van Cleve, Paul L., Melville, Mont.
 Van Law, Carlos W., Boston, Mass.
 Verity, George M., Middletown, Ohio.
 Vick, Walker W., New York City.
 Vigouroux, George E., New York City.
 Wadleigh, Francis R., New York City.
 Walker, George L., Boston, Mass.
 Wall, E. A., Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Wall, Herbert, New York City.
 Wallace, Louis R., Potrerillos, Chile,
 S. A.
 Wallace, William, Jr., New York City.
 Walsh, Thomas J. (U. S. Senator),
 Helena, Mont.
 Warden, O. S., Great Falls, Mont.
 Warner, Franklin M., New York City.
 Warren, Francis E. (U. S. Senator),
 Cheyenne, Wyo.
 Warren, George C., Jr., New York City.
 Washburn, Jed L., Duluth, Minn.
 Washburne, Chester W., New York
 City.
 Wasmer, Charles P., Deadwood, S. Dak.
 Waterman, Charles W., Denver, Colo.
 Watkins, T. H., Rye, N. Y.
 Watson, Rolla B., Cobalt, Ont.
 Wearne, William, Duluth, Minn.
 Weatherley, Stuart, New York City.
 Webb, H. H., New York City.
 Webber, Morton, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Webster, George J., Marquette, Mich.
 Welborn, Jesse F., Denver, Colo.
 Welch, Alfred B., Bismarck, N. Dak.
 Welch, Daniel A., Butte, Mont.
 Welch, James A., Spokane, Wash.
 Wells, Bulkeley, Telluride, Colo.
 Wells, Edward Payson, Minneapolis,
 Minn.
 Wendling, G. X., Norwood, Cincinnati,
 Ohio.
 Westervelt, E. W., Ymir, B. C.
 Westervelt, William Y., New York City.
 Wethey, Arthur H., London, Eng.
 Whaling, Thomas G., New York City.
 Wharton, Jesse R., Butte, Mont.
 Wheelan, James N. (U. S. A. ret.), New
 York City.
 Wheeler, B. K., Butte, Mont.
 Wheeler, Herbert A., St. Louis, Mo.
 Whicher, Louis E., New York City.
 Whipple, Herbert S., New York City.
 Whitaker, De Berniere, Santiago de
 Cuba, Cuba.
 White, Israel C., Morgantown, W. Va.
 White, W. McC., Butte, Mont.
 Whitehouse, A. Irving, Spokane, Wash.
 Whitley, Charles W., Salt Lake City,
 Utah.
 Whitley, Henry A., San Francisco, Cal.
 Whitney, Harry Payne, New York City.
 Whitney, Willis R., Schenectady, N. Y.
 Whyte, Frederick W. C., Anaconda,
 Mont.
 Wightman, William B., San Francisco,
 Cal.
 Willets, Howard, New York City.
 Williams, Charles H., Deer Lodge, Mont.
 Williams, Ed, Tampico, Mex.
 Williams, Fred C., New York City.
 Williams, George B., Geneva, N. Y.
 Williams, Jerome, Big Timber, Mont.
 Williams, John S., Jr., Douglas, Ariz.
 Williamson, Butler, Colorado Springs,
 Colo.
 Wilson, Alfred W. G., Ottawa, Ont.
 Wilson, George Benton, Salt Lake City,
 Utah.
 Wilson, William A., Salt Lake City,
 Utah.
 Wing, Daniel G., Boston, Mass.
 Wing, Thomas E., New York City.
 Wingfield, George, Reno, Nev.
 Winter, Emil, New York City.
 Wiseman, Philip, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Wishon, Albert G., Fresno, Cal.

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Witherbee, Walter C., Port Henry, N. Y.	Woolsey, George M., New York City.
Witherspoon, Thomas C., Butte, Mont.	Wyckoff, Edward G., Ithaca, N. Y.
Withington, C. M., New York City.	Wyckoff, Richard D., New York City.
Withycombe, James (governor), Salem, Ore.	Yates, Bruce C., Lead, S. Dak.
Wolf, Harry J., Golden, Colo.	Yawkey, William H., New York City.
Wolvin, Roy M., Duluth, Minn.	Yeatman, Pope, New York City.
Wood, Edward R., Toronto, Ont.	Young, Francis E., Boston, Mass.
Wood, Edwin O., New York City.	Zayas, Hilary J., New York City.
Wood, Guilford S., Denver, Colo.	Zehnder, Charles H., New York City.
Wood, Henry E., Denver, Colo.	Ziegler, William H., Spokane, Wash.

The following is the list of Club members deceased in the past year:

Burrell, Alex., Great Falls, Mont. B. 1848; joined Club March 21, 1907; d. Feb. 13, 1917.
 Burns, James F., Colorado Springs, Colo. B. Jan. 8, 1853; joined Club Sept. 23, 1914; d. Sept. 23, 1917.
 Cantwell, H. J., St. Louis, Mo. B. Feb. 3, 1859; joined Club Dec. 14, 1916; d. Nov., 1917.
 Cody, William F., Cody, Wyo. Honorary member; b. Feb. 26, 1846; d. Jan. 10, 1917.
 Congdon, Chester A., Duluth, Minn. B. June 12, 1853; joined Club Nov. 16, 1916; d. Dec. 21, 1916.
 Curry, J., Toronto, Can. Joined Club April 12, 1910; d. Aug. 2, 1917.
 Dickinson, Edward, Kansas City, Mo. B. Oct. 8, 1850; joined Club Aug. 31, 1915; d. Aug. 10, 1917.
 Eccles, Silas W., New York City. B. Jan. 3, 1852; joined Club March 21, 1907; d. Dec. 31, 1917.
 Greene, Frederick T., Butte, Mont. B. Nov. 22, 1873; joined Club Dec. 1, 1915; d. Dec. 25, 1917.
 Lynch, Jeremiah, San Francisco. B. March 18, 1849; joined Club Jan. 13, 1914; d. June 7, 1917.
 Mestres, Richard A., New York City. B. March 1, 1878; joined Club Dec. 19, 1911; d. April 18, 1917.
 Scheeline, M., Reno, Nev. B. July 7, 1859; joined Club Oct. 14, 1915; d. July 14, 1917.
 Scofield, Demetrius G., San Francisco. B. Jan. 28, 1843; joined Club Nov. 16, 1916; d. July 30, 1917.
 Seligman, Isaac N., New York City. B. July 10, 1855; joined Club Nov. 16, 1916; d. Sept. 30, 1917.
 Sheehan, William F., New York City. B. Nov. 6, 1859; joined Club Aug. 31, 1915; d. March 14, 1917.
 Tutt, William Thayer, Colorado Springs, Colo. B. March 22, 1893; joined Club March 22, 1917; d. Nov. 20, 1917.
 Winslow, Sidney W., Boston. Joined Club Jan. 8, 1917; d. June 21, 1917.

Below are the names of the soldiers and sailors who were entertained by the Club and adopted on Thanksgiving Day. Accompanying the name of each is the Rocky Mountain Club number assigned to him:

Henry S. Jervey (RMC 60), Brig-Gen., 41st Div.	Ambrose, Fred H. (RMC 148), Oxbon, Sask., Can.
Asa L. Singleton (RMC 63), Chief of Staff, 41st Div., A. E. F.	Amundson, Carl P. (RMC 24), North- wood, N. Dak.
Albert B. Welch (RMC 28), A. D. C., 41st Div., A. E. F.	Anderson, Chenning G. (RMC 130), Sarles, N. Dak.
Alexander, W. A. (RMC 200), Detroit, Mich.	Anderson, Henry (RMC 35), Minot, N. Dak.
Allen, Clive M. (RMC 32), Spokane, Wash.	Anderson, John Harmon (RMC 53), Los Angeles, Cal.

BELGIUM, AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB

- Angleton, Earl L. (RMC 55), Pomona, Kan.
 Armstrong, William (RMC 243), Bado, Mo.
 Barnard, Walter W. (RMC 201), Anaconda, Mont.
 Bennett, Elmer (RMC 14), Varona, Mo.
 Bertelsen, Fred W. (RMC 205), Racine, Wis.
 Blackhill, R. (RMC 160).
 Bloomqvist, Andrew G. (RMC 76), Anaconda, Mont.
 Boeuf, Vincent (RMC 223), Pisancon, Hautes Alps, France.
 Boston, Monta E. (RMC 65), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Bower, J. H. (RMC 151), Napoleon, N. Dak.
 Breidenbach, Homer L. (RMC 59), Stockton, Cal.
 Brigance, Joseph W. (RMC 7), Los Angeles, Cal.
 Brinegar, Butler M. (RMC 144), Trinidad, Wash.
 Brown, George T. (RMC 50), Rapid City, S. Dak.
 Bryant, Edward R. (RMC 152), Kittitas, Wash.
 Burling, Robert A. (RMC 44), Tacoma, Wash.
 Bushaw, Alphonsus C. (RMC 88), Manvel, N. Dak.
 Butts, David W. (RMC 268), Gateway, Mont.
 Butts, Earl B. (RMC 208), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Calvert, Cecil (RMC 249), Brady, Mont.
 Carter, James H. (RMC 6), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Cass, G. W. (RMC 199), Mandan, N. Dak.
 Chalmers, Roy A. (RMC 3), East Grand Forks, Minn.
 Cheshier, Reuel (RMC 154), Alzada, Mont.
 Clague, Peter (RMC 157), Great Falls, Mont.
 Clark, Frederic Widell (RMC 79), Yakima, Wash.
 Clark, Percy W. (RMC 5), Spion Kop, Mont.
 Clark, William H. (RMC 114), Post Falls, Idaho.
 Cohen, Joseph M. (RMC 20), Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Connors, Charley J. (RMC 90), St. Louis, Mo.
 Coumbe, Edward C. (RMC 43), Yakima, Wash.
 Crabtree, K. M., corporal (RMC 54), Toppenish, Wash.
 Crage, John P. (RMC 141), Olympia, Wash.
 Crance, Ira W. (RMC 115), Spokane, Wash.
 Crosby, Frank L., Jr. (RMC 228), Seattle, Wash.
 Culliton, H. J. (RMC 247), East Grand Forks, Minn.
 Dabney, Garland D. (RMC 164), Del Ray, Alexandria, Va.
 Daley, Halvor M. (RMC 87), Choteau, Mont.
 Darr, Charles Edgar (RMC 239), Purcellville, Va.
 Davis, Harry (RMC 125), Windham, Mont.
 Delaney, James M. (RMC 105), Bristol, Tenn.
 Dessieux, Don C. (RMC 184), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Deturler, Willard (RMC 61), Tacoma, Wash.
 Dirkes, Joseph (RMC 10), Plummerton, Mont.
 Doty, Harvey L. (RMC 85), Greybull, Wyo.
 Dougherty, W. E. (RMC 270), Delton, Wis.
 Drake, Walter Wesley (RMC 72), Antelope, Cal.
 Dryden, Charles S. (RMC 82), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Duell, Howard S. (RMC 207), Devils Lake, N. Dak.
 Duggen, Frank J. (RMC 259), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Durenberger, P. O. (RMC 266), Butte, Mont.
 Dymoke, Edward M. (RMC 38), Lincoln, Eng.
 Eaden, William (RMC 46), Centralia, Wash.
 Edwards, H. L. (RMC 262), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Elliott, Earl (RMC 258), Hanley, N. Mex.
 Ellsworth, Thyle E. (RMC 64), Mesa, Ariz.
 Epler, Lloyd B. (RMC 240), Silesia, Mont.
 Fanchon, Frank (RMC 51), Tanana, Alaska.
 Fehr, Jules S. (RMC 112), Denver, Colo.
 Finch, William Harrison (RMC 37), Los Angeles, Cal.

