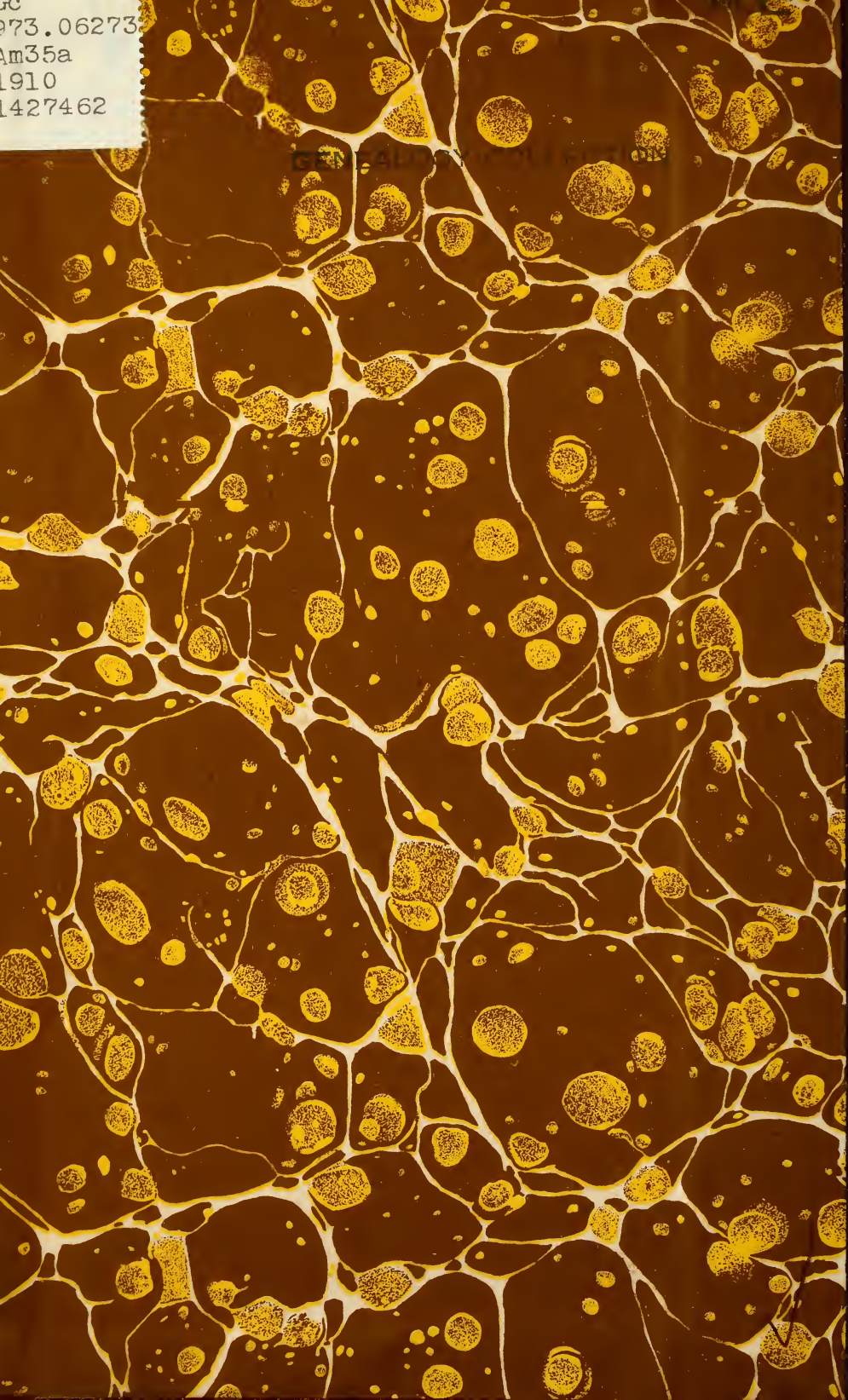
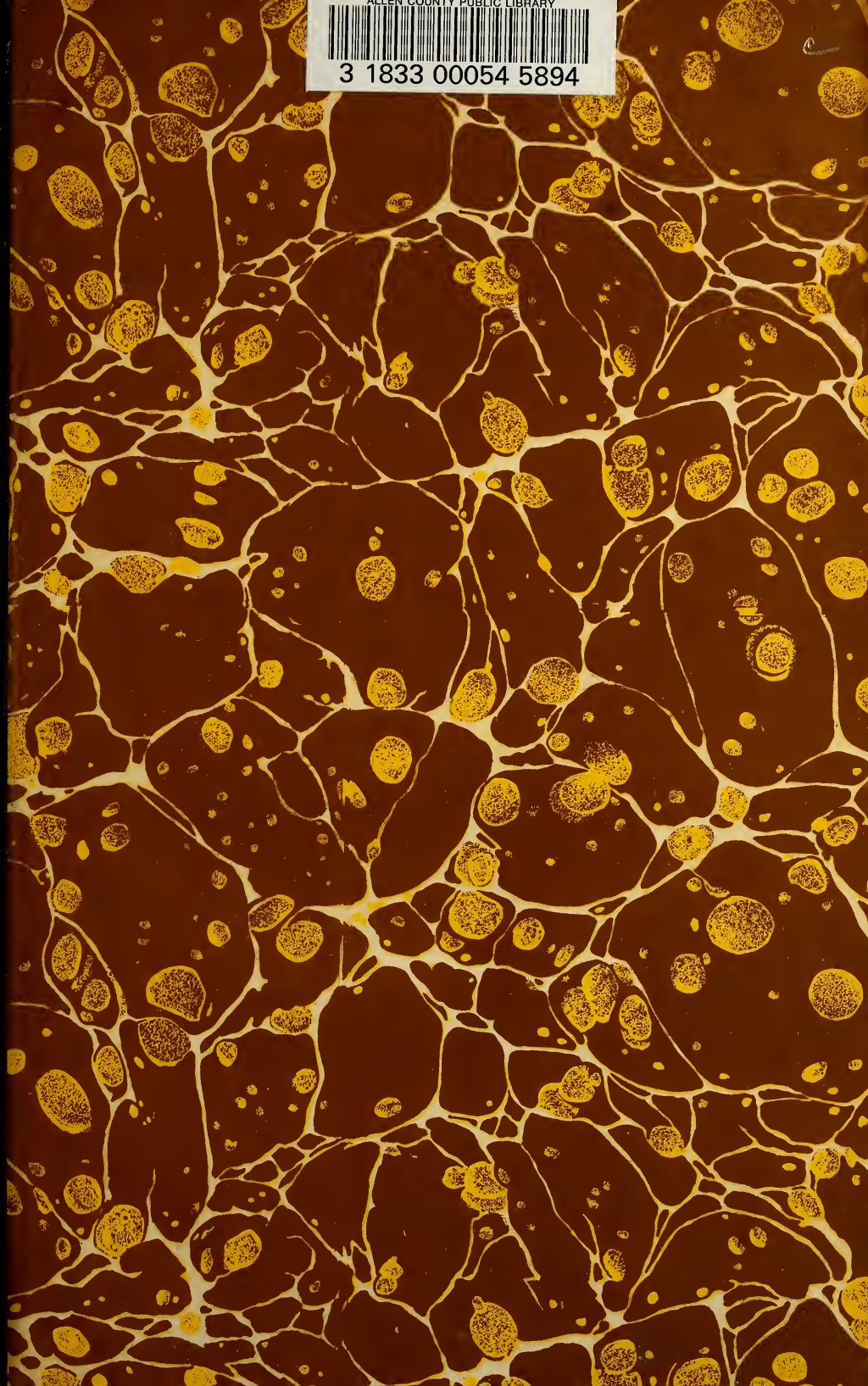


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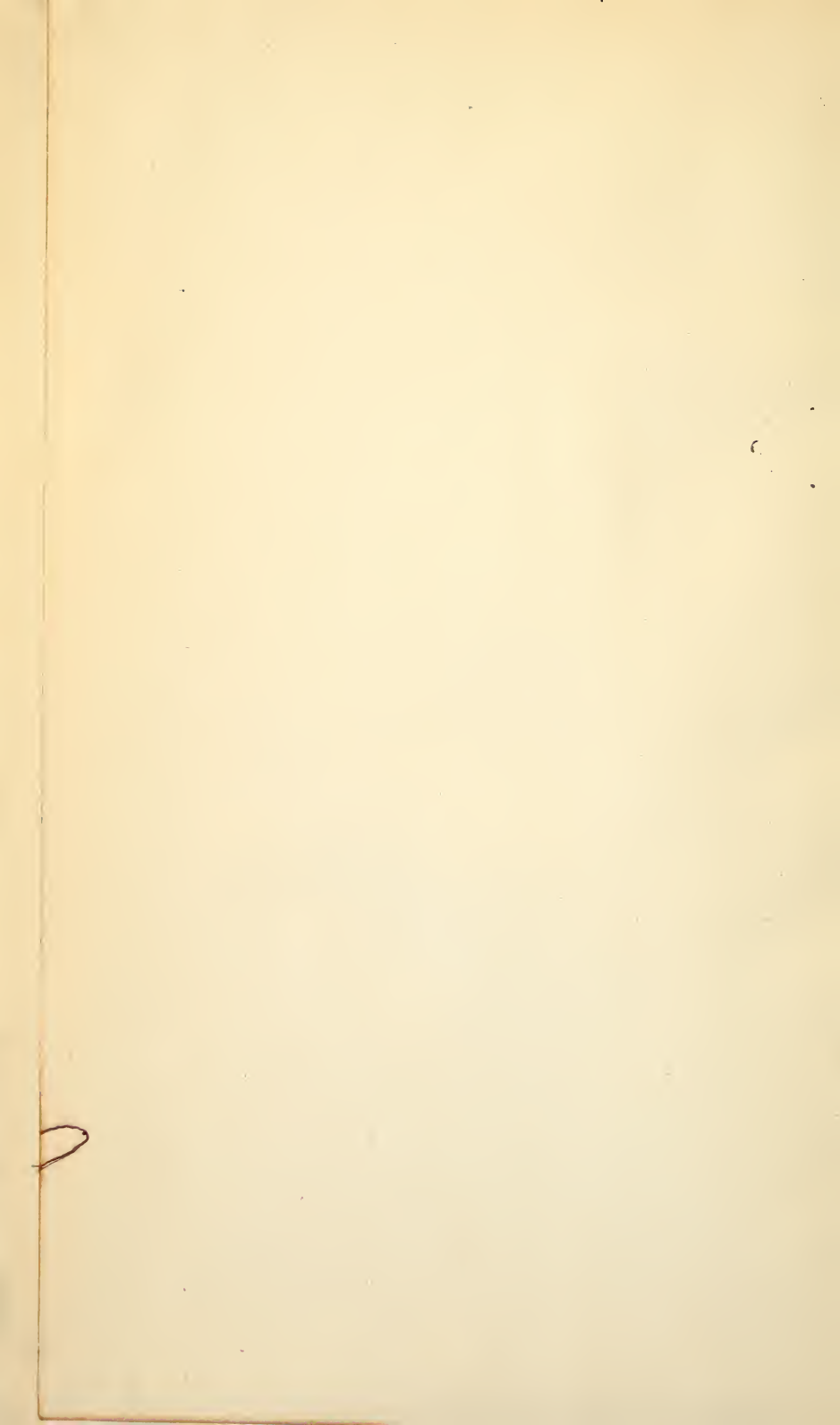