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- Fitzgerald, Thomas J. (RMC 81), Denver, Colo.
- Foss, Fred W. (RMC 95), Elk City, Idaho.
- Francq, Melvin Le, corporal (RMC 71), Hood River, Ore.
- Freeman, Robert L., sergeant (RMC 25), Pomona, Wash.
- Gibbens, Charles E. (RMC 66), Tacoma, Wash.
- Giese, Raymond E. (RMC 206), Power, Mont.
- Grass, Albert (RMC 133), Cannon Ball, N. Dak.
- Groce, Arthur J. (RMC 30), Portland, Ore.
- Gross, Gerald D. (RMC 212), Great Falls, Mont.
- Hale, Harry L. (RMC 131), Fullerton, Cal.
- Hallen, W. E. (RMC 222), Tacoma, Wash.
- Hamilton, Lester B. (RMC 42), Stratford, S. Dak.
- Hamilton, Webber E., corporal (RMC 108), Seattle, Wash.
- Hamlin, Thomas, Jr. (RMC 173), Danville, Va.
- Hanlon, Ernest E. (RMC 57), Ellensburg, Wash.
- Hansen, Ralph G. (RMC 97), Mandan, N. Dak.
- Harding, William J., corporal (RMC 109), Faribault, Minn.
- Harrison, Howard L. (RMC 94), San Francisco, Cal.
- Hart, Jesse H. (RMC 23), Wapoto, Wash.
- Harwood, Lee (RMC 256), St. John, Wash.
- Hassell, Manley (RMC 100), Milan, Minn.
- Heinbecker, Frank (RMC 170), Langdon, N. Dak.
- Henderson, James A. (RMC 73), McIntosh, S. Dak.
- Hendry, Robert J. (RMC 107), Lewistown, Mont.
- Hertzog, E. F. (RMC 188), New York City.
- Heskett, Clarence (RMC 140), Center, N. Dak.
- Higgins, Jesse (RMC 209), Power, Mont.
- Holmdahl, Fred C. (RMC 41), Bozeman, Mont.
- Holmes, Paul A. (RMC 211), Plymouth, Ill.
- Hoover, Paul E. (RMC 69), Kalispell, Mont.
- Hyndshaw, Roland W. (RMC 155), Thedford, Neb.
- Indermuhle, Charles (RMC 169), Ellensburg, Wash.
- Jackson, Hugh W. (RMC 260), Browning, Mont.
- Johanknecht, George P. (RMC 111), Inglewood, Cal.
- Johnson, Charles P. (RMC 119), Lead City, S. Dak.
- Jones, Orville B. (RMC 166), Ellensburg, Wash.
- Jones, Robert, corporal (RMC 93), No. Yakima, Wash.
- Kaufman, Karl (RMC 156), Marshfield, Ore.
- Kelly, Martin (RMC 80), Butte, Mont.
- Kennelly, John K. (RMC 22), Mandan, N. Dak.
- Kerwin, David (RMC 47), Los Angeles, Cal.
- Keyser, William M. (RMC 219), Auburn, Wash.
- Kimberlin, R. T. (RMC 116), St. Ignatius, Mont.
- Knoch, Carl J. (RMC 4), Philipsburg, Mont.
- Knutson, Joseph (RMC 244), Madelia, Minn.
- Krall, J. A. (RMC 58), Oswego, Mont.
- Kuhn, Robert (RMC 161), Tenino, Wash.
- Laman, Joe G. (RMC 78), Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Lane, Roland T. (RMC 68), Rapid City, S. Dak.
- Larson, Marshall (RMC 217), Carbon, Iowa.
- Lauch, Carl (RMC 264), Chester, Mont.
- Lauer, Clarence F. (RMC 218), Finn, Mont.
- Laughlin, Thomas (RMC 197), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
- Lawrence, Bessemer J. (RMC 196), Butte, Mont.
- Lee, Larry (RMC 236), Portland, Ore.
- Linker, Charles E. (RMC 203), Concord, N. C.
- Little, George Peabody (RMC 74).
- Lochridge, Harry D. (RMC 121), Auburn, Wash.
- Locklin, Clarence D., Jr. (RMC 75), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
- Locklin, F. M. (RMC 83), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
- Lundequist, R. F. (RMC 261), Minneapolis, Minn.
- Lyle, John (RMC 19), Sutton, N. Dak.

BELGIUM, AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB

- Macdonald, F. S. (RMC 158), Vancouver, B. C.
 McDonald, John (RMC 267), Brooklyn, N. Y.
 McGuire, Patrick S. (RMC 48), Washoe, Mont.
 McLaughlin, James S. (RMC 96), McLaughlin, S. Dak.
 McLean, Hal (RMC 26), Los Angeles, Cal.
 McMahan, William F. (RMC 127), Rapid City, S. Dak.
 McMeehan, John F. (RMC 135), Ellensburg, Wash.
 McWethy, James (RMC 163), Canyon Creek, Mont.
 Manning, E. D. (RMC 271), Sioux City, Iowa.
 Maxey, Elmer H. (RMC 165), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Meichtry, Oscar (RMC 8), Los Angeles, Cal.
 Mickelson, Leder (RMC 15), Belfair, Wash.
 Miller, Elmer D. (RMC 183), Beach, N. Dak.
 Miller, George W. (RMC 248), Bellefourche, S. Dak.
 Miller, W. C. (RMC 113), Waverly, Wash.
 Moats, George F. (RMC 246), Rock Port, Mo.
 Monley, Gerald (RMC 139), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Moody, Jack O. (RMC 241), Dillon, S. C.
 Morris, Hardin F. (RMC 202), Aberdeen, S. Dak.
 Mulligan, Thomas (RMC 215), New York City.
 Mundem, Guy O. (RMC 167), Tacoma, Wash.
 Nesalious, Robert F. (RMC 29), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Ness, James O. (RMC 235), Chester, Mont.
 Newstrum, Harold W. (RMC 186), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Nixon, Frederick W. (RMC 84), Orange, N. J.
 Nolan, Arthur (RMC 174), Spokane, Wash.
 Nybakken, Clarence (RMC 185), Nashua, Mont.
 Parcells, Roy W. (RMC 142), Kokomo, Ind.
 Parent, Fred M. (RMC 13), Grand Falls, N. B., Can.
 Parker, Howard E. (RMC 62), San Francisco, Cal.
 Pattie, Leonard T. (RMC 2), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Pearsell, R. H. (RMC 36), Pe Ell, Wash.
 Phave, Guy W. (RMC 168), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Phillips, Warner K. (RMC 143), Sanish, N. Dak.
 Pond, Wesley (RMC 251), Ceresco, Mich.
 Powell, Eben F. (RMC 176), Montpelier, Cal.
 Pratt, Robert W. (RMC 101), Denair, Cal.
 Raines, L. M. (RMC 216), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Rassmussen, Fred (RMC 252), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Ratliff, Oscar (RMC 98), Ellensburg, Wash.
 Reed, Fred G. (RMC 33), Spokane, Wash.
 Reeves, Darsey (RMC 56), Jefferson, Ore.
 Reiche, Rudolph (RMC 138), Wausau, Wis.
 Richards, Henry (RMC 237), Butte, Mont.
 Ridgley, C. A. (RMC 224), Helena, Mont.
 Rieder, Alvin D. (RMC 39).
 Riedinger, Charles P. (RMC 265), Wenatchee, Wash.
 Robertson, C. B. (RMC 233), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Robinson, Leslie M. (RMC 255), Mushelsboro, Tenn.
 Rodman, George A. (RMC 21), Denair, Cal.
 Rollins, P. C. (RMC 16), Washington, D. C.
 Rowe, Niles S., corporal (RMC 99), Toppenish, Wash.
 Savage, William (RMC 242), Bismarck, N. Dak.
 Schaap, Glenn E. (RMC 34), Pratum, Ore.
 Schaufler, Louis A. (RMC 225), Eldon, Wash.
 Schooley, James H. (RMC 145), Zillah, Wash.
 Schuler, George M. (RMC 192), Glentaura, Mont.
 Schuyler, Roy E. (RMC 269), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Scott, Seth W., corporal (RMC 86), Zillah, Wash.
 Scovil, Arthur F. (RMC 220), Los Angeles, Cal.
 Seitz, C. H. (RMC 18), Tacoma, Wash.
 Sharp, Monroe (RMC 214), Kiesling, Wash.
 Sipes, Arthur L. (RMC 178), Butte, Mont.
 Sipple, Ralph S. (RMC 177), Butte, Mont.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

- Skinner, James A. (RMC 67), No. Yakima, Wash.
 Skretting, A. (RMC 195), Valley City, N. Dak.
 Smith, Leonard G. (RMC 187), Glacier Park, Mont.
 Sowers, Edgar W. (RMC 70), Salem, Ore.
 Spooner, Walter F. (RMC 40), New York City.
 Stasek, Harry A. (RMC 171), Bryant, Wis.
 Stoughton, Philip V. (RMC 45), New York City.
 Taylor, Ray (RMC 250), Nashua, Mont.
 Tengwald, Albert F. (RMC 194), Denver, Colo.
 Therriault, Carl H. (RMC 11), Eureka, Mont.
 Thorp, Claud A. (RMC 9), Thorp, Wash.
 Tinning, Roland A. (RMC 102), Schenectady, N. Y.
 Todd, Earl M. (RMC 89), Portland, Ore.
 Trammel, Lonnie (RMC 77), Ft. Benton, Mont.
 Trotter, L. G. (RMC 198), Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Valle, Ponciano E. (RMC 31), Bamlog Tahavera, Neuva Egcpa, P. I.
 Vochatzer, Frank Harrison (RMC 110), Merrill, Ore.
 Wales, Charles E. (RMC 104), Seattle, Wash.
 Walsh, Ambrose (RMC 92), Jamestown, N. Dak.
 Ward, Francis B. (RMC 238), Washington, D. C.
 Warren, W. J. (RMC 1), King, Mont.
 Watson, Robert H. (RMC 91), Maryville, Mo.
 Whitaker, Chris. M. (RMC 191), Laurel, Md.
 Whitaker, William R. (RMC 263), Acorn, Ky.
 Wilks, Joseph (RMC 210), Horndon-on-the-Hill, Essex, Eng.
 Williams, Gurth (RMC 27), New York City.
 Williams, Kenneth (RMC 103), Spokane, Wash.
 Wilson, Lawrence R. (RMC 106), Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.
 Wise, Clyde C. (RMC 49), Roslyam, Va.
 Witt, Owen D. (RMC 179), Norman, Okla.
 Woolley, William P. (RMC 17), Tacoma, Wash.
 Young, Elery Eugene (RMC 52), Douglas, Wyo.
 Zollinger, Ross O. (RMC 254), Grand Forks, N. Dak.

Note

For the illustrations accompanying this article we are under obligation to the Rocky Mountain Club. In addition to the facsimiles of the autographed portrait of Henriette, princess of Belgium, and of Mr. Arthur Chapman's poem, "Out Where the West Begins," are portraits of representative men of the Club. The members' portraits are necessarily restricted in number to our space limits. Several that it was desired to embody had to be omitted because photographs for which application was made were not received up to the time of going to press. The portraits appearing include, First, those most pertinent to the subject of the article on account of the public prominence of the persons or their official connection with the Club; and Second, selections from among the other members—mostly those who have passed the age of three score and ten.—THE EDITORS.



EDWARD PAYSON MATHEWSON

Mining and metallurgical engineer; important mining interests; general manager British America Nickel Company; formerly manager Washoe Reduction Works at Anaconda, Mont.; Rocky Mountain Club chairman for all Canada; born in Canada; home, Toronto, Ont.



JOHN MUIR

Banker and broker; prominent in connection with early development of railways in the West; born in Canada; home, New Rochelle, N. Y.



JAMES H. HAWLEY

Lawyer; Idaho pioneer; governor of that State, 1911-13; born in Iowa; home, Boise, Idaho.



J. A. HAYES

President First National Bank of Colorado Springs; born in Tennessee; home, Colorado Springs, Colo.



ROBERT H. HOMER

Rancher and banker; president Albany County National Bank, Laramie, Wyo.; born in Massachusetts; home, Laramie, Wyo.



THOMAS BURKE

Lawyer and judge; served as chief justice supreme court of Washington Territory; chairman Washington State Committee for Relief in Belgium; born in New York; home, Seattle, Wash.



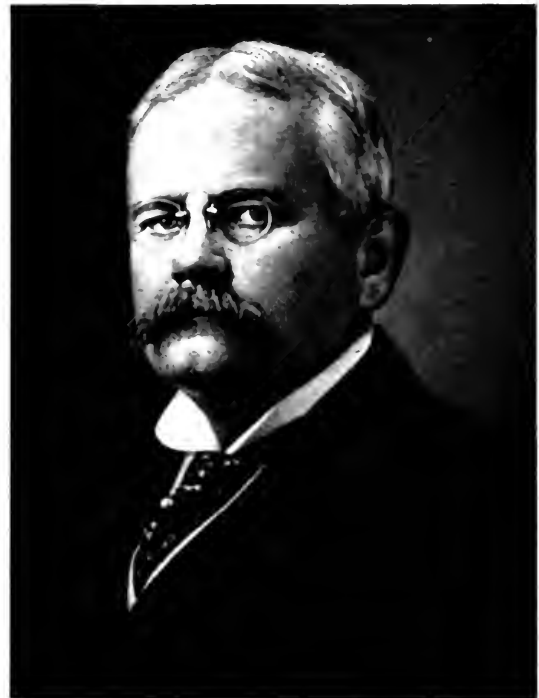
FRANCIS E. WARREN

Served with distinction in the Civil War, receiving the congressional medal of honor; formerly Territorial and State governor of Wyoming; U. S. senator for that State since 1890; born in Massachusetts; home, Cheyenne, Wyo.



JOHN H. PATTERSON

Manufacturer; president National Cash Register Company; received decoration of Legion of Honor from French government, 1900; born in Ohio; home, Dayton, O.



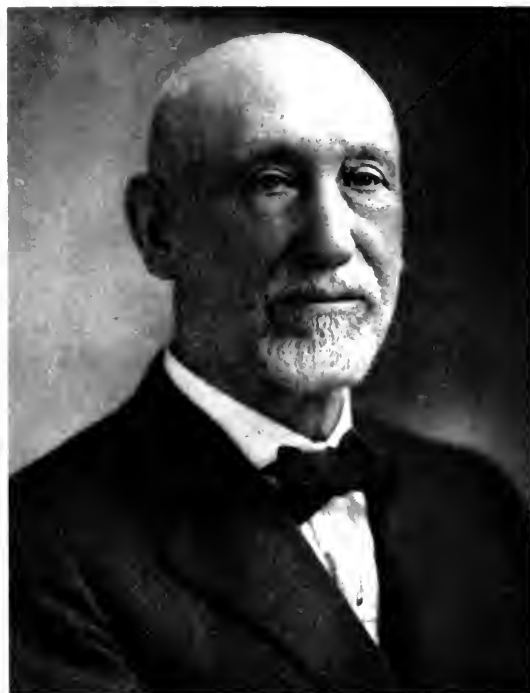
JOHN MARKLE

Conspicuous in the coal industry; president G. B. Markle Company; of wide and useful influence as man of affairs and citizen; born in Pennsylvania; home, New York City.



MARTIN PATTISON

Long identified with mining interests; president of mining companies; president F. S. National Bank, Superior, Wis.; born in Canada; home, Superior, Wis.



ALEXANDER MAITLAND

Miner and banker; president First National Bank, Negaunee, Mich.; born in Scotland; home, Negaunee, Mich.



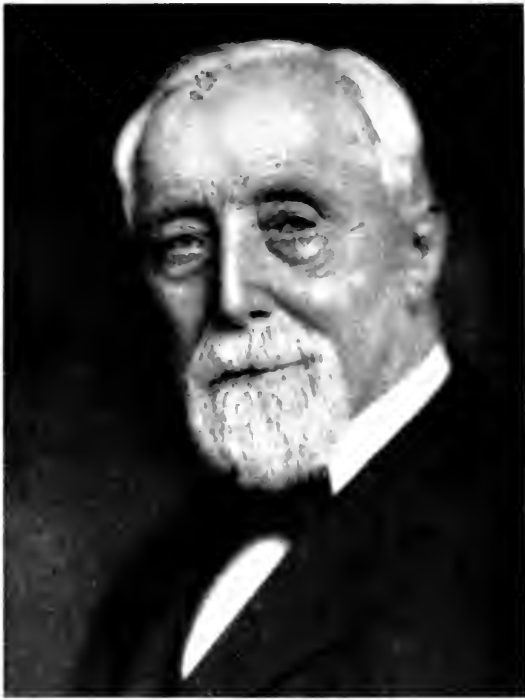
CHARLES HATHAWAY

Banker; born in Delhi, N. Y.; home, New York City.



DENIS M. RIORDAN

Mining and consulting engineer; born in Troy, N. Y.; home, San Francisco.



A. M. HOLTER

Photo taken on his eighty-fifth birthday, after fifty-eight years in the Rocky Mountains; president A. M. Holter Hardware Company; decorated by King Haakon VII, of Norway; born in Norway; home, Helena, Mont.



THOMAS C. POWER

Merchant and banker; prominent in movement for admission of Montana as State; U. S. senator from Montana, 1889-96; born in Iowa; home, Helena, Mont.