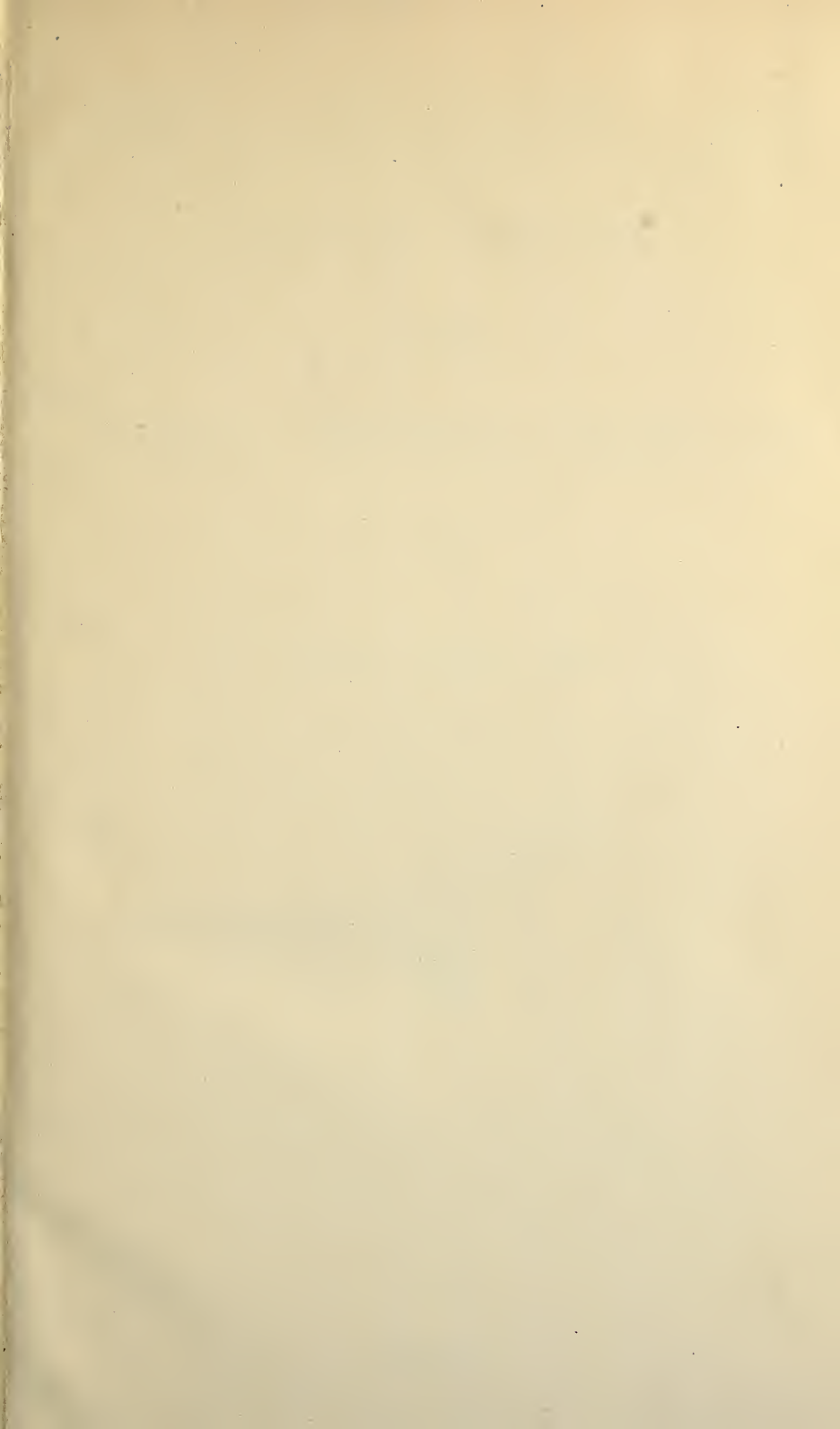
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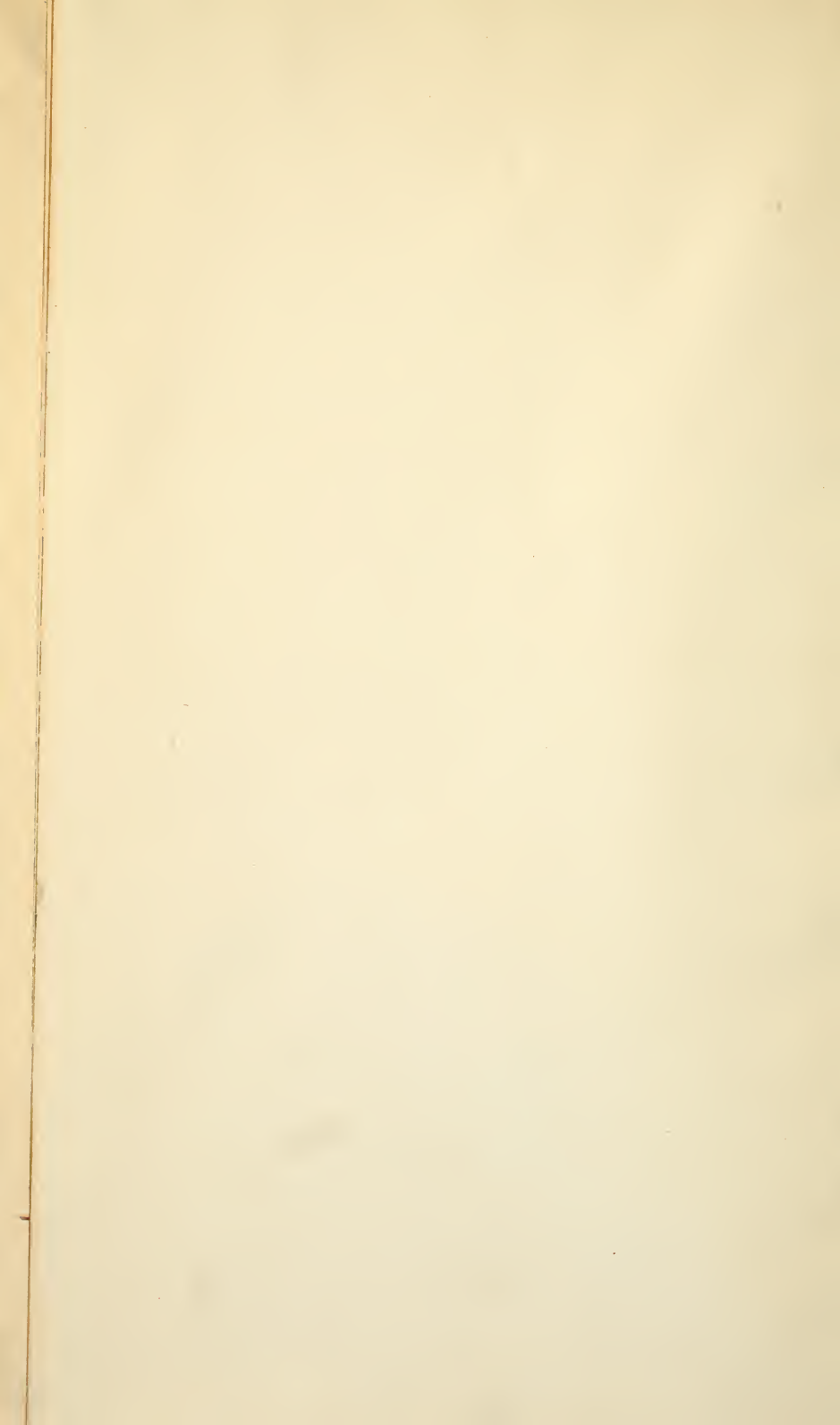




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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR
THE YEAR 1910



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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1911.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889. I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1910. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., May 19, 1911.

SIR: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to transmit herewith the annual report of the association for the year 1910. The report contains the proceedings of the association at its twenty-sixth annual meeting held at Indianapolis in December, 1910, as well as the eleventh report of the public archives commission, and the bibliography of writings on American history for 1910.

That the association is fulfilling the purposes of its founders and the intentions of Congress as set forth in its act of incorporation is evident from a survey of the activities carried on during the past year, a few of which may be mentioned in this connection. Of especial public utility has been the work of the public archives commission, which has not only continued the preparation and publication of reports on the archives of the various States, but took an active part in the international congress of archivists held at Brussels in August, 1910, and has organized an annual conference in the interests of American archives, National, State, and local. The association, deeply concerned for the preservation of the records of the National Government and aware that these records are, in many cases, stored where they are in danger of destruction and where their material deterioration is evident and rapid, has petitioned Congress "to take such steps as may be necessary to erect, in the city of Washington, a national archive depository, where the records of the Government may be concentrated, properly cared for, and preserved."

Bibliography, the indispensable aid of the historian, and the guide of the layman who seeks information on a given subject, has not been neglected. The annual bibliography of writings on American history, for the second time included in the association's report, constitutes an inventory which in respect to comprehensiveness and completeness surpasses any similar undertaking in other countries. The advantage to the study of American history resulting from the wide distribution of such a work can readily be appreciated. The preparation of a bibliography of modern English history, so important for the study of American history, is being carried on by the joint activities

of the association and of the English Royal Historical Society. The association's permanent committee on bibliography is preparing a report on the collections in European history possessed by the principal libraries of the country, so that in the future the steadily increasing body of American students whose labors are devoted to the study of European history will be able to ascertain, without waste of time and effort, the location of the materials necessary for their work.

The association has joined with other learned societies in the preparation and publication of a new annual, the American Year Book, designed to record the events and progress of the year in the various fields of statistics, history, politics, economics, science, and industry.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

Mr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. Report of the proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, by Waldo G. Leland, secretary. . . .	23
II. Report of the proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch, by Jacob N. Bowman, secretary of the branch.	55
III. The efforts of the Danish kings to secure the English crown after the death of Harthacnut, by Laurence M. Larson.	69
IV. The records of the privy seal, by James F. Baldwin.	83
V. Royal purveyance in fourteenth-century England in the light of Simon Islip's <i>Speculum Regis</i> , by Chalfant Robinson.	89
VI. Anglo-Dutch relations, 1654-1660, by Ralph C. H. Catterall.	101
VII. Some critical notes on the works of S. R. Gardiner, by Roland G. Usher. .	123
VIII. The Mexican policy of southern leaders under Buchanan's administration, by James Morton Callahan.	133
IX. The decision of the Ohio valley, by Carl Russell Fish.	153
X. North Carolina on the eve of secession, by William K. Boyd.	165
XI. The inception of the Montgomery convention, by Armand J. Gerson. . .	179
XII. The attitude of Congress toward the Pacific Railway, 1856-1862, by Allen Marshall Kline.	189
XIII. The work of the Western State historical society, by Jeanne E. Wier. . .	199
XIV. The study of history in secondary schools.	209
XV. Proceedings of the seventh annual conference of historical societies. . . .	243
XVI. Eleventh annual report of the public archives commission, by Herman V. Ames, chairman.	267
Appendix A. Proceedings of the second annual conference of archivists.	279
Appendix B. Report on the archives of the State of Indiana, by Harlow Lindley.	315
Appendix C. Report on the archives of the State of Kentucky, by Irene T. Myers.	331
Appendix D. Report on the archives of the State of Nebraska, by Addison E. Sheldon.	365
Appendix E. Notes on the archives of the Philippines, by James A. Robertson.	421
XVII. Writings on American History, 1910, by Grace G. Griffin.	427

CONSTITUTION.

I.

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

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

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

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

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

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1910.

PRESIDENT:

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

VICE PRESIDENTS:

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

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

SECRETARY:

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

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,
130 Fulton Street, New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL:

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

CURATOR:

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

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

(Ex-Presidents.)

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

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D.,
University of Michigan.

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

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

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

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

- ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D.,
Quogue, N. Y.
- JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.
- SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.
- JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.
- ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.
- FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.
(Elected Councillors.)
- EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.
- CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D.,
Cornell University.
- FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, PH. D.,
University of Mississippi.
- EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D.,
State College of Pennsylvania.
- FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D.,
University of Nebraska.
- JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D.,
Indiana University.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED MARCH 31, 1911.

PRESIDENT:

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, A. M.,
San Francisco.

VICE-PRESIDENT:

ROCKWELL DENNIS HUNT, PH. D.,
University of Southern California.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

HAVEN WILSON EDWARDS, A. M.,
Oakland (Cal.) High School.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
JOSEPH M. GLEASON, A. M., S. T. B.,
Palo Alto, Cal.
EUGENE IRVING McCORMAC, PH. D.,
University of California.
NICHOLAS RICCIARDI,
Fremont High School, Oakland, Cal.
PAYSON JACKSON TREAT, PH. D.,
Leland Stanford Junior University.

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS:

- ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS:

- †JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.
†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1904.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., 1905, 1906.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1906, 1907.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907, 1908.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1908, 1909.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.

SECRETARIES:

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1899.
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900—
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—

CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.
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 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.
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 ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., 1887-1889.
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 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, A. B., LL. D., 1894-1895.
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 HENRY MORSE STEPHENS A. M., 1895-1899.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.
 WILLIAM A. DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
 HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.
 GEORGE L. BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.
 EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, A. M., 1902-1905.
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.
 †GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.
 REUBEN G. THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.
 CHARLES M. ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.
 JAMES H. ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
 MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908—
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908—
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1911—
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1911—
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1911—
 FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1911—

COMMITTEES—1911.

Committee on program for the twenty-sixth annual meeting.—Prof. Charles H. Hull, Ithaca, N. Y., chairman; William E. Dodd, William S. Ferguson, Jesse S. Reeves, Ferdinand Schevill, George M. Wrong.

Local committee of arrangements for that meeting.—Henry W. Hill, chairman; S. B. Botsford, Willis O. Chapin, William A. Douglas, William H. Gratwick, E. S. Hawley, Edmund Hayes, Charles H. Hull, Harry D. Kirkover, jr., S. N. McWilliams, Frank H. Severance, Carleton Sprague, Morris S. Tremaine.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—Prof. George B. Adams, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., chairman; George L. Burr, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, William M. Sloane, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Herbert D. Foster, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., chairman; Carl Becker, Francis A. Christie, John H. Latané, William MacDonald.

Public archives commission.—Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Victor H. Paltits, Dunbar Rowland, Jonas Viles.

Committee on bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; W. Dawson Johnston, Frederick J. Teggart, George P. Winship.

Committee on publications.—Prof. William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; and (ex officio) Herman V. Ames, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, James W. Thompson.

General committee.—Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Walter L. Fleming, Albert E. McKinley, Clarence S. Paine, Frederic L. Paxson, Lucy M. Salmon, and (ex officio) Waldo G. Leland and Henry W. Edwards.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee to study and report to the council upon the certification of high-school teachers of history.—Prof. Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kendric C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer.

Conference of State and local historical societies.—Prof. Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 500 Bond Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the ensuing year. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the *American Historical Review*, the *Annual Report*, and the *Handbook*. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The *Annual Report*, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the annual bibliography of writings on American history, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices, consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The *Handbook*, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published biennially. Back numbers of the *American Historical Review* may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The *Study of History in Elementary Schools*, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons of New York, at 50 cents.

The *Study of History in Secondary Schools*, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents. A further report (1911) has lately been published by the same firm, at the same price, on the same subject, by the committee of five.

Original Narratives of Early American History is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons of New York, at \$3 a volume.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, on historical sites and monuments, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

The Justin Winsor prize committee.—Claude H. Van Tyne (chairman), University of Michigan; Carl L. Becker, University of Kansas; Francis A. Christie, Meadville (Pa.) Theological School; John H. Latané, Washington and Lee University; William MacDonald, Brown University.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee.—George L. Burr (chairman), Cornell University; Guy S. Ford, University of Illinois; Edwin F. Gay, Harvard University; Charles D. Hazen, Smith College; James W. Thompson, University of Chicago.