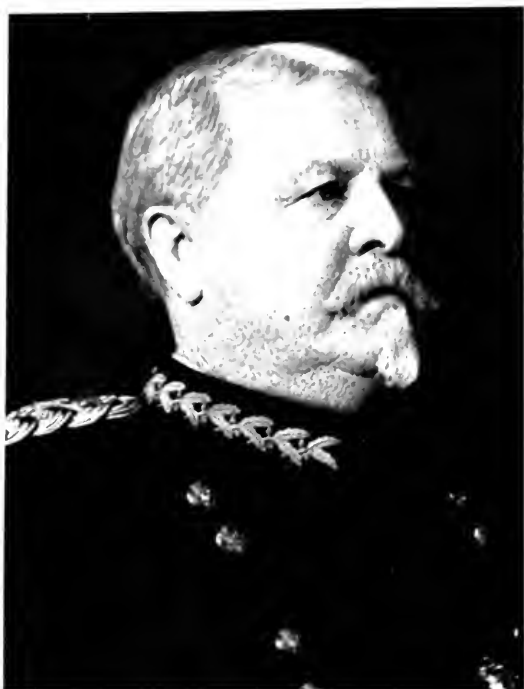
FRANCIS E. SARGEANT

Miner; member Montana State constitutional convention, 1889; born in Vermont; home, Washington, D. C.



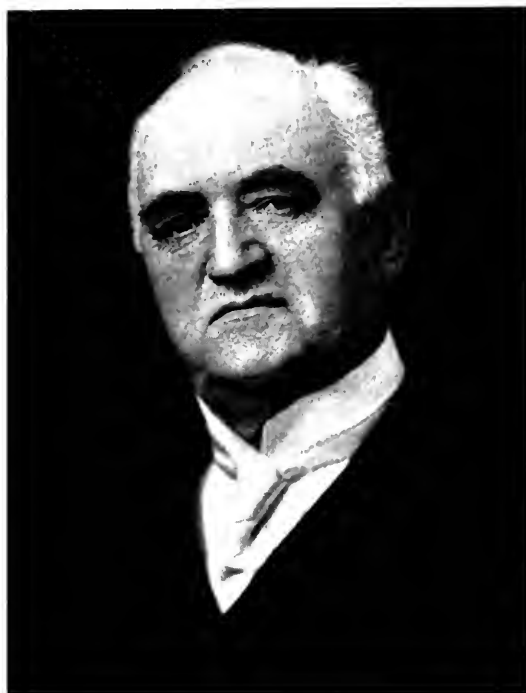
PARIS GIBSON

Pioneer and enterprising citizen in Minnesota and later Montana; founder of city of Great Falls; U. S. senator from Montana, 1901-5; born in Maine; home, Great Falls, Mont.



JAMES N. WHEELAN

Entered military service of the United States at beginning of the Civil War; successively promoted to brigadier-general; retired 1904; born in Pennsylvania; home, New York City.



ALEXANDER H. COMSTOCK

First vice-president Marshall-Wells Hardware Company; born in Michigan; home, Duluth, Minn.



J. V. B. BLEECKER

Graduated from U. S. Naval Academy, 1867; served in navy until retired, in 1905, with rank of rear-admiral; born in Glen Cove, N. Y.; home, New York City.



WALTER S. SCHUYLER

Graduated from U. S. Military Academy, 1870; served in Regular army until retirement, as brigadier-general, 1913; born in New York; home, San Francisco.



WILLARD S. HOPEWELL

Cattle man, railroad, and mining; State chairman Rocky Mountain Club for New Mexico; born in England; home, Albuquerque, N. Mex.



ISRAEL C. WHITE

Geologist, specialist in coal, petroleum, and natural gas; author of valuable discoveries in connection with those products; born in West Virginia; home, Morgantown, W. Va.



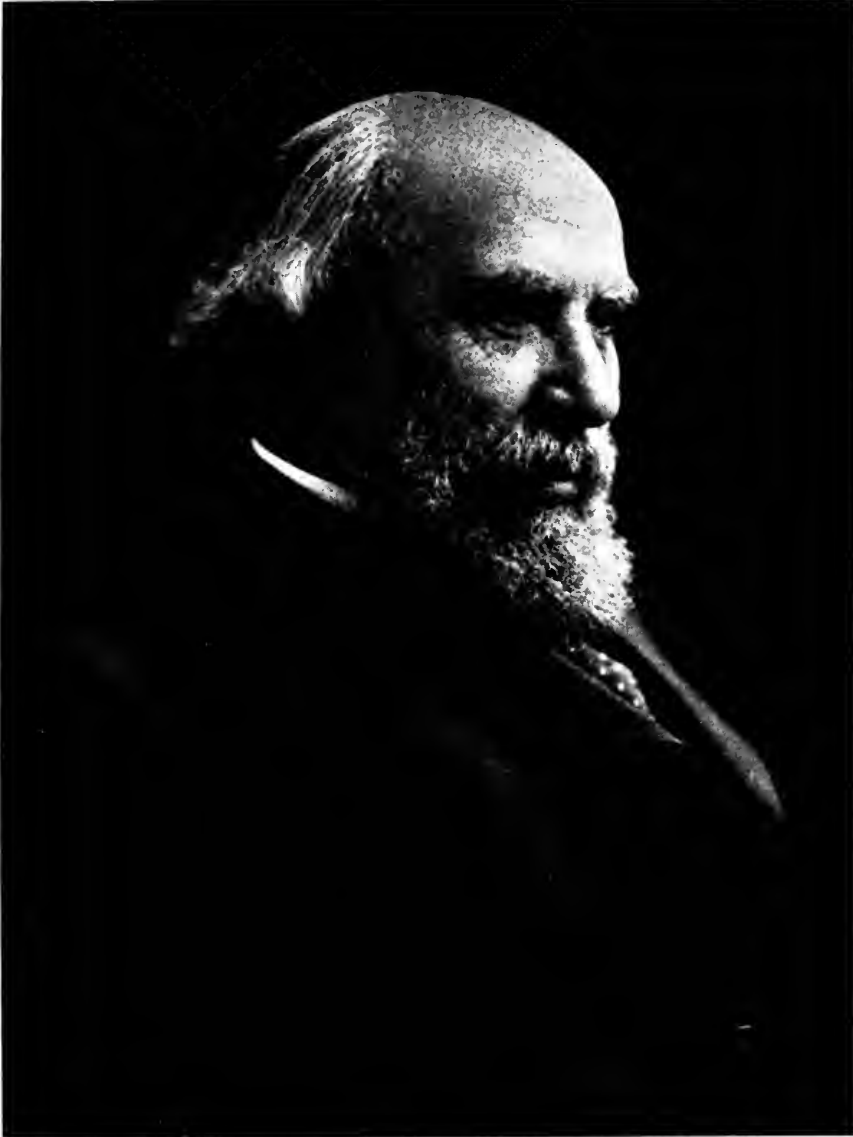
ALBERT J. EARLING

Identified with Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. Paul Railway Company since 1866; its president from 1899 to 1917; now chairman board of directors; born in Wisconsin; home, Chicago.



THOMAS H. CARTER

Became a resident of Montana in 1882; Territorial representative in congress; first member of congress from Montana as State U. S. senator; born in Ohio, 1854; died 1911.



JAMES J. HILL

America's celebrated empire builder. To his genius, daring, indefatigable labors, and great administrative abilities the country and the world are largely indebted for the railway and general development of the Northwest from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Pacific, including extensive portions of Canada. Born in Canada; died 1916, aged seventy-seven.



SAMUEL T. HAUSER

First resident governor of Montana Territory, appointed by President Cleveland, 1885. Born in Kentucky in 1833, he removed to Missouri at the age of twenty; was engaged in civil engineering work for far Western railways; took part in the famous Yellowstone expedition of 1863; by his pluck and industry he was a powerful factor in the development of Montana; died in 1914.



SAMUEL V. STEWART

Present governor of Montana. He began the practice of law in Virginia City, Montana, in 1898; chairman Democratic state central committee in 1910; became governor in 1913; born in Ohio; home, Helena, Mont.



OTTO MEARS

"Pathfinder of the San Juan"—photo taken thirty-five years ago; president Silverton Northern Railroad, Silverton, Colo.; born in Russia, 1840; home, Silverton, Colo.



WILLIAM F. CODY ("BUFFALO BILL")

Born in Iowa, 1846; died in Colorado, 1917; celebrated as a scout and guide; of international reputation as a representative of the West; honorary member Rocky Mountain Club. The following is from an expression sent out by the Rocky Mountain Club at the time of his death: "Colonel Cody was one of the remaining heroes of all time whose names are indelibly entwined in the redemption of our Great West from barbarism and savagery, making it the handmaiden of civilization and progress. His fame will shine in history in lines of living light with those pioneer American crusaders, Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson. He was gentle, sincere, brave, loyal, and manly, and the world is poorer for his passing."



WILLIAM H. RUSSELL

The "Napoleon of the Plains." He was the first to contract for the transportation of government supplies across the plains, establishing wagon trains for that service. Later he had a leading part in organizing and operating the Pony Express. Born in Vermont; died in Missouri, 1870, aged fifty-eight.