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the

given year—e. g., by July 1, 1911 [but in 1911 essays may be submitted until October 1], for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1912, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigations in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate, and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.¹

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph will be published by the American Historical Association. Galley and page proofs will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

IX. The prize, together with 10 bound copies of the printed volume, will be sent to the author after the publication of the book. Further copies, not to exceed 25, he shall be entitled to purchase at the reduced price (\$1) at which a copy is furnished

¹In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. Care should be taken to make clear and consistent the abbreviations of the titles of the works cited.

to each subscribing member of the Association. Should he further desire unbound copies, not for sale, the committee will endeavor to furnish them to him at cost.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. George Lincoln Burr, Ithaca, N. Y.

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

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

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Antislavery sentiment before 1808."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to—

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

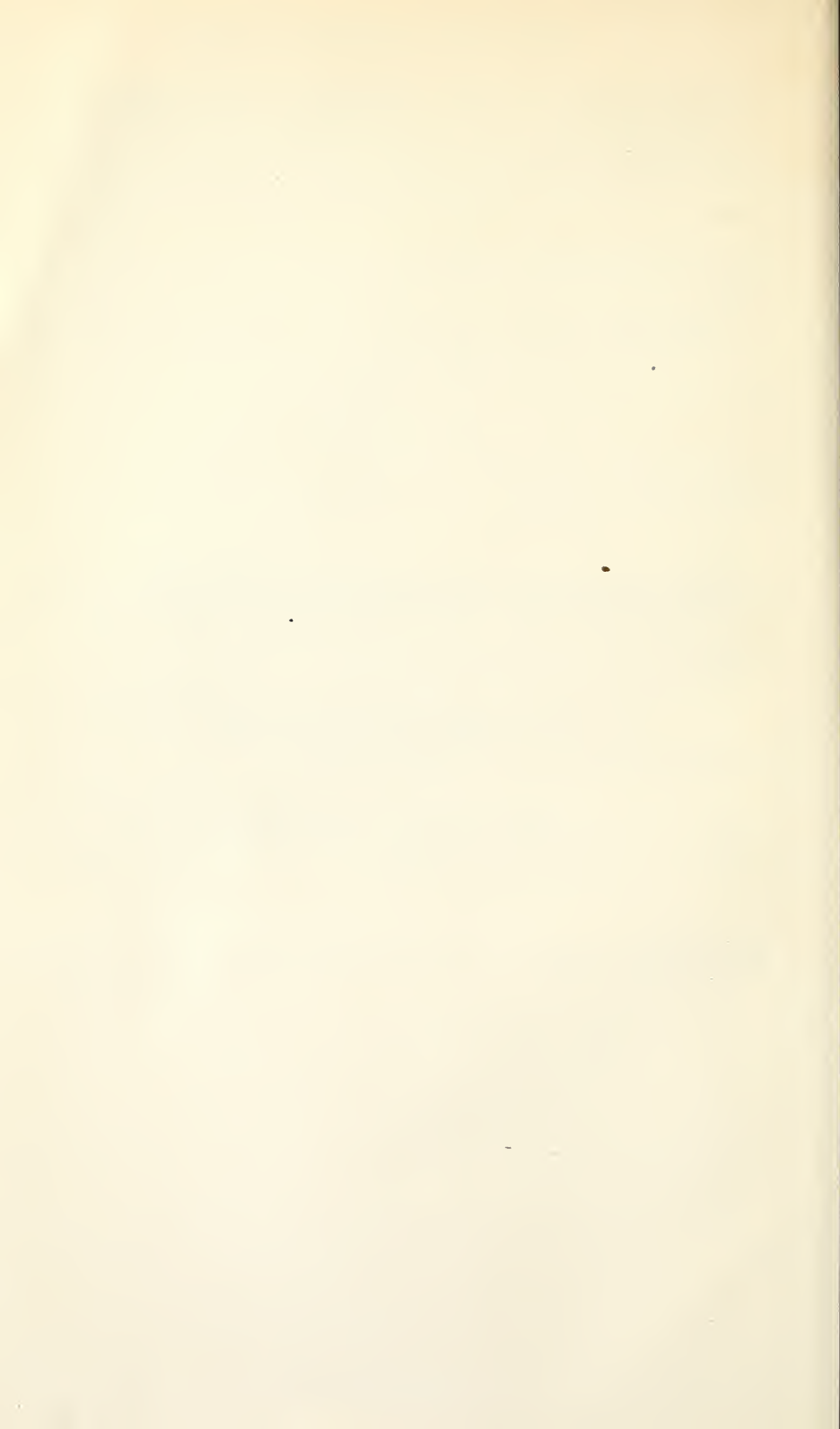
1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict, its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of English witchcraft, 1558-1718."

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 27-30, 1910.

By WALDO G. LELAND,
Secretary



REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.¹

By WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

Indianapolis is not a great university center, though it has a good suburban college and excellent schools. Though a pleasant and hospitable city, it has not much distinguished architecture nor many impressive "sights." It presented little to divert the mind of the historical student from the sessions and the company of his colleagues, nor was that mind distracted (while enlarged) by the simultaneous meetings of non-historical societies. On the other hand, Indianapolis is a railroad center conveniently reached from a great region abounding in members of the historical fraternity, and the hotel chosen as headquarters was so well arranged as to give every opportunity both for sessions and for sociability. Accordingly, the number of members registered was unusually large, 290, and by general agreement the convention was more than usually successful. The presence of large numbers of the younger men and women was especially observed. The credit for all this success belongs primarily to the committee on local arrangements, of which Mr. Calvin Kendall was chairman and Prof. Christopher B. Coleman, of Butler College, secretary, and to the committee on the program, Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, chairman.

It must be noted, as a further mark of the success of the meeting, that nearly all the practical conferences of workers in special fields were attended by increased numbers and characterized by interesting proceedings and in some cases valuable permanent results.

The economists and the students of political science held their meeting this year in St. Louis. The allied societies which met with the American Historical Association were bodies whose interest is likewise in history—the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the North Central History Teachers' Association. Sessions of these bodies preceded that of the national organization. Tuesday evening, December 27, was occupied with a joint session of the first two. A business meeting on the afternoon preceding had been devoted mainly to a discussion

¹ This report is substantially that which appeared in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1911.

of propositions for their union. For the present the view that the Ohio Valley Historical Association had a distinct sphere of usefulness in which it could not be wholly replaced by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association so far prevailed that further consideration of the proposed union was postponed for a year.

In the joint session held in the evening Prof. Orin G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota, read a paper entitled "New Light on the explorations of the Verendrye." He placed the Verendrye family—father and sons—in a class with La Salle and with Lewis and Clark in respect to the wide sweep of their explorations in the regions about the upper valley of the Missouri River, extending as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and he discussed the elder Verendrye's discovery of various tribes of Indians unknown to the world before his explorations.¹ Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, followed Prof. Libby with a description of Verendrye's discovery of the tribes of Indians about Lake Winnipeg.

Prof. Isaac J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, read the second paper of the session, on the American intervention in West Florida.² Although Mr. Henry Adams, Mr. Fuller, and Admiral Chadwick have depicted the diplomatic controversies in which West Florida was involved and Prof. McMaster has given something of a picture of local affairs in that district preceding the revolt of its inhabitants and the American intervention, yet in all accounts so far, Mr. Cox maintained, the diplomacy in Europe and in Washington and the local events in West Florida appear as distinct movements lacking in visible purpose and connection. He put forward, as the connecting link joining the two and completing the picture of American intervention, the correspondence of Gov. Claiborne of Orleans Territory and Gov. Holmes of Mississippi Territory, the former giving the best notion of those various frontier movements which rendered the absorption of the territory by the United States inevitable, the latter giving the inner history of the transactions leading immediately to American intervention. With the aid of these sources, essential yet not heretofore extensively used in any account of the episode, and with other documentary material, Mr. Cox described the movements of 1810 and 1811 which ended in the occupation of the Baton Rouge district by Gov. Claiborne assisted by Gov. Holmes. The emphasis was placed upon the position of Gov. Holmes, his attitude toward events occurring in West Florida, his relations with the leaders in these events, his reports to the American Government, and his precautions toward insuring the tranquillity of the Mississippi Territory and toward giving moral support to the West Florida insurgents. The later attitude of the United States, in the executive, legislative, and judi-

¹ Prof. Libby's paper will be printed in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

² Mr. Cox's paper is printed in the American Historical Review for January, 1912.

cial departments of its Government, with respect to justification of the movement, was also delineated.

In discussing the paper Prof. Frederic A. Ogg, of Simmons College, raised the question whether the administration of President Madison had not been censured with too much severity by reason of its actions with regard to West Florida in 1810 and 1811. Abandoning the ground that West Florida was rightfully a part of the Louisiana purchase he dwelt upon the hopeless decay of Spanish authority in the district, upon the influx between 1800 and 1810 of an American population which by the latter date dominated the district, upon the fact that if there were to be any change of status annexation to the United States was the solution most expedient for all concerned, and upon the reality of the reasons for apprehension lest West Florida be acquired by France or by Great Britain. Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, speaking upon the basis of materials in the archives of that State, defended the action of the United States on similar grounds.¹

Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, of Marietta College, in a paper entitled "A century of steamboat navigation on the Ohio," set forth with emphasis the developments in industrial and social history which had flowed from the launching of the *Orleans* at Pittsburgh in March, 1811, the first steamboat to be operated upon the Ohio River, and argued for a worthy celebration next spring of the centennial anniversary of so great an event. He proposed mechanical, economic, and historical features of the celebration, and the enlisting of various public bodies in cooperative endeavor toward a fitting commemoration.

Prof. R. B. Way, of Indiana University, in discussion of the paper, enlarged upon the wide range of historical investigation which such a centennial should evoke and urged that the general history of transportation in the Mississippi Valley, the history of westward migration before and during the period of the steamboat, the development of corporations, the contests for trade, and many other aspects of the life of the West should be extensively treated in connection with the celebration.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Ohio Valley Historical Association definite action was taken assuring a celebration at Pittsburgh and elsewhere in the latter part of September, 1911. The Fulton-Livingston steamboat *Orleans*, launched at Pittsburgh in March, 1811, made a trip to New Orleans in the following September under command of Capt. N. J. Roosevelt, a grand uncle of Col. Theodore Roosevelt. A Pittsburgh committee will reproduce the steam-

¹ The papers of Prof. Ogg and Dr. Rowland and that of Prof. Hulbert, which followed, will be printed in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

boat, with the intention that it shall repeat the voyage made by the original boat, halting at the places where it visited, and giving opportunity for various historical exercises, beginning with suitable addresses at Pittsburgh itself.

The Wednesday morning was occupied with a session devoted to the teaching of history and civics, held chiefly under the auspices of the North Central History Teachers' Association and with Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, as chairman. Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College, spoke on the evolution of the teacher, urging as the main suggestion that the teacher must be a producer in order to prevent arrest of his own development, to be able to train his pupils to produce, and to do his duty toward his profession and toward future times. Therefore, educational authorities should encourage productivity by providing for the sabbatical year, by establishing fellowships for research open to the teachers of the community, and by encouraging teachers to avail themselves of fellowships offered by universities, while the teacher must do his part to create an intelligent public opinion in respect to these things.¹

Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, speaking upon the question, Is government teachable in the schools? advised especially that civil government should be made concrete to the student's mind, commented on the lack of appliances and illustrative material which now impoverishes the teaching on the subject, and discussed the question whether certain important features of civil government—the influence of personal forces, including the boss, the actual methods of political parties, the darker side of our political life—could be instructively taught without implanting discouraging views in the pupil's minds. He believed that civil government and history should be taught together.

Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, civic secretary of the City Club of Philadelphia, spoke upon local history and the city community as means for the teaching of civics, laying emphasis upon the superior appeal which interest in the local community might make to the youthful mind, and the opportunity thus afforded for developing citizenship of good quality. Mr. Frank P. Goodwin, of the Woodward High School, in Cincinnati, showed how the Cincinnati public schools were using the local history of Cincinnati and the Ohio Valley as part of the regular course in American history, making more concrete the course of the national development and giving a broader significance to that of the local growth.² Miss Flora Swan, of Indianapolis, with a class from the eighth grade in one of the Indianapolis public schools, illustrated methods by conducting publicly a class in civics.

¹ This paper will be printed by the North Central History Teacher's Association.

² These two papers were printed in the History Teacher's Magazine for March, 1911. The February number of that magazine contained an excellent account of the whole meeting.

The proceedings peculiar to the American Historical Association proper began with a group of conferences held on Wednesday afternoon—a conference in ancient history, another in modern European history, another in American diplomatic history with special reference to Latin-American relations, and the fourth the usual annual conference of historical societies. These conferences, according to a procedure now settled as inevitable, were held simultaneously. That on ancient history was attended by about 100 persons. Noteworthy among the facts encouraging to the teacher of ancient history which were brought forward in the opening address by the chairman of the conference, Mr. Henry B. Wright, of Yale University, was the statement that out of 283 colleges and universities replying to a questionnaire, only 39 responded that ancient history was not taught at all within their walls, 81 that it was taught by the departments of philology (which 10 years ago nearly monopolized it), while in 163 ancient history is now taught by members of the historical department. A helpful feature of the procedure of this conference was that printed outlines of the papers read were provided for those attending.

The first paper, by Prof. Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, dealt with the western campaigns of Sennacherib, using as sources the inscriptions of that monarch and especially the so-called Taylor cylinder, the newly published fragmentary text of Scheil and Ungnad, and the Biblical sources, and arguing that these authorities sustain best the theory of two western campaigns rather than one.

After a paper by Prof. Henry A. Sill, of Cornell University, entitled "Niebuhr, 1810-1910," written apropos of the one hundredth anniversary of Niebuhr's appointment as professor at Berlin, Prof. R. F. Scholz, of the University of California, discoursed on some aspects of Roman imperialism. The aspects to which he adverted were chiefly the spread of the municipal system in Italy and in the provinces, with the evolution of a uniform municipal type (the *decurionate*) and of municipal law, and on the other hand the growth of the great estates and the feudalization of Italy and of the provinces. The relations of the two processes to each other and to the spread of Roman citizenship and the edict of Caracalla were traced.

Finally, in a paper on the Monument of Ancyra,¹ Prof. W. L. Westermann, of Wisconsin, attempted to define the political motive lying behind the form and manner of publication of the *Res Gestæ* of Augustus. He approached the problem through internal evidence, such as that of the significant omission of certain names and the partial avoidance of the term "*respublica*," and through such external evidences as are afforded by our knowledge of the weakness of the

¹ Printed in the American Historical Review for October, 1911.

succession to the principate, the unpopularity of Tiberius, and the use made of the document by publication after the death of Augustus. He thought it might safely be said that the endeavor to secure inheritance of the power in the family of Augustus was at least one motive which played a part in the composition and publication of the document. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Scholz, Sill, and Wright in the light of Kornemann's theories.

In the conference on modern European history, over which Prof. Guy S. Ford, of Illinois, presided, the general topic was European history as a field for American historical work. The discussion was opened with a paper by Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, on the doctor's dissertation in European history.¹ The paper dealt with some of the advantages and disadvantages which accompany the efforts of American students in handling subjects for doctoral dissertations selected from that field. The manifest advantages concerned the professional and intellectual expansion of the individual; the disadvantages, the difficulties of distance, expense, and similar practical considerations, and, above all, of language and of unfamiliarity with the traditions and temperament of another people. The want of adequate guides and seminaries was pointed out and the greater complexity of the subject was considered at length. The speaker discussed the differences that exist between the materials and methods for modern as contrasted with medieval history and the nature of the qualifications demanded of the student specializing in the modern field. He endeavored to ascertain the causes for the greater complexity of the documentary material for modern history, discussing their nature, their whereabouts whether in print or in manuscript, and the conditions under which documents in archive depositories are to be used. Attention was called to the growing importance of a knowledge of archives and of archive regulations in the countries of Europe and to some of the differences prevailing in the theory and practice adopted. In conclusion, Mr. Andrews said that "to the student able and equipped to invade the archives of another country than his own the advantages to himself and to his profession are so marked and the results likely to be so fruitful that it is eminently desirable for the graduate departments of our American universities to encourage such invasion whenever and wherever it is possible to do so."

In discussing Prof. Andrews's paper, the *pièce de résistance* of the conference, Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard, after admitting and to some extent dwelling upon some of the linguistic and pecuniary difficulties that beset the student of modern European history, and the need of more laborious preparation for tasks in that field, showed that on the other hand there were compensations, and that

¹ Printed in the April, 1911, number of the *History Teacher's Magazine*.

the very difficulties to be encountered were of a nature to stimulate the more ambitious mind. It should also be remembered that America owes something to the cause of general historical scholarship and that it is highly desirable that a certain proportion of the work in European history should be done by Americans. Prof. John M. Vincent, of the Johns Hopkins University, while likewise admitting the difficulties which had been set forth, called attention to the considerable number of fields of research in which printed materials abound and in which therefore some of the difficulties are reduced. Prof. James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago, while agreeing in the main with Prof. Andrews's conclusions, took issue with him as to the relative value of medieval and modern history, expressing some doubt as to whether modern history required greater ability to combine and construct, and held that training in critical work in the medieval field might develop properly the young mind for work in modern history. He suggested a number of open fields for historical investigation, and expressed the belief that the immediate future would see much greater attention paid to topics in the psychological interpretation of history. Prof. Fred M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, agreeing that American scholars must of necessity engage in research work in modern European history, laid emphasis upon the need of beginning their critical training in their undergraduate years by intensive work in the original sources. Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, suggested that much of the difficulty incident to the thesis in modern history could be lessened by selecting subjects which ran into both American and European history, and expressed the hope that American universities might some time so arrange that there should be each year in Paris an American professor of modern history somewhat familiar with the archives of that city, who might assist American students occupied with researches there.

In order to secure continuity in the work of the modern history conference a committee was appointed, consisting of Profs. Vincent and Thompson, to consider the matter and to confer with a similar committee to be appointed by the conference in medieval history.

The third conference, that on American diplomatic history, was presided over by Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University. The opening paper, by Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, was on George Canning's policy respecting the Oregon boundary question.¹ Upon the basis of correspondence preserved in the archives of our Department of State, Prof. James M. Callahan, of the University of West Virginia, displayed the Mexican policy of southern leaders on the eve of the Civil War.² James Gadsden,

¹ An expanded form of this paper was printed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1911.

² The full text of this paper will be found in the present volume, pp. 133-151.

before his negotiations for territory were completed in 1853, was sent confidential instructions authorizing him to purchase Lower California and the entire region beyond the Rio Grande to the watershed and to 32° north latitude on the Gulf of California. Negotiations were renewed under President Buchanan through John Forsyth and Robert M. McLane for the acquisition of additional territory in this region, an acquisition which under the influence of southern leaders was regarded as the most satisfactory solution of the Mexican problem short of an American protectorate. Unsuccessful in this effort, the administration set itself to secure concessions as to transit across Mexico and as to direct intervention for enforcing treaty stipulations. The treaty which was finally signed on this basis was delayed in the Senate, and finally the secession movement and the beginning of the Civil War made its ratification impossible, taking from the Senate almost all the members who had voted for it.

In remarks upon trade and diplomacy between the United States and Latin America, Mr. Joseph H. Sears, of New York City, described the lack of facilities for transportation and banking, the indifference of North Americans to Latin-American customs of trade and life, and the manner in which similar ignorance has hindered success in diplomatic relations. Mr. Albert Hale, of the Pan-American Union, followed along similar lines, but thought the situation improving, and called attention to the interesting field of historical research which certain phases of Latin America presented. Dr. Don E. Smith, of the University of California, suggested a school or institute of Latin-American historical studies in Mexico, analogous to the American schools in Athens and Rome. Other university teachers described the development of diplomatic history in their curricula. A committee was appointed to arrange, if practicable, for a similar conference at the next meeting of the association.

The fourth of the conferences, that of historical societies, on Wednesday afternoon, presided over by Mr. Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit, was attended by about 40 persons, representing nearly that number of organizations.¹ Dr. Dunbar Rowland reported on behalf of the committee on cooperation among historical societies and departments respecting the preparation of a calendar of the documents in the French archives concerning the Mississippi Valley, active work on which was commenced in November, 1909, and which, it is expected, may be ready for print before the end of the year 1912. Mr. F. A. Sampson, of the Missouri State Historical Society, spoke on publicity as a means of adding to collections, describing the modes by which societies or departments might bring home to the public a better knowledge of what should be brought into historical collections and a warmer interest in supplying them with the things which

¹ A full report of the proceedings of this conference is printed in the present volume, pp. 243-266.

it is their function to preserve. Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of Illinois, treated of the preservation and care of collections, occupying his remarks mainly with the processes of restoration and treatment of manuscripts, and illustrating those processes by the exhibition of examples.

The first general session of the association took place on Wednesday evening. It was opened by an address of welcome on behalf of the community, by the Governor of Indiana, Hon. Thomas R. Marshall. The presidential address which followed, was on social forces in American history,¹ by Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University, who dealt, as only a devoted and accomplished student of western history could do, with the new light cast on our whole history by the extraordinary developments of the last 20 years, and with the new duties which this imposes on the historian.

Appropriately to the fiftieth anniversary of the winter of secession, a large place was given in the public sessions of the association to the political events of 1860-61, Thursday morning's session being occupied with affairs at the North, Friday's at the South. The former series was opened by Prof. Carl R. Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, with a paper on the decision of the Ohio Valley,² the purpose of which was, first, to show the essential unity of that valley in 1860 and the necessity that the whole valley should come to the same decision in the division of the country; and, secondly, to show that its voice was necessarily given in favor of the unity of the whole country.

In a paper on the Dred Scott decision,³ more particularly on the declaration that the eighth section of the Missouri compromise act was unconstitutional, Prof. Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton, declared his persuasion that the usual historical verdict with reference to that announcement needs revision on two points: First, as to its being obiter dictum, and secondly, as to its basis.

Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, read a paper on the doctrine of State sovereignty and secession. It showed the necessary basis of that doctrine to be the assertion that the States were separate sovereignties before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and that they adopted the Constitution separately. The doctrine does not rely to any great extent on any expressed intention of the men of 1788 to retain the States in undiminished sovereignty or on any such conscious purpose, for there is practically no contemporaneous testimony or evidence that the men who adopted the Constitution believed that the States remained sovereign and could secede at will. The theory rests upon the meta-

¹ Printed in the American Historical Review for January, 1911.

² Printed below in the present volume, pp.153-164.

³ Printed in the American Historical Review for October, 1911.

physical supposition that if the States acted separately, their action did not result in the establishment of unity or a government with power of compulsion over them. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were based on the principles of the American Revolution, not on those of the war of secession. The paper also called attention to the struggles in the early part of the nineteenth century concerning the right of the central government to judge of its own powers. The question of this right, rather than of any clear-cut doctrine of State sovereignty and secession, was the question under discussion in the first quarter of the century. After a consideration of the theories of Judge Roane, John Taylor, and others of the South, the paper ended with a consideration of the pivotal points in the arguments of Calhoun.

The morning session was concluded with a paper by Judge Daniel W. Howe, of the Indiana Historical Society, respecting the development of war spirit in the North, in which he described, with vividness and warmth derived from personal remembrance, the events of secession, the varying opinions prevalent in the closing months of 1860, the peace measures of Congress, the discussions respecting the Charleston forts, the vacillations of Buchanan, the hesitancy during the first month of Lincoln's administration, the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the call to arms, and the immediate and impressive response.

As on the previous day the afternoon was given up to conferences—a conference on medieval history, presided over by Prof. Earle W. Dow, of the University of Michigan; a conference of archivists, presided over by Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the public archives commission; and a conference of teachers of history in teachers' colleges and normal schools, of which the chairman was Prof. Albert H. Sanford, of the State Normal School at La Crosse, Wis.

The first of these was in practice almost confined to the medieval history of England. A paper on royal purveyance in England during the fourteenth century,¹ by Prof. Chalfant Robinson, of Yale, rested mainly upon the *Speculum Regis* of Simon Islip, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a document consisting of a series of remonstrances addressed to Edward III, in whose reign the abuses of purveyance were peculiarly burdensome. Taken in conjunction with the great statute of 36 Edward III, on purveyance, this document furnishes a comprehensive picture of the wrongs suffered by humble Englishmen from the action of the King's officers. The *Speculum Regis*, compiled in 1337 and 1345, furnishes graphic pictures of what happened in specific instances of the exercise of royal purveyance.

¹ Printed in the present volume, pp. 89-99.

The only other formal paper read in this conference was one by Prof. James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, on the records of the privy seal,¹ his endeavor being to show how the wide scope of operations under the privy seal made the miscellaneous records of its office useful for a multitude of topics in English medieval history. He dwelt specifically upon the warrants of the treasurer and chancellor; upon the letters and writs not destined for the great seal; upon the wardrobe and its diplomatic functions; and upon the various records illustrative of the history of the King's council.

The remainder of the proceedings in this conference was given to a less formal consideration of profitable opportunities for investigation in English medieval history. In opening the discussion Prof. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, inquired into what might be done by the use of a sane comparative method, especially as between legislative development in France and England, and several of those who followed him dwelt in one way or another on the same point, Prof. Vincent especially urging work depicting medieval society in motion rather than the exclusive study of the origin and growth of institutions, while Prof. C. H. Mellwain, of Bowdoin College, pleaded for more attention to the study of historical jurisprudence and of legal ideas.

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The conference of archivists, held now for the second time, distinctly justified its existence.² Very appropriately it was opened by an account of the International Conference of Archivists held at Brussels last August, at which the American Historical Association was represented by four delegates. The narrative was prepared by one of these, Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, of Albany, who set forth fully and clearly the discussions and results of the congress. The progress in the acquisition of modern administrative records, the development of archives for economic history, and the improvements in the training of archive officials, were well brought out. Among the resolutions voted at Brussels the one most important for American archivists was that which declared emphatically the general European opinion that the arrangement of papers in archives should respect the principle of provenance, keeping original deposits together and basing classification strictly on the organic relations between the offices from which the documents were derived.

In a paper on the concentration of State and National archives, Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, endeavored to apply the lessons of European experience and of the historical use of archives to the problem of bringing better order and system into the management of American archives, now frequently chaotic in respect to collocation, administration, and classification. He advocated concentration

¹ Printed in the present volume, pp. 83-88.

² The proceedings of this conference are printed in full in the present volume, pp. 279-314.

into State archives, furnished with adequate buildings, and uniform State care. Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, speaking with respect to the archives of our National Government, dwelt especially upon the need of a proper national archive building in Washington, and gave a rapid survey of the best points in the archive repositories of Europe, with a view to showing what such a building should be, in order to serve at the same time the needs of Government business, which must of necessity come first, and the purposes of the historical student.

Further remarks in this conference were made by Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, on the practice of the English and other archives with respect to the fixing of the dividing date between papers which may be examined and those which for governmental reasons are withheld; by Mr. Dan E. Clark, of Iowa, on the progress of legislation respecting archives in that State and the administration of the present excellent system; by Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on the recent law in that State organizing the Library and Historical Commission; by Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, on the question what materials should go into the archives of the State; by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the North Carolina Historical Commission, on its work; by Mr. Demarchus C. Brown, on the efforts now making in Indiana; by Mr. Asa C. Tilton, of the Connecticut State Library, on the relations between State archives and State libraries; by Prof. Justin H. Smith, who spoke with reference to the needs and interests of the private investigator; and by Mr. J. F. Jameson, on the movement in Washington for a proper national archive building and the work of the association's committee on that subject.