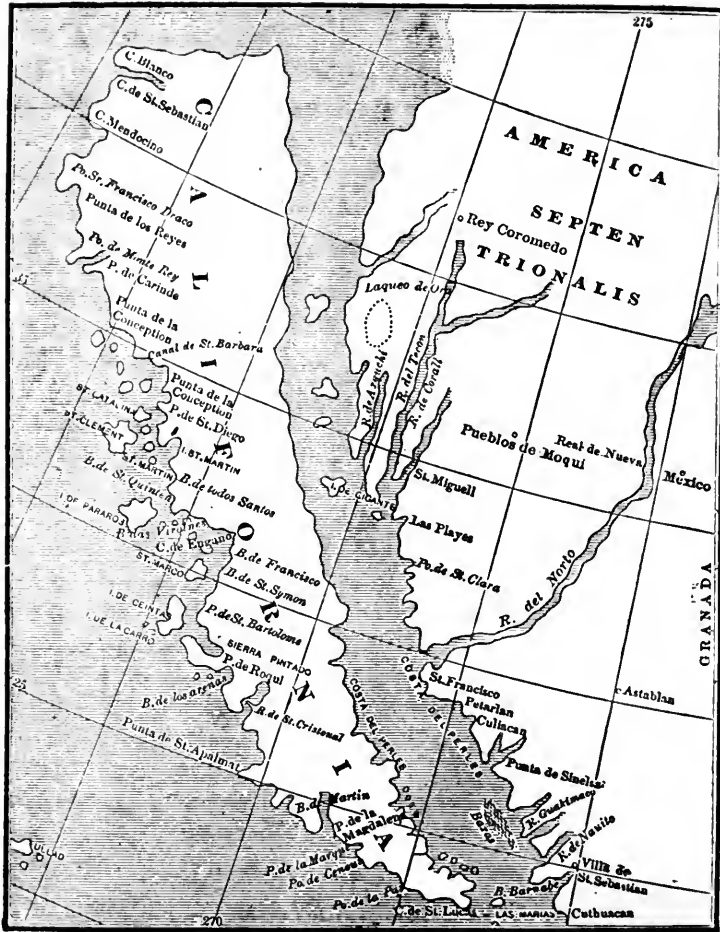
CHARLES R. MOREHEAD

Banker in El Paso, Texas; active for more than half a century in Western enterprises; one of the founders of the Pony Express; born in Missouri. The following is from a letter welcoming Mr. Morehead to membership in the Rocky Mountain Club, by B. F. Bush, president of the Missouri Pacific Railway: "A representative of the transportation systems of to-day to the Rockies, I, as a member of the Rocky Mountain Club, feel an especial interest in having included as a fellow-member one so conspicuously identified with the first means of travel to the great West as yourself, one of the founders of the early day Pony Express. It seems but meet and just that a man who has had so much to do with the building up of the country where stretches the vast Rocky Mountain range should have his name enrolled among the membership of the Rocky Mountain Club."



LEWIS F. LINN

Born in Kentucky, 1795; removed to Missouri; elected U. S. senator from that State in 1833 and served until his death in 1844. He was one of the foremost champions of the claims of our country to the Pacific Northwest, and "did more than any other one man to save Oregon to the United States." His bill to provide free homes to settlers was the foundation of the Homestead law, and the most important factor in opening the "Oregon country" to settlement. (See Snowden's "History of Washington," Vol. II, p. 210.)



AN EARLY MAP OF CALIFORNIA

This curious map was made in Holland in 1624-25. It shows California as an island.

The Mountain Men

A Poem for Christmas, Dedicated to Our Boys
on Land and Sea

BY

JAMES J. MONTAGUE

Official Bard of the Rocky Mountain Club



HEY loved their work—the Mountain Men,—they had
great tasks to do
In tearing down their rugged hills and moulding them
anew,
In rearing cities on the slopes, and laying gleaming
rails

Where once the painted Indian rode along the lonely trails,
In turning rivers from their course to multiply the yield
Of tasselled corn or golden wheat from many a league-wide field;
And yet, from every rolling plain and every pine clad hill
When Uncle Sam said, "Will you fight?" the cry came back: "We will!"

Will such men fight? The host of stars in yonder Western sky
Might well be shining service stars to tell their number by!
On land and sea, in camp and trench, the men of mountain breed
Have mustered, many a thousand strong, to serve their country's need—
As rugged as the towering peaks that looked upon their birth,
As brave and gallant fighting men as any sons of earth,
The battle-light in every eye, and in each dauntless breast
The spirit that has never quailed—the spirit of the West!

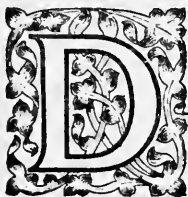
On land or sea, in camp or trench, they answer to the call,
In quiet readiness to meet whatever blow may fall.
God send that in an early day may victory arise
To spread her rainbow pinions like a glory in the skies!
But if the days to come be dark, and if the way be long
That they must go to overcome the foe that fights for Wrong,
The issue still shall be assured—no heart need feel despair,—
Our arms must triumph in the end—the Mountain Men are there!

The Pony Express

An Account of Its Origin and Early Operations, by Charles R. Morehead, One of Its Founders



THE FIRST MEANS of uninterrupted and permanent communication across the continent was that afforded by the famous Pony Express, which began its career in 1860. One of its founders, Charles R. Morehead, still survives. Now in his eighty-second year—he was born February 28, 1836,—Mr. Morehead continues active in the interests and affairs of life, including those of business. He is president of the State National Bank of El Paso, Texas. By the request of the Rocky Mountain Club, Mr. Morehead has written, for publication in *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, a brief account of the origin and early operations of the Pony Express. This account is in the form of a letter to the secretary of the Club, as follows:—



DEAR SIR:—Mr. Donald B. Gillies of this city, called on me today and presented your telegram to him asking that I write for the Rocky Mountain Club an account of the experiences encountered during the organization of the Pony Express.

After having made a trip across the plains in 1859, I was called by business to Washington and while there Mr. William H. Russell, then known as "The Napoleon of the Plains," called upon Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, taking me with him, and we discussed the question of the feasibility of a pony express across the continent. The views of Captain Rupe were called for and he expressed the opinion that it was entirely practical at all seasons of the year on this route all the way to California.

After we completed our report, accounting, as we did, for the loss of every wagon, ox, yoke, mule, log-chain, and everything pertaining to the expedition, Mr. Russell took us to see the President, some Senators and members of Congress, and also the Secretary of War and Quartermaster-General. With Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, the question of the feasibility of a pony express across the con-

THE PONY EXPRESS

tinent was presented by Mr. Russell, and fully discussed. Captain Rupe's views were called for, and he expressed the opinion that it was entirely practicable at all times on this route, all the way to California.

I will here state that the Mormons had the contract for the transportation of the mails previous to that year, but broke up and destroyed such stations as they had as soon as the Utah expedition was determined upon by the Government. Consequently there were no mail facilities, and for that reason we made this trip, to take back the bills of lading for supplies delivered to the army. While the Pony Express was conceived at that time by Mr. Russell, which was suggested to his mind by the success and circumstances of our trip in midwinter, 1200 miles without change of animals in thirty days, it was not put into operation by him and his associates until 1860, when the first overland or Pony Express mail was carried from Washington and the East over the various railroads, the last being the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, which terminated at St. Joseph, Mo. Mr. Hale, who was afterwards superintendent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, took an engine from Quincy, Ill., to St. Joseph, met the pony and rider at the depot and threw the mail to the rider; the ferry-boat was in waiting on the Missouri river, which took him on and moved across the river immediately, and the last that was seen of the pony and rider they were flying over the prairies. This was on April 3, 1860, at 5 o'clock P. M. The Pony Express was met at Sacramento, Cal., by a great concourse of people with bonfires on the streets and huzzas for the rider and pony. The last ride on the line, which terminated at the Sacramento river, was made by Jimmy Monahan, a Sacramento boy sixteen years old, on a fleet-footed little pony; and no sooner had the rider delivered his mail on the waiting San Francisco steamboat and remounted his pony than he was seized by the rejoicing multitude and carried through the streets on men's shoulders and his pony was soon decorated from foretop to tail with fancy ribbons and flowers.

The Pony Express, though a daring and hazardous undertaking, proved a success at the start, and became famous. It also blazed the way for the overland stage-coach and railway. Stations, with a change of rider and pony, were established every twenty-five miles, or as nearly so as it was found practicable. Its operation was punctuated with many interesting and thrilling incidents. The famous Buffalo Bill was one of the first riders on the line.

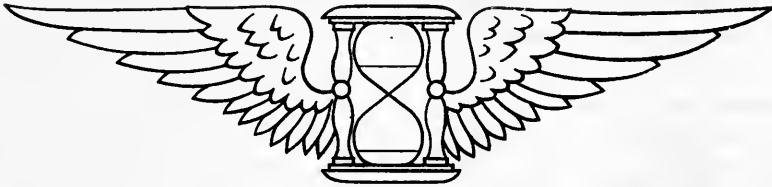
This great enterprise was, later on, followed up by the same man •

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

of nerve and genius, W. H. Russell, then known as the Napoleon of the Plains, as he was indeed the greatest moving spirit of the Western world. He was the first man to contract to transport the Government supplies across the plains. He inaugurated and put in operation the overland passenger, mail and express coaches, which remained in operation until the steam horses took their places. And now, when we ride in Pullman cars over these great plains and mountains and behold the beautiful towns and settlements along the railroad all the way to the Pacific Coast, it does indeed seem like a fairy dream to those of us who encountered the hardships and dangers from the various tribes of savages, snow and wolves, and some of whom beheld countless herds of buffalo, deer, antelope and elk roaming over the plains and the grizzly bears, mountain sheep, jackrabbits, sage-hens and other wild game in the mountain regions.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES R. MOREHEAD.



Helping France

Some of the Things Done for War Sufferers through the Organized Efforts of Generous Americans

BY

KATHARINE BUELL

Of the Committee of Mercy



WHEN the War broke out in Europe and all humanity was plunged into the great catastrophe which is now bankrupting the world, ruining homes, devastating whole countries, and piling up a debt of sorrow and poverty for the future, one of the first things that occurred to liberal-minded Americans was the immediate need for relief work. It was obvious at once to this nation, accustomed to sending help of all kinds to any part of the world where a great calamity had occurred, that vast relief enterprises would soon be a necessity. While the nations of Europe were throwing all their energies into mobilizing their troops and rushing supplies to their armies, those at home, and especially those in America, the greatest of all the neutral nations, banded themselves together in leagues and committees to relieve the innocent sufferers from the war. Naturally the worst suffering was in Belgium and northern France. Later calls for help came from more remote districts, from Russian Poland, from the provinces of Turkey, and from the Balkan states; but first in the minds of sympathetic Americans came the suffering of the people so near to them and so much beloved.