The last of the conferences of this afternoon, that of teachers of history in teachers' colleges and normal schools, was occupied with the question of the preparation which teachers of history in schools should be required to have. Prof. Edgar Dawson, of the Normal College in New York City, contrasted the preparative work expected in France and Germany of teachers of history in secondary schools—including university work at least equal to that required for the doctor's degree—with the much lower standards of eligibility for high-school teachers of history in America, and warmly commended the California requirement of a year of graduate residence at a university and a recommendation from the university department in which the candidate has studied. Prof. Thomas N. Hoover, of the State Normal College of the Ohio University, described systematically the defects in the present teaching and the ways in which these might be remedied by better academic education followed by

superior professional training.¹ Prof. Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal School at Terre Haute, believed that the path of success in any endeavor after improvement lay in cooperation with the general movement toward improving the qualifications of secondary school teachers of all sorts, and dwelt, as did Prof. Harold W. Foght, of the Missouri State Normal School at Kirksville, on the proper proportions between the requirements in respect to academic training (substantially a college degree) and the requirements in respect to professional or pedagogical training.

Miss Sarah M. Riggs, of the Iowa State Teachers' College at Cedar Falls, read the concluding paper of this conference, on the preparation necessary for the teaching of history in the grades, describing the course which schools aiming to prepare teachers of history should provide, not only in history but in allied subjects, such as geography and economics, and in psychology, with special reference to the development of the mind of the child.² The discussion of these papers made evident an earnest and general conviction that we should have in America far better preparation than hitherto for the work of teaching history in schools. A committee—Prof. Edward C. Page, Miss Julia A. King, and Prof. Henry Johnson—was appointed with reference to provision for similar conferences at subsequent meetings.

A general session devoted to papers in European history was held on Thursday evening. Five papers were read. The first, by Prof. Laurence M. Larson, of the University of Illinois, was on the efforts of the Danish Kings to recover the English Crown after the death of Harthacnut.³ The speaker believed that it was Cnut's intention to leave the empire to Harthacnut. This arrangement was disturbed by the failure of direct heirs, and by revolutionary movements in Norway, leading to intermittent warfare between Norway and Denmark lasting for more than two decades. The Danish attempts at invasion in 1069, 1075, and 1085 were discussed with especial reference to the causes that brought failure—in the first instance the breakdown of Sweyn's ambitious plan of reducing Norway, in the second the lack of cooperation on the part of the English, who remembered the devastation of the Vale of York, and in the third the renewal of war on Cnut's Saxon frontier immediately after the death of Gregory VII. The Domesday survey may have been in part a result of financial difficulties brought on by William's elaborate preparations to meet the threatened invasion; but it can hardly be true that the Salisbury oath was the outcome of this danger.

¹ The papers of Profs. Dawson and Hoover may be found in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for May, 1911.

² See *ibid.*

³ Printed in the present volume, pp. 69-81.

Dr. Roland G. Usher contributed some critical notes on the works of S. R. Gardiner.¹ As his readers are well aware, Dr. Gardiner leaves them to infer his views of the character and of the general development of the story from brief remarks interjected from time to time into the narrative. An attempt to elaborate from these fragments a connected and clear statement of Gardiner's conceptions concerning the characters of Charles, Laud, Pym, Strafford, and Cromwell, and concerning his conception of the English constitution, and the sense in which he used the word "nation," had seemed to Dr. Usher to lay bare grave inconsistencies of language and even of thought, which he proceeded to discuss in detail.

Upon the basis of extensive researches in both the English and Dutch archives Prof. Ralph C. H. Catterall, of Cornell University, discoursed upon Anglo-Dutch relations, 1654-1660.² During these years, and indeed before and after, these relations center about the attempt of the Dutch to persuade the English to adopt a policy of freedom in regard to commerce and navigation. After the peace of 1654 efforts were made to secure the revocation of the navigation act. Failing in this, the Dutch ambassadors pushed for a marine treaty which should recognize the principle of "free ships, free goods," remove the great abuses attending the exercise of the right of search upon the part of the English, and restrict the definition of contraband goods to objects directly used in waging war. Nieuport's persistent but skillful endeavors to secure these objects, the counter propositions of the English, and the negotiations, especially during the years 1656 and 1657, were described in detail. Delayed by the constitutional debates in England and suspended as nearly hopeless at the end of 1657, the negotiations were made impossible of renewal by the Dutch blockade of Lisbon in the autumn of the next year, and though Nieuport persisted, the Restoration found matters in exactly the same state as had existed in 1654.

After this paper Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, gave an entertaining informal address upon the historiography of the French Revolution, with special reference to and commendation of the work of Aulard.

The last paper of the evening was read by Prof. Charles D. Hazen, of Smith College, on Alexis de Tocqueville and the Republic of 1848. When the second republic was proclaimed Tocqueville immediately rallied to it, although he had never believed a republic suitable for France. He now considered, however, that it offered the only means of preserving her from anarchy or a dictatorship. He was appointed by the National Assembly a member of the committee to form the constitution, served as minister of foreign affairs under Louis Na-

¹ Printed in the present volume, pp. 123-132.

² Printed in the present volume, pp. 101-121.

oleon from June to October, 1849, and was a member of a committee on the revision of the constitution in 1851. Mr. Hazen described in detail the acts and opinions of Tocqueville respecting the formation of the constitution during the period of his service in the first of these three capacities, and his endeavors in the latter two to preserve the republic by foiling the ambitions of the prince president.

The session of the last morning was, as has been mentioned, devoted to further papers related to the fiftieth anniversary of secession. The formal papers were preceded by a most delightful informal talk on the part of Dr. James B. Angell, president emeritus of the University of Michigan, entitled "Some Recollections of a Horseback Ride through the South in 1850." Starting from Winchester, Va., the route of this expedition passed through Charlottesville, Charlotte, Columbia, Charleston, Augusta, Atlanta, into Florida, with subsequent visits to Montgomery, Mobile, and New Orleans. From a political point of view the matters mainly touched upon were on the one hand the general restiveness and tendency toward secession in that year, and on the other hand the conservatism in respect to such movements which the commercial spirit had inspired in the cities. But the speaker dwelt more largely and most entertainingly upon the social and picturesque features of southern life which in successive places of sojourn impressed the mind of a young northern observer.

Prof. David Y. Thomas, of the University of Arkansas, discussed the lower South in the election of 1860.¹ He showed that the county and State conventions had assumed a radical position, but that among the delegates to them there was a decided preponderance of lawyers and officeholders and very few planters. Upon careful comparison of the election returns, county by county, and the statistics with respect to slavery, Prof. Thomas concluded that the general tendency of the slaveholders, especially those who held many slaves, was to support the conservative Bell, while that of the poorer non-slaveholders was to support the radical Breckinridge. The wealthy slaveholders were almost unanimously agreed upon their rights in the Territories, though they differed as to the expediency of pushing radical demands. The speaker set forth the reasons why the non-slaveholders maintained their alliance with the slaveholders, or continued to follow contentedly their lead.

The second southern paper was that of Prof. William K. Boyd, of Trinity College, on North Carolina on the eve of secession.² Some phases of southern life often lost from sight in discussions of slavery and secession are illustrated by the case of North Carolina. These are, a social system in which the predominant type was the small farmer of moderate means; an economic and political cleavage be-

¹ This paper has been printed in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1911.

² Printed in the present volume, pp. 165-177.

tween the eastern and western counties; a less extensive development of slavery than in the far South, and indeed an attitude in the western counties of protest against domination by the interest of slavery; and, finally, a political opinion in regard to Federal relations strongly affected by the Whig control, which had lasted from 1836 to 1850. From 1850 to 1860 the main struggle was between those who wished to cooperate with the far South in demanding opportunity for slavery in the Territories, and the Whigs and conservative Democrats who opposed that propaganda. The speaker reviewed the other issues of the time, political and personal, and the action of the North Carolina delegates to the Democratic national convention of 1860. An analysis of the votes of that year seemed to him to show that the small majority of Breckinridge was really a rebuke to the radical Democracy, an attitude evidenced again in February, 1861, and maintained until Lincoln's call for troops.

The paper of Prof. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, on the fight for the Northwest in 1860,¹ described the struggle of southern leaders to maintain the Democratic hold upon the Northwest, especially upon Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, the contests in the churches between those who were conservative on the subject of slavery and those who were radical, and the effect which immigration, especially into the lands sold by the Illinois Central Railroad, had upon the balance of parties in those States. That of Mr. Armand J. Gerson, of the University of Pennsylvania, on the inception of the Montgomery convention,² began with a consideration of the work of those commissioners whom the seceding States appointed to confer with each other and with other slave States in December, 1860, and January, 1861. The adoption of February 4 as the date of the proposed convention was due to a proposal to that effect agreed upon by the South Carolina commissioners before they departed to their respective destinations. The adoption of Montgomery as the place was due to a suggestion let fall by the South Carolina commissioner to Alabama in an address before the Alabama convention, upon which ensued an invitation from that State. Many writers have attributed one or both of these decisions to the action of Mississippi, but this Mr. Gerson showed to be erroneous.

The final session of the association, held on Friday evening (the annual business meeting having already taken place in the afternoon³), was devoted to the reading of a single paper, of much brilliancy of style and importance of content, and its discussion from various points of view. The paper, by Prof. James H. Robinson, of Columbia University, was on the relation of history to the newer

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1911.

² Printed in the present volume, pp. 179-188.

³ The proceedings of the business meeting, with the reports of officers and committees, follow immediately after the present account.

sciences of man.¹ Mr. Robinson pointed out that history had since the middle of the nineteenth century been mainly engaged in making itself scientifically presentable by a scrupulous criticism of its sources, a detailed study of past events and conditions, and the elimination of the older supernatural, metaphysical, and anthropocentric interpretations. This arduous process has proved so absorbing that historical students have not as yet taken full account of either the discovery of man's descent from the lower animals or of the vast period during which he now appears to have been living on the globe. The organic sciences as well as those dealing with man specifically have been revolutionized by the interpretations and explanations suggested by the evolutionary theory. In the work of the historian, strangely enough, the genetic element is as yet far less common than would seem natural and essential. History, in one sense, is as yet less historical in its mode than comparative anatomy. Moreover, during the past 40 or 50 years a number of new social sciences have been developing, the results of which ought to have an important influence in modifying our notions of man and his development. Among these newer ways of studying man are anthropology, the study of comparative religions, palethnology, social psychology and its essential basis, animal psychology. Our conceptions of race, of culture, its origin and transmission, of progress and decline, of "human nature," and of all religious phenomena have been profoundly modified by anthropological and psychological investigations. As yet historical students continue to use the terms in senses which have been outlawed and thus run grave danger of misunderstanding and misinterpreting many vital phenomena.

Prof. George L. Burr said that while, like Mr. Robinson, he held that all the sciences are sisters and should be fellow workers, and while with him he deprecated a history that is merely antiquarian and a historismus that has lost its touch with life, he could see no reason for including under the name of history the sciences which are only her neighbors. The scholars now held up to our admiration by Mr. Robinson are far from doing this. Propositions learned by rote, however true, do not make up a science. A science is our science only in so far as we can use its processes and test its results. When biology and anthropology have explained for us all they can, when the social sciences shall have accounted for every survival, every instinct, every imitation, there will still remain for history a field broad enough and noble enough for any study, and woe betide the social sciences themselves if we forget it.

Further comments were made by Prof. George W. Knight, of the Ohio State University. Since primarily history deals with mankind in past action, it is its business to accept and to use what-

¹Since printed in his "The New History, and Other Essays in Modern Historical Criticism."

ever solid results of other sciences make possible a better understanding of mankind. But similarly, the other sciences of man rely and must rely upon history to furnish them data which they accept as of assistance in their primary fields. There is a never ceasing mutuality of interest and interchange of results between them all. Without differing from Prof. Robinson as to the influence which the newer sciences ought to have on the historian, he held that that influence had already been working, in a degree greater than the latter had seemed to recognize. He drew particular attention to the duty of the instructor in history to make sure that his students became acquainted with the important verities of the other sciences of mankind.

Prof. George H. Mead, of the University of Chicago, held that the matter of history, man, has in fact become different because of the scientific advances upon which Prof. Robinson dwelt. The older histories had been political because society's conscious efforts had taken the form of endeavors to solve political problems. More recently we have become more occupied with social problems, and history would probably respond to this change by a difference of treatment and a different relation to the sciences.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE CLAYPOOL HOTEL, IN INDIANAPOLIS, IND., DECEMBER 30, 1910, AT 4.30 P. M., PRESIDENT TURNER IN THE CHAIR.

The report of the secretary, Mr. W. G. Leland, was read in his absence by the acting secretary, Mr. J. F. Jameson. It showed a membership of 2,925 on December 21, 1910.

On behalf of the council, the secretary of the council, Mr. C. H. Haskins, reported that the council had held a meeting in New York, November 26, 1910, and two meetings at Indianapolis on December 28 and 30, and that at these meetings reports had been received from the various standing committees and commissions of the association, and appropriations made for the continuance of the association's work during the coming year. An agreement had been made with Mr. David M. Matteson for the preparation of a general index of all the publications put forth by the association during its first 25 years. Details of the work had been arranged with Mr. Matteson by a committee consisting of Messrs. Albert Bushnell Hart, Worthington C. Ford, and J. Franklin Jameson. The work is expected to last about four years, and the expense is to be spread over that period. The report next described the preparation of a new annual, *The American Yearbook*, planned and supervised by a committee representing various scientific bodies, in which the representative of the American Historical Association is Mr. Hart. It was reported that the material hitherto embraced in the annual bibliography entitled "*Writings on American history*," prepared by Miss Grace G. Griffin, would hereafter be published in the annual report of the association, as a part of the duty imposed upon the society by its act of incorporation, to "report annually * * * concerning * * * the condition of historical study in America." The council had a year before appointed a committee on the subject of historical sites and buildings, instructing it to make a preliminary survey of the field and report a proper line of action for the association to pursue. This committee, consisting of Messrs. Edwin E. Sparks, Reuben G. Thwaites, Frank H. Severance, Edmond S. Meany, and Henry E. Bourne, had reported progress and had been continued. A

committee, of which the chairman is Mr. Max Farrand, had been appointed at the November meeting to make a preliminary consideration of the question of preparing a bibliography of travels in America. The council had under consideration the possibility of a report on European historical societies resembling in general that which a committee headed by Mr. Thwaites had printed in the annual report for 1905 respecting the American historical societies.