Great organizations for the relief of suffering have been evolved by Americans. When the War broke out, an engineer, known in his profession throughout the world as a prominent executive and a manager of great enterprises, found himself in London with the alternative of devoting his energies during the War to saving his own business from the difficulties incident to the War, or giving up all private interests and devoting himself to the rescue of the innocent victims of German militarism. Herbert Hoover's work is too well known to need elaboration here. To his efforts and those of the patriotic Americans who worked with him is due the credit for the saving of millions of Belgian lives. Although the money for the

Committee for Relief in Belgium was contributed largely by France and England, the funds were administered by the American Committee, and the brilliant executive work of Mr. Hoover nearly doubled the buying power of the money.

The American Red Cross, with its organization already perfected for the relief of the victims of all kinds, sent various units to the fighting nations. Partly because of its enforced neutrality the Red Cross met great difficulties in attempting to raise funds, so that much of its excellent work had to be curtailed.

The third organization was that laid out by the Jews of England and America for the relief of their own people in all the belligerent countries.

It does not belong to the scope of the present article to deal with the phases above mentioned.

But even after these three organizations, the Committee for Relief in Belgium, the Jewish Committee, and the American Red Cross had arranged to do their work, a vast field remained—a field on both sides of the water, thousands of destitute people in Europe on the one hand, and thousands of generous people on this side eager to do their utmost for the relief of suffering humanity.

Almost simultaneously with the declaration of war there arrived in this country a man well known in England for his executive ability and for his tact and foresight. He came to collect funds for a group of English hospitals, but his enthusiasm and his prevision of the vast field which was open for relief work caused him to direct his efforts to even larger plans. Mr. John Moffat has been at the heart of relief work in this country ever since the outbreak of the War. A group of prominent citizens formed themselves into a committee to act as a clearing house for such work. Under the auspices of Norman Hapgood, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, and Miss Katherine B. Davis, at that time commissioner of corrections in New York City, and under the patronage of President Wilson and of Mayor Mitchel of New York City, a committee was organized to solicit funds for the relief of suffering in Europe and to act as a clearing house for their distribution. The organization was known as the Committee of Mercy, and was the first large group to take up the work of relief in Europe. The Committee began as a central organization, and has solicited funds for distribution in any one of the belligerent countries that the donor indicates. The Committee of Mercy, finding it inadvisable to try to manage the distribution of supplies on the other side, has confined itself to

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working out a system whereby money can be raised and administered in this country at a minimum cost. The usual waste and duplication of effort incidental to the raising of relief funds has been done away with because of the centralization of all executive work and the elaborate and highly scientific system of appeals.

Almost at the same time that the Committee of Mercy began its work there sprang into being many other committees, each one having for its own field some special form of relief. There were thousands of Americans who had lived abroad or who had friends in the belligerent countries, who, as soon as they realized the destitution caused their beloved friends in France by the War, reorganized their days so as to give every spare moment, and in many cases their entire time, to helping to their utmost ability those who were suffering abroad. Each committee naturally assumed the appealing for some one activity and assisted in the administration of funds when they reached France. These committees ranged over the entire field of War relief. They bought clothing for the destitute, food for the hungry, hospital supplies for the wounded. They gave money to women and children from the invaded districts, to those whose business or occupation had been ruined by the War, to those whose poverty had been made desperate by War conditions, to mutilated soldiers who had been returned to their homes, to the sick, to the old, and to the discouraged. Altogether these organizations have raised, since the beginning of the War, a total of \$30,000,000 in money and supplies. Of this aggregate, \$20,000,000 is in cash and \$10,000,000 in supplies which were actually shipped to the destitute. Altogether there are some seventy-five or one hundred committees with a membership of over two million people and five thousand branches.

Much of this work was more or less scattered or unorganized, but as the various committees realized the necessity for coöperation, various arrangements were made whereby there should be no duplication of effort. There was formed in Paris an organization known as the American Relief Clearing House, with its offices at the Rue Francois Premier. There most American committees or French committees with American branches were registered. Such registration was a guarantee that the funds were being properly distributed and that the relief was going to the people who needed it most. The books were audited by Morgan, Harjes & Company, and many of the small contributors were thus protected against any possible doubt as to the use to which their money was being put. On this side there was

formed another Clearing House to arrange for shipment of supplies. The shipping situation having been difficult since the outbreak of the War, such an organization was absolutely necessary in order that the mass of supplies contributed for relief abroad should be properly selected and the things most urgently needed sent first.

More recently it was found wise to coördinate the work of these separate small committees, especially in the matter of appealing for funds. It was discovered that duplication of effort had occurred and that appeals were not sent out in such a way as to bring utmost results. For the purpose of coördinating the efforts of the various small committees the National Allied Relief Committee was formed. Under its direction the work of appealing was brought to a point of greatest efficiency. Altogether there are seventy committees coöperating with the Allied Relief Committee. Practically all of the work of War relief, aside from those committees mentioned at the beginning of this article, has been in the hands of the seventy committees.

To enumerate in detail the membership of these committees and to describe their work would fill volumes. Some day, undoubtedly, the full history of War relief in America during the period previously to the entrance of America into the War will be written, but it will be a work of wide research and of real historical interest. In the meantime, little more can be done than to give a brief idea of the work of some of the larger committees.

The practical work of War relief falls naturally into two branches, the receiving of money and supplies on this side of the Atlantic and the distribution of such supplies in France. Many of the smaller committees do both. It is the personal touch between the people who donate the money and the people who receive it which is one of the most valuable qualities of the small committee as opposed to the larger one. Many of the committees are for certain small and definite forms of relief, to supply some one hospital, to care for the poor in some one village, or to rehabilitate some one section of the devastated district. In this way it is possible for those giving the money to keep in touch with their beneficiaries. A man contributing \$100 to these smaller committees can know exactly to what use his money is being put. It will be spent for an ambulance or for clothing for certain dependent families, who will, in turn, thank him for his contribution and who will give him a feeling that he has given his money not to an impersonal organization but to individuals. Another great advantage which these smaller committees have over more centralized work is that many

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thousands of careful and energetic people have been willing to devote their time and energies to the work for the simple reason that they are responsible for the expenditure of the money which they raise. It is, of course, only a comparative method of speaking to talk of many of these organizations as small. They are, as a matter of fact, enormous compared to peace standards, but they are small compared to the hundreds of millions handled by government organizations.

The work of the National Allied Relief Committee, aside from that already mentioned of unifying the smaller committees, has been to raise money by appealing to those who prefer not to specify the exact work to which they wish their money given. In spite of the fact that the Allied Relief Committee was not organized until 1915, it has raised well over \$1,000,000, which it has turned over to whatever work seemed at the moment most needed.

Most of the work of the smaller committees has been to handle such affairs as do not come within the scope of such government organizations as the Red Cross. The story of the Surgical Dressings Committee is an example of this. When the War broke out a group of prominent society women, headed by Mrs. Mary Hatch Willard, wrote to the American Red Cross offering their services to organize a branch for the purpose of making over old rags into surgical dressings. Word had come from France that such old linen, properly sterilized and made into bandages, was of great service. The Red Cross, however, because of its necessary regulations, was unable to accept this service. The Red Cross accepts only new surgical dressings, made from fresh linen. Mrs. Willard and her associates then organized a committee of their own, well-known throughout the United States as the National Surgical Dressings Committee of America. Since the organization of this committee in 1914 branches have been established in twenty-six States, and nearly a thousand separate committees are working at the making of dressings. There are distributing bureaus in France and Belgium, in London, Russia, and Salonika, and in Rome. Up to June, 1917, there has been shipped over 14,000,000 dressings and a total of \$50,000 in cash. The value of this work to the morale of the Allies cannot, of course, be estimated, but in view of the shortage of hospital supplies in many of the belligerent countries there can be no doubt that the world owes the committee a debt of gratitude. No money has been spent for executive salaries, heat, light, or telephone or office or shipping space. All expenses have been contributed.

The Duryea War Relief is another organization founded upon a definite end not met by already existing charities. The foundation of the Duryea War Relief is the collection and distribution of second-hand clothing. Government organizations take only first-hand clothing, but there are enormous quantities of warm coats and suits which have been worn but which, because of the excellence of the material from which they are made, are a Godsend to the destitute, who would otherwise be living in rags. Approximately \$70,000 has been collected by this committee, and clothing to the value of \$100,000. The work was founded by Mrs. Nina Duryea, who was at Dinard, France, when the first refugees began to arrive from Belgium. Sixty-two thousand people have received warm clothing from this committee.

The Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, with Mrs. Alexander J. Cassatt as chairman, has been one of the largest money raising organizations. It has fifty-nine branches and has raised \$2,000,000, and the money has been expended for various forms of relief work.

The personal touch between the American committee and the European who receives aid is illustrated by the Committee for the Relief of Belgian Prisoners in Germany, of which Lady Lowther is president. This organization, which has its headquarters in London, arranges its work in such a way that each contributor who wishes to help Belgian prisoners in Germany is allowed to adopt one prisoner or more as his own personal responsibility. He sends the prisoner, who has thrown himself between the oncoming German army and the lines of the Allies, money and comforts of all kinds so that his life may not be wrecked by his long imprisonment. Each prisoner acknowledges by postal card the receipt of his package, and the correspondence is allowed to continue in this way between some business man of America and some Belgian boy languishing in a German prison.