With respect to the place of meeting for December, 1911, the council recommended, in pursuance of an invitation received from the Buffalo Historical Society and other authorities of Buffalo, that the meeting should be held in that city, with a final day's excursion to Ithaca, an invitation to conclude the sessions in that way having been received. The association so voted.

Upon recommendation of the council the following resolution was adopted:

The American Historical Association, concerned for the preservation of the records of the National Government as muniments of our national advancement and as material which historians must use in order to ascertain the truth, and aware that the records are in many cases now stored where they are in danger of destruction from fire and in places which are not adapted to their preservation, and where they are inaccessible for administrative and historical purposes, and knowing that many of the records of the Government have in the past been lost or destroyed because suitable provision for their care and preservation was not made, do respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to take such steps as may be necessary to erect in the city of Washington a national archive depository, where the records of the Government may be concentrated, properly cared for, and preserved.

The reports of the treasurer, of the Audit Co. of New York, and of the auditing committee, Mr. Jacob P. Dunn, chairman, were received and accepted. The treasurer's report showed an excess of receipts over disbursements to the amount of \$759.34 and an increase during the year of \$614.78 in the assets of the association.

The report of the Pacific coast branch, chiefly relating to its meeting of December 18 and 19, was presented by the delegate of the branch, Mr. H. Morse Stephens. Brief reports were received concerning the work of the historical manuscripts commission and the public archives commission, the former by Mr. U. B. Phillips in the absence of the chairman, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and the latter by Mr. Herman V. Ames. The former dealt chiefly with the body of correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb, which it is proposed to print as the second volume of the annual report for 1910. The latter besides describing the material printed in the present volume announced the intention of the commission to prepare a list of commissions and instructions issued to colonial governors and of all representations and reports of the board of trade.

The chairman, Mr. Charles H. Hull, on behalf of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, reported that the prize for 1910 had been awarded to Mr. Edward Raymond Turner, of Bryn Mawr College, for his essay entitled, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—Slavery, servitude, and freedom, 1639-1861." Upon joint representations from this committee and from the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize it was voted by the association that the regulations of the competition should be so amended that the essays should be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year, instead of October 1. It was agreed that contestants for the Adams prize in 1911 should be invited but not required to submit their papers at the earlier date, but that the change from October 1 should not be enforced in that year.

Brief reports were received from the board of editors of the American Historical Review, from the committee on publications, from the committee on bibliography, from the general committee, from the general editor of the series of reprints entitled "Original Narratives of Early American History," and from the committee on a bibliography of modern English history. The report of the committee of five on history in secondary schools was understood to be already in the press, to be published

by the Macmillan Co. within the next two or three months. The bibliography of modern English history is being prepared by the joint efforts of an American and an English committee, the former dealing with the Tudor period, the latter with that of the Stuarts.

The committee on nominations, Messrs. Frank H. Hodder, Frank M. Anderson, and John M. Vincent, nominated the following officers for the ensuing year, for whom the acting secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the association:

President.—William M. Sloane, New York City.

First vice president.—Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

Second vice president.—William A. Dunning, New York City.

Secretary.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer.—Clarence W. Bowen, New York City.

Secretary of the council.—Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge, Mass.

Curator.—A. Howard Clark, Washington, D. C.

Executive council (elected members).—Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.; Charles H. Hull, Ithaca, N. Y.; Franklin I. Riley, University, Miss.; Edwin E. Sparks, State College, Pa.; James A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Ind.; Fred M. Fling, Lincoln, Nebr.

On behalf of the council its secretary announced the appointment of the following committees for 1911:

ANNUAL COMMITTEES.

Committee on program for twenty-seventh annual meeting (Buffalo, 1911): Charles H. Hull, William S. Ferguson, George M. Wrong, Ferdinand Schevill, Jesse S. Reeves, William E. Dodd.

Local committee of arrangements for the twenty-seventh annual meeting: Henry W. Hill (since appointed), chairman; Frank H. Severance, secretary; Charles H. Hull.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Historical manuscripts commission: Worthington C. Ford, Herbert D. Foster, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young, Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize: Claude H. Van Tyne, John H. Latané, Carl L. Becker, Francis A. Christie, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize: George L. Burr, James W. Thompson, Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen.

Public archives commission: Herman V. Ames, Charles M. Andrews, Dunbar Rowland, Victor H. Paltsits, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles.

Committee on bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, W. Dawson Johnston, George Parker Winship, Frederick J. Teggart.

Editor of the American Historical Review for six years from January 1, 1911: A. C. McLaughlin (Messrs. Adams, Burr, Jameson, Sloane, and Turner hold over).

Committee on publications: William A. Dunning; and (ex officio) Herman V. Ames, Waldo G. Leland, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Worthington C. Ford, Ernest C. Richardson, George L. Burr, and C. H. Van Tyne.

General committee: St. George L. Sioussat, Lucy M. Salmon, Frederic L. Paxson, Walter L. Fleming, Albert E. McKinley, Clarence S. Paine; and (ex officio) Waldo G. Leland and Henry W. Edwards.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history: Edward P. Cheyney, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee to study and report to the council upon the certification of high school teachers of history: Dana C. Munro, chairman; Kendrick C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer.

Conference of State and local historical societies: Isaac J. Cox, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary.

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON,
Acting Secretary.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

At the close of the twenty-sixth year of its existence the association may congratulate itself that its growth in membership, in resources, and, above all, in usefulness, continues to be healthy and steady. The total membership of the association on December 21 was 2,925 as against 2,691 a year ago, a gain of 234, or rather more than 10 per cent. Of the present membership, 2,763 are individuals, 116 of whom are life members, while 162 are institutions. Since the annual meeting last December, 412 new members have been added. The loss in membership has been 178; 103 by resignation, 45 from non-payment of dues since September 1, 1908, and 30 by death. At present there are 119 members whose dues remain unpaid since September 1, 1909, and most of these will probably be dropped during the coming year. The geographical distribution of the members is as follows: New England, 495; Middle Atlantic States, 867; Southern States, 297; North Central States, 667; Middle Western States, 215; Pacific Coast Branch States, 304; insular possessions, 2; British and Latin America and West Indies, 30; Europe and British Isles, 45; Asia, 3.

Among the members whose deaths the association most keenly regrets, should be mentioned the names of Goldwin Smith, a former president of the association, and Prof. George P. Garrison, who did not live to complete the work upon which he had been engaged for some years, in behalf of the association, the editing of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas.

With regard to publications, Volume I of the report for 1908 was distributed in September, and Volume II, being the concluding volume of Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, may be expected in about three months. The report for 1909 will soon go to press and it is hoped that it may appear by the end of the spring. For some years the annual reports have been, for various reasons, more or less delayed in publication. Normally the report should go to press on July 1 (the date upon which the printing appropriation becomes available) following the annual meeting of which it contains the proceedings, and should be distributed during the late fall or early winter. It is hoped that from now on it will be possible to have the reports follow this normal procedure. It should be observed, however, that a cause of much delay in the past has been the failure of members participating in the program of the annual meeting to furnish the secretary promptly with copies of their papers.

The prize essays of the association have been published through the secretary's office, but the report respecting them will be presented by the committee on publications. As the biennial handbook of the association will be published during the coming year, all members are urged to furnish the secretary with correct information respecting their addresses, degrees, academic and other positions, etc.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

PARIS, December 21, 1910.

REPORT OF CLARENCE W. BOWEN, TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

1909.		
Dec. 15.	Balance cash on hand.....	\$3,982.30
1910.		
Dec. 19.	Receipts as follows:	
	2,717½ annual dues, at \$3.....	\$8,151.50
	3 annual dues, at \$3.50.....	10.50
	2 annual dues, at \$3.15.....	6.30
	1 annual dues.....	3.11
	22 annual dues, at \$3.10.....	68.20
	1 annual dues.....	3.09
	4 annual dues, at \$3.05.....	12.20

1910.

Dec. 19. Receipts—Continued.

2 annual dues, at \$3.04.....	\$6.08
1 annual dues.....	2.85
1 annual dues.....	2.25
3 annual dues, at \$2.....	6.00
2 life memberships.....	100.00
Sales of publications.....	586.67
Royalty on "The study of History in Schools".....	18.60
Royalty on "Report of the Committee of Eight".....	140.42
Interest on bond and mortgage.....	850.00
Dividends on bank stock.....	110.00
	\$10,077.77
	14,060.07

DISBURSEMENTS.

1910.

Dec. 19. Treasurer's clerk hire, vouchers 14, 61, 78, 109, 130, 176.....	\$344.25
Secretary's clerk hire, vouchers 15, 16, 17, 19, 49, 65, 77, 90, 93, 100, 104, 105, 118, 120, 126, 129, 134, 146, 161, 191, 203.....	809.35
Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 8, 21, 25, 26, 28, 35, 36, 37, 39, 46, 47, 48, 58, 63, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 91, 95, 101, 102, 103, 106, 119, 121, 127, 128, 131, 132, 135, 137, 141, 145, 153, 156, 158, 160, 166, 172, 179, 192, 206.....	498.72
Secretary of the council, vouchers 7, 40, 41, 42, 43, 114, 157, 177, 178, 209, 210, 211.....	99.51
Pacific coast branch, vouchers 2, 3, 4, 189.....	147.69
American Historical Review, vouchers 29, 55, 62, 71, 80, 81, 82, 96, 112, 123, 124, 139, 148, 167, 207.....	4,477.20
Public archives commission, vouchers 5, 22, 23, 30, 34, 54, 57, 59, 67, 83, 86, 87, 111, 115, 150, 152, 163, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202.....	321.09
Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 45, 138, 140, 162, 174, 175.....	344.97
Committee on the Justin Winsor prize, voucher 147.....	4.00
Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, voucher 50.....	4.35
Committee on bibliography, voucher 208.....	50.00
Committee on publications, vouchers 38, 44, 66, 88, 122, 149, 154, 168, 169, 181.....	460.98
General committee, vouchers 6, 11, 20, 27, 60, 85, 97, 98, 113, 170.....	282.87
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history, vouchers 94, 116.....	30.00
Conference of State and local historical societies, vouchers 204, 205.....	22.65
Annual bibliography, voucher 53.....	200.00
Annual report 1908, vouchers 142, 143.....	44.50
Expenses executive council, vouchers 9, 24, 185, 186, 187, 188, 194, 197.....	286.07
Editorial work, vouchers 56, 64, 76, 92, 107, 117, 125, 136, 144, 159, 190.....	300.00
Engraving certificates, voucher 52.....	.75
Furnishing secretary's office, vouchers 70, 79, 108.....	94.43
Indexing annual report, voucher 89.....	82.50
Expenses twenty-fifth annual meeting, vouchers 1, 13, 18, 31, 32, 33, 51.....	160.79
Expenses twenty-sixth annual meeting, vouchers 84, 110, 151, 164, 165, 171, 173, 180, 182, 183, 184, 193, 195, 196, 212.....	213.58
Collection charges, vouchers 99, 133, 155, 213.....	10.18
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 10, 12.....	28.00
	\$9,318.43
Balance cash on hand in National Park Bank.....	4,741.64
	14,060.07

Net receipts 1910..... 10,077.77

Net disbursements 1910..... 9,318.43

Excess of receipts over disbursements..... 759.34

The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York..	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest from Sept. 29, 1910, to date.....	191.25
11 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 235.....	2,585.00
Cash on hand in National Park Bank.....	4,741.64

27,517.89

An increase during the year of..... 614.78

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, December 19, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK, 165 BROADWAY.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

Treasurer American Historical Association, 130 Fulton Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request, we have examined the cash records of the American Historical Association, for the year ending December 16, 1910.

The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed: "Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ending December 16, 1910."

We found that all receipts and disbursements, as shown by the books, had been accounted for and that the files were complete.

A mortgage for \$20,000 drawn to the American Historical Association, on property situated at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City, was examined, together with the bond and property deeds and an extension agreement extending the mortgage for five years to March 29, 1914. Two certificates of stock of the American Exchange National Bank, aggregating 11 shares, were also shown us.

Very truly yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, *President.*

G. H. BOWERS, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, December 22, 1910.

REPORT ON AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ending Dec. 16, 1910.

RECEIPTS.

Dues:

2,717 $\frac{1}{2}$, at \$3	\$8,151.50
22, at \$3.10	68.20
2, at \$3.15	6.30
3, at \$3.50	10.50
3, at \$2	6.00
1, at \$2.85	2.85
1, at \$2.25	2.25
2, at \$3.04	6.08
4, at \$3.05	12.20
1, at \$3.09	3.09
1, at \$3.11	3.11
	8,272.08
Life memberships	100.00
	\$8,372.08
Royalty on "The study of history in schools"	18.60
Sale of publications	586.67
Royalty on "Report of the committee of eight"	140.42
Interest on bond and mortgage of \$20,000: One year at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to Sept. 29, 1910...	850.00
Dividend on 11 shares American Exchange National Bank stock	110.00

Total receipts for the year	\$10,077.77
Balance on hand Dec. 17, 1909, as per our statement dated Dec. 23, 1909	3,982.30

14,060.07

DISBURSEMENTS.

Treasurer's clerks' hire for year	344.25
Secretary's clerks' hire for year	809.35
Secretary of the council expense	99.51
Twenty-fifth annual meeting	160.79
Twenty-sixth annual meeting	213.58
American Historical Review	4,477.20
Pacific coast branch, expense	147.69
Annual report—1908	44.50
Indexing annual report—1908	82.50
Postage and stationery—Treasurer and secretary	498.72
Bank collection and exchange	10.18
Engraving certificates75
Editorial services	300.00
Furnishing secretary's office	94.43
Miscellaneous expenses	28.00
Conference of State and local historical societies	22.65
Committee expenses:	
Annual bibliographics' committee	\$200.00
Executive council	286.07
Public archives' commission	321.09

Committee expenses—Continued.

Historical manuscripts' commission.....	\$344. 97
Justin Winsor prize committee	4. 00
Herbert B. Adams prize committee	4. 35
General committee.....	282. 87
Committee on bibliography.....	50. 00
Publication committee.....	460. 98
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.....	30. 00
Total committee expenses.....	\$1,984. 33
Total disbursements for the year.....	9,318. 43
Balance, cash in bank, represented by certified check on the National Park Bank of New York, dated Dec. 19,1910	4,741. 64
	14,060. 07

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUSTIN WINSOR PRIZE.

The committee on the Justin Winsor prize in American history beg to report that the variety of subjects chosen and the range of territory represented by this year's competitors are most satisfactory. Of the 11 essays submitted, 4 came from New England or the Middle States, 4 from the Western States, and 3 from the Southern States. Three dealt with the colonial or revolutionary period, 6 with the constitutional period more or less extensively, and 2 with the period of the Civil War. Four of the essays concerned themselves more or less directly with the foreign relations of the United States, 3 of them might perhaps be described as studies in constitutional history, and 4 of them as studies in economic history.

The committee have found great difficulty in examining so many bulky manuscripts in the period between the first of October and the meeting of the association, and, in view of the circumstance that the prize is now awarded only in every other year, the committee recommend that the rules governing the prize be so amended as to require that manuscripts offered in competition must be in the hands of the chairman by the 1st of July in the year in which the prize is available.

The committee recommend that the Justin Winsor prize for 1910 be awarded to Edward Raymond Turner for his essay entitled "The Negro in Pennsylvania—Slavery, Servitude, Freedom. 1639-1861."

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HULL, *Acting Chairman.*

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL EDITOR OF "ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY."

During the past year two volumes of this series have been published. The publishers have now decided upon the regular practice of bringing out one volume in the spring and one in the autumn. Last spring they issued an edition of Capt. Edward Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England," the first published of New England histories. No edition of it had been published since that of Dr. W. F. Poole, brought out in 1867 and now out of print. The present edition was prepared by the general editor of the series. In the autumn was published a volume of "Narratives of Early Maryland," edited in a most careful and scholarly manner by Mr. Clayton C. Hall of the Maryland Historical Society.

A volume of "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Jersey," to be edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers, was to have come next in order, but delays have attended its preparation. Messrs. Scribners have now in press the volume entitled "Narratives of Early Carolina," edited by Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission, and embracing all the contemporary narratives essential for the history of the Carolinas from 1650 to 1708. This is the

twelfth volume in the series, which is not intended to extend beyond 20 volumes nor beyond the early years of the eighteenth century.

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. JAMESON, *General Editor.*

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The bibliographical activity of the association during the year has been represented by two special committees and the standing committee. The special committees headed by Prof. Cheyney and Prof. Farrand have been occupied with Tudor bibliography and American travels, respectively. These are independent committees. Although related with the standing committee on a community of interest principle through the ex officio membership in each of the chairmen of the standing committee they are self-governing and report individually. This report has therefore to do only with the activity of the standing committee as such and this activity has been focused on the developing of cooperation between libraries in meeting the needs of historical students.

Historical students constantly and justly complain of the lack of needed books in local libraries and the lack of information as to where copies can be found. The attention of this committee has also recently been called with emphasis to the additional demand for better means of knowledge as to the contents of collections.

The satisfying of these demands requires of course more books, lists of books in other libraries, and better analytical cataloguing; but in the individual libraries these demands are contradictory, since further cataloguing means fewer books, and more books less cataloguing.

Taking many libraries into account, however, it is estimated that by avoidance of duplication, better geographical distribution, cooperative printed cards, especially for analytical entries, and by joint finding lists, efficiency for purposes of research at least might be practically doubled. Very recent statistics show that 23 university libraries spend half a million dollars a year for books. A really businesslike cooperation between these 23 alone would carry the others in train and solve at least half of the present problem.

Vigorous effort to the end of general cooperation has been made by the committee in conjunction with other agencies, and in various directions. It is one of the problems in which all effort counts for something. The needs and the business aspect of the matter are quite obvious and the solution lies simply in initiative and organization. A good deal of additional capital might be used to insure the greatest economy and the largest returns, but mere organization of existing resources would secure a very great share of what is aimed at. It is at this point that members of the association can help by remembering and reminding presidents, trustees, and colleagues in other departments that this is not only a practical question, but a live one. The members of the association can also help in supplying additional entries for the proof edition of the list of collections relating to European history, which is now in type and will shortly be sent out for checking up and for additions and corrections. The list now mentions about 2,500 collections exclusive of periodicals, art, antiquities, and inscriptions, of which short additional selected lists are being prepared. Unless the expectation of the committee is disappointed, we shall be able, within a short time, to arrange that at least one copy of each of these sets shall be found somewhere in America, and it will be a great economic pity if we are not able also to provide for the systematic analysis of these in such a way that all our 400 odd libraries may benefit thereby, without its being necessary that the work of analysis should be repeated even so many as twenty-three times.

Respectfully submitted.

ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

The second volume in the series of prize essays of the American Historical Association, being the Justin Winsor prize essay for 1908, "Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774," by C. E. Carter, has been published during the past year. The third volume, the Herbert Baxter Adams prize essay for 1909, "A History of English Witchcraft from 1558 to 1718," by Wallace Notestein, will be published during the coming year, the committee having allowed the author to retain the manuscript during the past summer in order to revise its bibliographical apparatus by work in the British Museum.

The sale of essays has been as follows: Krehbiel's *Interdict*, 343 copies; Carter's *Illinois Country*, 336 copies; Notestein's *English Witchcraft*, 254 copies ordered.

There have been 177 standing subscriptions to the series. The committee especially wishes that the number of standing subscriptions to the series might be raised to 350 or 400, in order to furnish a guaranty of approximately the cost of publishing the essays.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND
(For William A. Dunning, Chairman).

PARIS, *December 21, 1910.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY.

The report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history must necessarily be one of progress, not of completed work, as its plan contemplated a period of three years for its accomplishment. The prospects now seem promising for completing it within that period. A number of meetings of the committee have been held, at several of which Mr. Prothero, the chairman of the committee of the English Royal Historical Society, was present. The greatest difficulty so far has been in working out a plan satisfactory to both the English and American committees. This, however, has been at last accomplished, and at present your committee is at work preparing a bibliography of the Tudor period, while the English committee has undertaken the Stuart period. The plan contemplates a list of from 2,000 to 3,000 titles in each of the two periods, these to be printed in one moderate sized volume, to be followed later by another volume dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and ultimately preceded by a small introductory volume. The whole work will therefore consist of three small or moderate sized volumes. The funds appropriated by the association have so far proved adequate to the needs of the committee. The English Royal Historical Society has appropriated a similar sum, £50 a year for the three years, for the expense of their committee. Eventually, however, an appeal will have to be made to other organizations of similar interests to cover later and more extended expenses.

Respectfully submitted.

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

PROGRAMME OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN INDIANAPOLIS,
DECEMBER 27-31, 1910.

Papers are limited to 20 minutes and discussions to 10 minutes for each speaker. Those who read papers or take part in the conferences are requested to furnish the secretary with abstracts of their papers or remarks.

Persons not members of the associations will be cordially welcomed to the regular sessions.

Tuesday, December 27.

12.30 p. m.: University Club, Meridian and Michigan Streets. Luncheon and business meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

4 p. m.: Clubroom, Claypool Hotel. Conference on historical publication work in the Ohio valley; chairman, Demarkus C. Brown, Indiana State Library. Address by J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution.

8 p. m.: Palm room, Claypool Hotel. Session on western history. Joint session of the American Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; chairman, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Iowa State University. "New light on the explorations of the Verendrye," Orin G. Libby, University of North Dakota; discussion by Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa, Canada. "The American intervention in west Florida," Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; discussion by Frederic A. Ogg, Simmons College, and Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history, State of Mississippi. "A century of steamboat navigation on the Ohio," Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta College; discussion by R. B. Way, Indiana University, and John Wilson Townsend, editor Kentucky Historical Register. "The beginnings of the free-trade movement in the Canadian northwest," H. G. Gunn, Winnipeg, Canada. "Early forts on the upper Mississippi," Dan E. Clark, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Wednesday, December 28.

9 a. m.: Meetings of committees. (At the call of the chairmen.)

9.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. Session on the teaching of history and civics under the auspices of the North Central History Teachers' Association; chairman, James A. Woodburn, Indiana University. "The evolution of the teacher," Lucy M. Salmon, Vassar College. "Is government teachable in the schools?" Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University. "Local history and the city community as themes for civic teaching," Arthur W. Dunn, Civic Secretary, City Club, Philadelphia. "How the Cincinnati public schools are using local history," Frank P. Goodwin, Woodward High School, Cincinnati. Discussion.

An illustrative civics class, eighth grade, Indianapolis public schools: "Waste and saving," Miss Flora Swan, Indianapolis.

10 a. m.: Clubroom, Claypool Hotel. Meeting of the executive council of the American Historical Association.

2 p. m.: Conferences.

1. Ancient history. Palm room, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Henry B. Wright, Yale University. "The western campaigns of Sennacherib," Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary. "Niebuhr, 1810-1910," Henry A. Sill, Cornell University. "Some aspects of Roman imperialism," R. F. Scholz, University of California. "The monument of Ancyra," William L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin. Discussion. Outlines of the papers will be sent in advance to all who notify the chairman of their intention to be present.

2. Modern European history. Clubroom, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Guy S. Ford, University of Illinois. General topic: "European history as a field for American historical work." Discussion opened with a paper by Charles M. Andrews, Yale

University, on "The doctor's dissertation in European history." Discussion continued by Archibald C. Coolidge, Harvard University; John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University; James W. Thompson, University of Chicago; Fred M. Fling, University of Nebraska.

3. American diplomatic history, with special reference to Latin-American relations. Ladies' café, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, James A. James, Northwestern University. "George Canning's policy respecting the Oregon boundary question," Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon. "The Mexican policy of southern leaders on the eve of the Civil War," James M. Callahan, University of West Virginia. "The United States and Latin America at the Hague," William I. Hull, Swarthmore College. "Trade and diplomacy between the United States and Latin America," Joseph H. Sears, New York. Discussion by Don E. Smith, University of California, and William S. Robertson, University of Illinois.

4. Conference of State and local historical societies. Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich. Transaction of business. Introductory remarks by the chairman. Report of the committee on cooperation. Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history, Mississippi. "The collection and preservation of historical sources, manuscript and printed, as a function of historical societies," Reuben G. Thwaites, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Discussion on "The collection of materials": (a) "The collection of materials bearing on religious and church history," William H. Allison, Colgate University, and George F. Baker, Northern Indiana Historical Society; (b) "Publicity as a means of adding to collections," F. A. Sampson, Missouri State Historical Society. "The preservation and care of collections, with especial reference to the restoration and treatment of manuscripts," Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library.

8 p. m.: Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. Address of welcome, Thomas R. Marshall, governor of Indiana. Presidential address, "Social forces in American history." Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University. At the close of the session there will be a reception for ladies and gentlemen at the John Herron Art Institute, Pennsylvania and Sixteenth Streets. Members will be taken in special cars from the Claypool Hotel to the reception.

Thursday, December 29.

9 a. m.: Claypool Hotel. Meeting of the committee on the bibliography of modern English history.

10 a. m.: Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. General session commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of secession; the North in 1860. "Cotton and border politics, 1850-1860," Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society. "The decision of the Ohio Valley," Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin. "The Dred Scott decision," Edward S. Corwin, Princeton University. "The doctrine of secession and coercion," Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago. "The development of war spirit in the North," Daniel W. Howe, Indiana Historical Society. Discussion.

2 p. m.: Conferences.

1. Medieval history. Clubroom, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Earle W. Dow, University of Michigan. "Royal purveyance in medieval England, in the light of Simon Islip's *speculum regis*," Chalfant Robinson, Yale University. Round table discussion; general topic, "Profitable fields of investigation in medieval history." Discussion led by Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, with reference to "Comparative constitutional history;" James F. Baldwin, Vassar College, with reference to "The records of the privy seal;" John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.

2. Conference of archivists. Ladies' café, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania. "The work of the international conference of archivists and librarians at Brussels, August 28-31, 1910," A. J. F. van Laer, archivist,

State Library of New York. "Concentration of State and national archives," Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history, State of Mississippi, and Gaillard Hunt, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. "What material should go into the archives?" Thomas M. Owen, department of archives and history, State of Alabama; Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Reuben G. Thwaites, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Dan E. Clark, State Historical Society of Iowa; Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas; Ulrich B. Phillips, Tulane University; Harlow Lindley, Earlham College.

3. Conference of teachers of history in teachers' colleges and normal schools. Banquet room T, Claypool Hotel. Chairman, Albert H. Sanford, State Normal School, LaCrosse, Wis. "What preparation school authorities expect from high-school teachers of history," Edgar Dawson, Normal College, New York City. "The professional training of high-school history teachers," Thomas N. Hoover, State Normal College of Ohio University, Athens. Discussion led by Frank S. Bogardus, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, and Harold W. Foght, State Normal School, Kirksville, Mo. "The preparation necessary for the teaching of history in the grades," Sara M. Riggs, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls. Discussion led by E. E. Hill, Chicago Normal School, and Mary B. Putnam, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti.