This same idea is carried out by several organizations that have for their purpose the encouragement of Americans to adopt French and Belgian soldiers who are without relations, in the unconquered parts of France. To adopt a Belgian or French soldier means that one more fighter is given the courage to go on with his work. He is made to feel that some one person in the world cares enough for his welfare to write to him occasionally and to send him the small sums of money that make up the difference between utter poverty and the ability to buy comforts such as chocolates and cigarettes.

Much of the work is done for the soldiers as well as for civilians. For those who actually have been fighting are the committees for the

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relief of the mutilated, for the care of the wounded, and for the encouragement of prisoners and soldiers in the firing line. The American, British, French, and Belgian Permanent Blind Relief, of which George Alexander Kessler is chairman, is a fund organized in England and France in 1915 and in the United States in 1916, for the relief of blind soldiers, and its purpose is to teach those permanently blinded in battle to use their hands in such a way that they will not be altogether crushed by the loss of their sight. This work is intricate and difficult, and besides the immediate emergency work a permanent fund is being established so that the blind soldiers may have an endowment to call upon in the future. The rulers of all the countries involved in this War are patrons of this fund. In America the sum of \$466,000 has already been raised and expended for relief.

The American Committee for Training in Special Trades the Maimed Soldiers of France, of which Mrs. Edmund L. Baylies is chairman, has raised \$310,000 wherewith to establish trade schools for the training of soldiers who have lost one or more of their limbs in battle. The cost of training such soldiers is \$100 apiece. So far many thousands of these men have been made over from helpless and discouraged wrecks into useful citizens.

The Chelsea War Refugees Fund has for its purpose the purchase of yarn which is used by the Belgian refugees in London in the knitting of war garments for their relatives and friends on the firing line. These refugees consist of old people, crippled and half-blinded men, women with small children, and others who cannot do regular work. Left in idleness, many of them become morbid and discouraged. Seventy thousand dollars has been raised for this purpose and 77,000 pounds of yarn sent to London.

The Mayfair War Relief is another organization which sends relief to the Belgian refugees.

The Refugees In Russia Fund has sent assistance to millions of children and old people forced to flee before the invading armies in Russia. Similar work is being done in Roumania by the Roumanian Relief Committee of America.

The work for the wounded in hospitals has been among the most popular. The American Ambulance in Paris, of which Mrs. Robert Bacon is chairman, has gained world-wide fame. At the time it was taken over by the government after America's entrance into the War it was caring for 1,500 patients a day at its many and excellent hospitals, and the ambulance service maintained 250 cars with their crews

in Paris and at the front. During the year ending August 31, 1916, more than 5,000 cases of acute surgery were treated there and 135,000 patients were transported by the ambulances. Out of the 3,107 patients received in these twelve months there were only 72 deaths.

The American Field Service in France has furnished ambulances to the French army since the beginning of the War. These ambulances have been manned by American volunteers and have taken their place in the battles of the Yser, the Aisne, the Somme, in Champagne, Argonne, Verdun, and many others. Ninety-nine times men have received citations for bravery from the French army, and the field service has cared for 500,000 wounded.

The American Fund for French Wounded, of which Mrs. Lewis B. Stillwell is executive chairman, was established in November, 1914, in London. Since the beginning of the war it has expended \$1,000,000 and distributed more than 15,000,000 separate articles. It has branches in nearly every State in the Union.

The American Women's Hospitals is a movement of the women physicians and surgeons of the United States to render national service during the War. The movement is based upon the famous Scottish Women's Hospitals, but is even more comprehensive in its scope.

The British-American War Relief Fund has for its purpose the raising of money to send comforts of all kinds to the hospitals of Great Britain and her Allies. The money received has totalled \$164,000, and nearly 2,000,000 articles of all kinds have been shipped. This committee is also sending ambulances to France and to Siberia.

The British War Relief Association was incorporated in 1914 and has handled articles to the value of \$123,000.

Some of the committees are for individual hospitals, such as The Hospital Under Three Flags, which has an American committee of which Herbert L. Satterlee is chairman. The work of this hospital was developed by Dr. Joseph Blake, the famous American surgeon, and its special work has been the development of a system for the treatment of infected wounds which has since been adopted all over France as the best method for treating such casualties.

Le Bien-Etre du Blesse, of which Gertrude Atherton is president, is an organization for sending special comforts in the way of delicate food and comfortable clothing to the wounded in French hospitals.

Lord Charles Beresford's Fund, of which Benjamin Guinness is the American chairman, has 800 branches. Its purpose is to supply fresh fruit and vegetables to the naval hospitals and to the fleets of

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the Allies. Over twenty million pounds of fruits and vegetables has been thus distributed.

The Mercy Committee of New Jersey has sent 70,000 garments and \$10,000 in money to the wounded.

The Millicent Sutherland Ambulance has received \$15,000 from its American committee.

The P. S. D. Fund is an organization of physicians, surgeons, and dentists which has for its purpose the raising of funds to buy instruments and medical supplies.

There is a Serbian Hospitals Fund, which sends supplies to the hospitals of that unfortunate country.

The American Ambulance in Russia has maintained fifty American ambulances along the Russian front. Dr. Philip Newton has organized this ambulance and has endeavored to care for the wounded of an entire army corps of 55,000 men.

The American Ice Flotilla Committee, of which Miss Gertrude Robinson Smith is chairman, has raised \$100,000 to buy ice for the field hospitals in France. It has the endorsement of the French department of health.

One of the most interesting of the committees organized for a specialized object is The French Heroes Fund, of which Mrs. William Astor Chanler is president. This organization maintains an orphanage, a school, and a sanitarium on the estate of General Lafayette in France. The school and the sanitarium are permanent and are being equipped to serve as models for similar work in the future. During the War the emphasis is being laid upon the care of orphan children and the prevention of tuberculosis, but as time goes on it is planned to have an exchange of students somewhat similar to the Rhodes foundation. The Chateau Lafayette is being made into a museum for relics of the present War, and is a monument to the friendship between France and America.

The American Girls' Aid, of which Gladys Hollingsworth is chairman, was organized for the distribution of clothing to the victims of the European War. The members of the organization have adopted and cared for 250 orphans.

The American Students' Committee of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts is a committee, as its name implies, of the American students who were at the Beaux-Arts when the War broke out. Their fellow-students were mobilized and departed for the front, and these American students, being neutral, started the work of protecting the families of

their fellow-students from destitution, for which purpose they have raised \$60,000. They have supplied their soldiers at the front with clothing, tobacco, and chocolates, and they have kept the members of the school informed of one another's whereabouts.

There is an American committee which collects money for the Charities of the Queen of Belgium. This committee also sends clothing, food, and supplies to the prisoners of Germany and gives money for the relief of the blind and the mutilated. Twenty-eight thousand dollars has been raised for this fund.

The American women married to Englishmen and living in England have organized themselves and have raised \$600,000 for hospital work in England.

The *Appui Aux Artistes* is a committee which supplies inexpensive meals for artists and their families who have been poverty stricken by the War. It has served 500,000 meals since the beginning of the War and has distributed 6,000 articles of clothing.

Edith Wharton's War Charities in France to care for women made destitute by the War, has raised \$50,000.

A committee known as the Fatherless Children of France, which has a branch in America, raised up to July 1 of this year approximately \$1,225,000 and cared for more than 40,000 children. There are 133 branches of this committee. The children thus adopted are assigned to individual Americans, so that all the contributors to the fund can feel that they are giving their money to an individual child whose picture they have and whose letters they receive, instead of to an impersonal organization.

There is an American Committee of *Charité Maternelle de Paris*, which is an old French organization founded by Marie Antoinette. The object of the association is to adopt children of the poor at birth, and during the first year of their infancy superintend their care in the home. As the future of France depends upon those who are children now, this is a most important work. The fund has raised \$20,000 in this country.

There is a Franco-American Committee for the Protection of the Children at the Frontier, and children taken from the reconquered villages of France are cared for in homes and sanitariums at the cost of fifteen to twenty cents a day.

The French Actors' Fund raises money for the care of the families of actors at the front and for those who have been thrown out of employment by the war.

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The French Bureau has for its purpose the sale of toys and novelties made by wounded and maimed soldiers.

The Lafayette Fund was organized with the idea that Americans should show their gratitude for the assistance to America in the Revolution.

The London Motor Volunteer Corps was organized to protect tired and bewildered soldiers on their way from the front to their homes in England from the perils of the London streets.

The Needle Work Guild of America has contributed 1,000,000 garments and surgical dressings to France and her Allies, most of which have been distributed to the hospitals in Lyons.

The Stage Women's War Relief has about 800 members. It sends comforts in the way of candies and jams to the soldiers of France.

The American branch of the Secours National has raised \$235,000 in cash, \$77,000 in purchased goods, and \$30,000 in contributed goods, which have been used to supply clothing to women, children, and old men who have fled before the German armies and who are destitute in the villages of France.

The Trench Comfort Packets Committee has sent 25,000 packages containing soap, chocolates, cigarettes, pencils and paper, and other comforts for the soldiers in the trenches.

The Vacation War Relief Committee, of which Miss Anne Morgan is chairman, has sent \$30,000 worth of hospital supplies and clothing monthly to France.

The War Babies' Cradle cares for Belgian orphans and for women about to become mothers.

Lady Helmsley's Fund provides for the families of musicians and artists destitute on account of the War.

The Secours de Guerre has an American committee which has raised \$100,000 for this work. The committee provides an average of 4,000 meals a day to the refugees and is subsidized by the minister of war and the city of Paris.

There is a League of Catholic Women which coöperates with other Catholic organizations and which sends to France hospital supplies and garments for women and children.

The work for Serbia and Armenia does not come properly under an article on the work that Americans have done for France, and that vast field must, therefore, be omitted from the present discussion.

While the greater part of the enormous sums of money raised by

all these varied and diversified efforts has been obtained by direct appeal in person or by letter to generous minded men and women, one special activity deserves discussion. There have been held during the years 1915, 1916, and 1917 a series of great bazaars in which practically all the committees described above have coöperated. These bazaars have been held in New York City, in Boston, and in Chicago, and have raised, altogether, over \$3,000,000. The bazaars have been managed by carefully selected committees and have been under the patronage of leading men in all the Allied countries. The bazaar known as Hero Land, which opened in New York on November 24 of the present year, was under the patronage of the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour and other noted statesmen of the countries of the Entente Allies. Besides the usual features of a bazaar consisting of the sale of articles donated for the purpose and various entertainments, there have also been exhibitions of war relics which have brought large crowds and have proved unusually profitable. The cost of producing such bazaars has been exceedingly small because of the great number of generous and unselfish workers who have volunteered their services, and because of the generosity of those donating articles to be sold. There have, perhaps, never been bazaars on so great a scale as those for the relief of suffering in Europe. To Mr. John Moffat goes the credit for remarkable executive work and untiring diligence.

This, then, in skeleton form, is the history of War relief in America. So multitudinous are the activities that the enumeration of committees above is merely a suggestion of the extent and variety of the work. We, as a people, have not contributed largely to the relief of the destitute. France and England, through their governments, have given money amounting to thousands of millions for such relief, but the generosity of individuals has been widespread and far-reaching.

What part America will take in government assistance for the destitute of France and Belgium, now that America is actually engaged in the War, it is not within the scope of this article to say, but the devotion and labor of the many thousands of men and women who have applied themselves to a work for which they could not have been held responsible by any claim other than that of love for humanity has been of inestimable value in cementing the traditional friendship between America and France during the trying years when France was shedding her blood abroad in the war for democracy and America was hesitating before the great task of an actual declaration of war.

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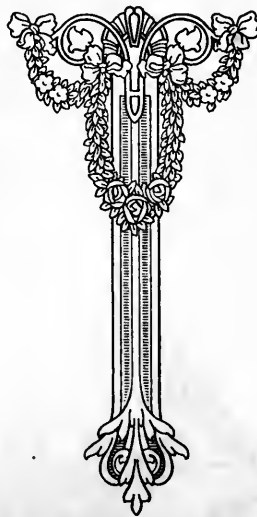
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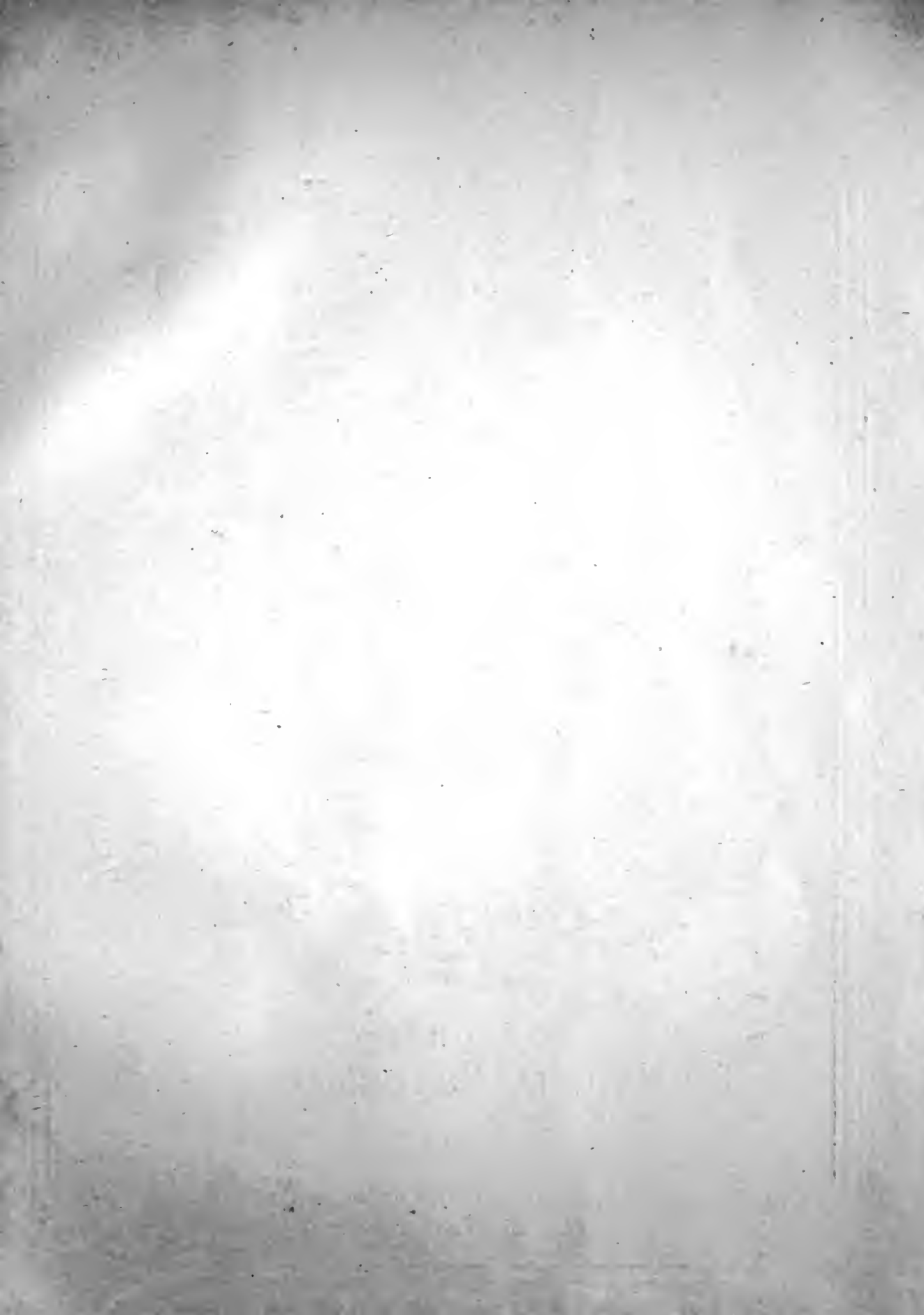
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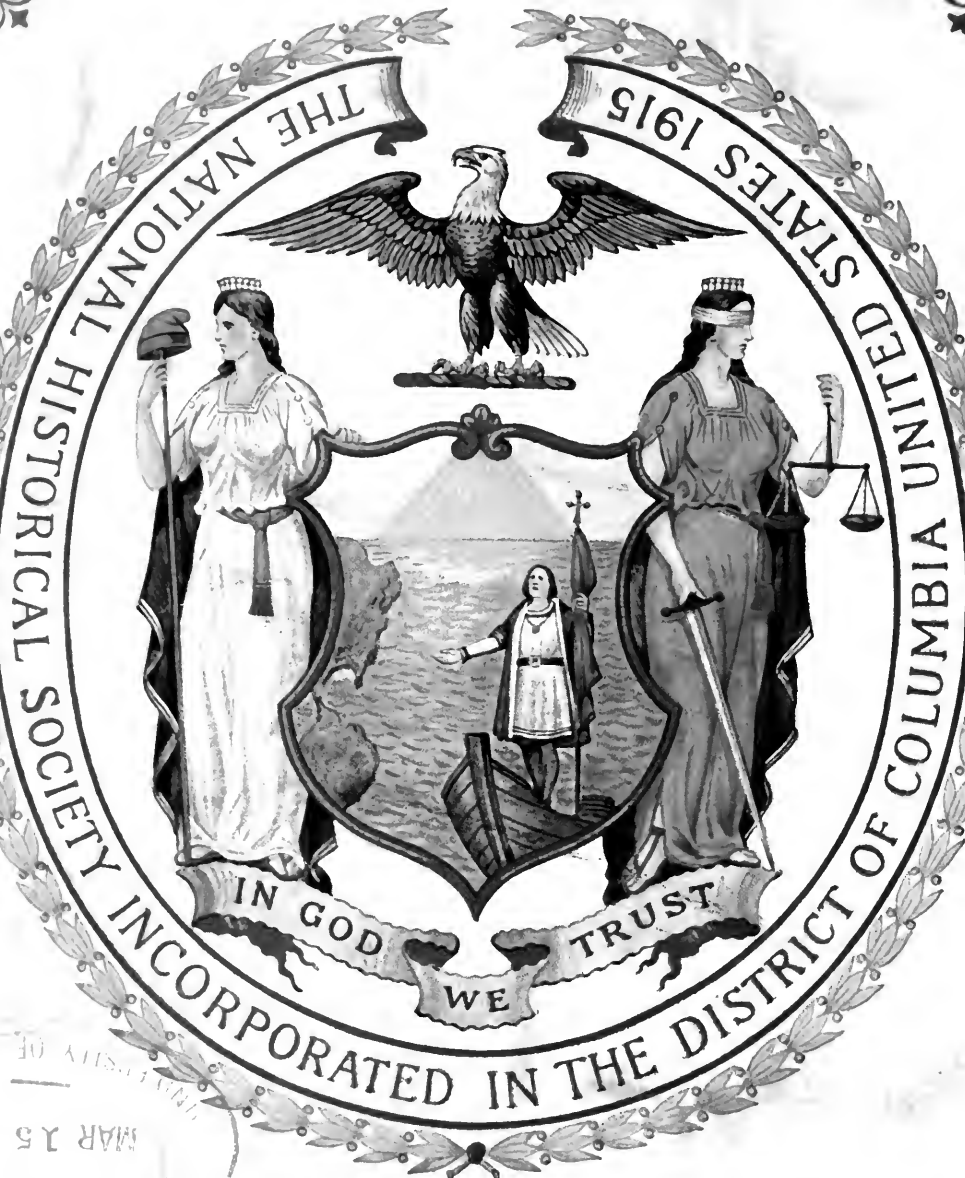
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