4.30 to 6 p. m.: Tea at the residence of Mrs. E. C. Atkins, 1312 North Meridian Street, to which all visiting ladies are invited.

8 p. m.: Session on European history. Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. "The efforts of the Danish Kings to recover the English Crown after the death of Harthacnut," Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois. "Some critical notes on the works of S. R. Gardiner," Roland G. Usher, Washington University. "Anglo-Dutch relations, 1654-1660," Ralph C. H. Catterall, Cornell University. "The historiography of the French Revolution, with special reference to the work of Aulard," H. Morse Stephens, University of California. "Alexis de Tocqueville and the Republic of 1848," Charles D. Hazen, Smith College.

10 p. m.: Smoker at the University Club, Meridian and Michigan Streets.

Friday, December 30.

10 a. m.: Auditorium Y. M. C. A. Building; New York and Illinois Streets. General session commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of secession; the South in 1860. "Some recollections of a horseback ride through the South in 1850," James B. Angell, president emeritus, University of Michigan. "The lower South in the election of 1860," David Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas. "North Carolina on the eve of secession," William K. Boyd, Trinity College, North Carolina. "The fight for the Northwest in 1860," William E. Dodd, University of Chicago. "The inception of the Montgomery convention," Armand J. Gerson, University of Pennsylvania. Discussion, Ellen C. Semple, Louisville.

12.30 p. m.: American dining room, Claypool Hotel. Luncheon, followed by informal speaking. Price per plate for all members of the allied associations, \$1.50. Places may be reserved and paid for at the registration desk. This must be done before Wednesday noon, December 28. Toastmaster, James A. Woodburn, Indiana University.

3 p. m.: Claypool Hotel. Meeting of the executive council of the American Historical Association.

4 p. m.: Palm room, Claypool Hotel. Business meeting of the American Historical Association.

1. Report of the secretary.
2. Report of the secretary of the council.
3. Report of the treasurer.

4. Report of the auditing committee.
 5. Report of the Pacific coast branch.
 6. Report of the historical MSS. commission.
 7. Report of the public archives commission.
 8. Report of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize.
 9. Report of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.
 10. Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review.
 11. Report of the committee on publications.
 12. Report of the general committee.
 13. Report of the editor of the reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History.
 14. Report of the committee of five on history in secondary schools.
 15. Report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history.
 16. Report of committee on nominations.
 17. Election of officers for the year 1911.
 18. Announcements of appointments to committees for the year 1911.
- 8 p. m.: Assembly room, Claypool Hotel. Round table discussion: General topic, "The relation of history to the newer sciences of mankind." Paper by James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University. Discussion led by George L. Burr, Cornell University; Max Farrand, Yale University; George W. Knight, Ohio State University; Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin; George H. Mead, University of Chicago.

II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

BERKELEY, CAL., NOVEMBER 18-19, 1910.

By JACOB N. BOWMAN,
Secretary of the Branch.

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

By JACOB N. BOWMAN, *Secretary of the Branch.*

The seventh annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, Berkeley, on Friday and Saturday, November 18 and 19, 1910. The sessions were held in the faculty room in California Hall, in which building the headquarters were also established; the annual dinner was held at the Hotel Carlton, in Berkeley. Much of the success of the meeting is due to the efficient arrangements of Prof. Scholz and his committee on local arrangements, Mr. L. P. Briggs and Mr. H. W. Edwards. The attendance at the various sessions ranged from 60 to 90 persons.

The first session was opened at 2.40 on Friday afternoon in the faculty room by the president, Prof. E. D. Adams, of Stanford University. This session was known as the "general session," and the first paper was read by Prof. A. B. Show, of Stanford University, on the "Historical significance of the religious problem in the German schools." In his opening words he showed the importance of the question at the present time. He then stated that the present intense struggle to modernize the religious instruction in the German schools finds its explanation in the historical conditions. The system dates back to the Protestant Reformation. In their connection with the reorganization of the Protestant State churches Luther and the other sixteenth century reformers advocated popular education and gave much attention to the founding of universities and schools. The religious instruction was the central element in the school curriculum. It was based on the Shorter Catechism of Luther, which had to be memorized entire. The instruction included also the learning of Bible verses, drill in singing, and participation in public worship. The system tended almost from the beginning to mechanical and lifeless methods.

After the decline due to the Thirty Years' War German education developed rapidly. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the whole course of German thought and culture, including religious education, was shaped by pietism, rationalism, aufklärung, naturalism, and the new humanism. Pietism made more of the religious

than of the dogmatic side of instruction and profoundly influenced both substance and method. Rationalism, with its variant forms, rejected supernatural ideas and reduced instruction to rational and ethical terms. It had wide influence in the universities and the schools. In this period German culture developed greatly in the direction of popular education and of State control of the schools.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the wars of liberation led to a reaction somewhat in the interest of conservative orthodoxy. But on the whole the period has witnessed a gradual weakening of church control over the schools and a positive lessening of the place of Religionsunterricht in the curriculum. It is only a question of time till the progress of democratic ideals will bring about a complete separation between the church and public education.

Prof. Levi E. Young, of the University of Utah, then read a paper on "The place of the Utah pioneers in western history."

The third and last paper of the general session was read by Prof. O. H. Richardson, of the University of Washington. The subject was "Mary, Queen of Scots, in the light of recent historical investigations." He first sketched the present condition of sources and literature and stated that, apart from the certainty of knowledge concerning foreign and domestic affairs resulting from the appearance of the Scottish and Spanish volumes of the Calendars of State Papers, the two lines in which research has made the greatest progress since 1889 relate to Mary's religious policy and her relations with the papacy and to the "casket letters." Father Pollen's article in the Scottish Historical Review for April, 1907, dispelled the mysteries which still clung to the Darnley marriage dispensation. The date upon the document is genuine and it was antedated.

With the production of the Lennox papers, which contain a draft of Crawford's declaration, the "casket letters" controversy has entered a new, and perhaps a final, phase. Its present status appears in Mr. Lang's article in the Scottish Historical Review for October, 1907, and in Mr. Henderson's reply of January, 1908. The former now accepts the complete authenticity of the Glasgow letter, but merely on the score of old evidence maturely considered; the latter emphasizes the draft of Crawford's declaration and declares, with apparent justice, that it proves priority for the Glasgow letter and disproves interpolation. The controversy therefore shifts from the realm of opinion to that of fact.

The greatest gap which still exists in the Marian records is due to her correspondence with the Cardinal of Lorraine, which has defied all search. The chief desiderata in the way of publication are these three: Moray should receive his first biography, the life of Lethington should be rewritten, and the Lennox papers should be published by

Father Pollen in extenso. It is evident that recent research tells heavily against the Queen.

Before the session ended the president appointed the following committees: A committee on resolutions composed of Prof. H. L. Cannon, Stanford University, Miss Ada Goldsmith, San Francisco, and Mr. W. C. Westergaard, Alameda; an auditing committee composed of Mr. T. M. Marshall, Alameda, and Miss Lucy R. Watkins, Watsonville; and a nominating committee composed of Prof. T. R. Bacon, University of California, Mr. S. P. McCrea, Redwood City, and Mr. F. J. Teggart, University of California.

The annual dinner was held at the Hotel Carlton at 6.30, Friday evening. Prof. H. M. Stephens, University of California, presided, and about 50 persons were present. The presidential address was read by Prof. E. D. Adams, Stanford University, on the "Point of view of the British traveler in America." It dealt with the years 1819 to 1860. Prof. Adams called attention to the necessity of a clear understanding of the viewpoint from which British travelers observed America, in order to determine the value of their works, whether in description, analysis, or judgments. The period selected for illustration was that from 1810 to 1860. A study of the principal travelers of this period—some 80 in all—had resulted in the conviction that, save for the exceptional work, the writers might logically be classified in very nearly decennial periods, each period presenting a distinct point of view and a change of attitude toward America. Without attempting to recapitulate the citations of authors, and quotations from their works given in the address, the decennial grouping, in its larger features, was as follows:

1810-1820. Description of physical features, with minor emphasis on social and political institutions, intended to guide or influence the emigration of middle-class Englishmen who were well to do at home, but who, mainly from political discontent, were looking toward emigration to America.

1820-1830. Two distinct types of books. First, works on emigration written for, or by, Englishmen of the laboring class seeking to escape from harsh material conditions at home. Second, works produced by British travelers of a determined Tory bias in English politics, written with the evident purpose of influencing the approaching political upheaval in Great Britain.

1830-1840. A continuation of the works whose description and analysis were determined by home political conditions, but now divided about equally between old conservative and new liberal convictions, and with a correspondingly unfavorable or favorable view of things American.

1840-1850. Discontinuance of the writing influenced by political bias, and appearance of the book attempting either a serious analysis

and description of America, or an entertaining narrative of travel. During this period also there began that description of America which had as its keynote a wonder, mingled with some apprehension, at the rapid advance of the United States to a position of importance in world politics.

1850-1860. Reappearance of the type of book determined in its examination of America by political conditions in England. The reform movement in Great Britain again determined in large measure the point of view of the British traveler. Now, however, the preponderance of writing was done by the extreme radical who found in the material prosperity of the United States the proof of the rightfulness of his convictions, while a lesser body of conservative writers attempted to controvert him.

The topic was not carried beyond 1860, the speaker merely stating that beyond that date no grouping by periods was possible, because of the greater variety of writers producing works on America and the wide differences of their treatment.

A brief address was then given by Prof. B. E. Howard, Stanford University, on the common and mistaken idea of the permanency of political institutions, especially in America. There is an idea that there is a special divine protection for America and its democracy, and that this democracy can make no mistakes. The soul of government lies not in its form but in the minds and the character of the men composing it; immortality is not guaranteed. The citizens form the center, and their political sense is of vital importance and must be well educated and trained. The keynote of this education in the Fourth of July addresses has been privilege and liberty; the keynote of the newer education is responsibility, and therein lies the union of education and democracy. Education, the evolution of personal forces, is of greater importance to democracy than to other forms of government; and no education is complete that does not lead from patriotism to completeness in citizenship. It is not a vital question that the flag floats over the schools but that children are trained in honor, right, and responsibility, and that they may learn to live for America day by day and, as its citizens, transform the highest thought of things into the highest fact of things.

Greetings were brought from their respective States by Prof. Joseph Schafer, of Oregon; Prof. O. H. Richardson, of Washington; Prof. Jeanne E. Wier, of Nevada; Prof. Levi E. Young, of Utah; and by Prof. R. D. Hunt, of the University of Southern California.

The session on Pacific-coast history was opened at 10.40 by the president. Papers were read by Prof. Jeanne E. Wier, University of Nevada, on "The work of the Western State Historical Society as illustrated by Nevada," and by Prof. A. M. Kline, University of the Pacific, on "The attitude of Congress toward the Pacific Railway,

1856-1862," both of which will be found in another part of the present volume.

The last paper of this session was read by Prof. Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon, on the "Oregon pioneers and American diplomacy." The thesis of the paper was the influence of the pioneer movement upon the diplomatic history of the Oregon question. The speaker showed from the evidence of the printed public documents, from manuscript records in the British Public Record Office, and from private papers in the collections of the Earl of Aberdeen that the introduction of a body of American pioneer settlers into the Oregon country prior to the conclusion of the boundary question in 1846 influenced the negotiations between the two countries in the following ways: First, it rendered impossible any important concessions from the American Government which from the earliest period of the boundary discussion had contended for the forty-ninth parallel; secondly, it showed the British Government why it was that the American Government stood so firmly for that boundary; thirdly, this knowledge which the British Government secured through a virtual survey of conditions in Oregon, conducted by military and naval officers in 1845, brought home the realization that insistence on the Columbia River boundary would mean war, and also that, since American colonization was proceeding at an accelerating rate, the speediest settlement of the boundary question, other things being equal, would probably be advantageous. In other words, the Oregon pioneers prepared, in a measure, the success of American diplomats.

The business meeting followed immediately after the session on Pacific coast history.

The secretary made a report for the chairman of the committee on archives. This committee was appointed in 1905 and continued at the Portland meeting in 1906. President C. A. Duniway, of the University of Montana, chairman of the committee, wrote that nothing had been done in regard to the California archives on account of the rebuilding and the conditions in the capitol at Sacramento. He urged that the committee be continued. The report was adopted, and the president was authorized to appoint a new committee.

The chairman, Mr. George E. Crothers, of the committee on making libraries available, reported through the secretary that the committee had been appointed in 1905; that it had done some work during the last year in making an effort for the establishment of depositories of the State library in different parts of the State, especially at the State university. He recommended that the committee be continued. The report was adopted. The name of Mr. M. G. Dodge was dropped from the committee and the president was authorized to add to the committee at his discretion.

A résumé of the action of the council regarding the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies was made by the secretary. In accordance with the action of the branch last year the council appointed the president and the secretary to take up the matter of annual meetings at the same time and place with representatives from other societies. On April 9, 1910, a meeting was held in the chamber of commerce rooms in San Francisco and a constitution was arranged and agreed upon. This constitution was submitted to the societies interested. The council adopted the constitution. On September 3, 1910, at the Faculty Club, in Berkeley, representatives from eight societies met, signed the constitution, and elected the following officers: Chairman of the executive committee, Prof. J. N. Bowman, Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association; vice chairman, Mr. Otto Van Geldern, Technical Society of the Pacific Coast; secretary-treasurer, Prof. George D. Louderback, Cordilleran Branch of the Geological Society of America. The executive committee is suggesting to the different societies the 24th and 25th of March, 1911, as the time for the annual meeting; the place has not yet been determined. An annual dinner is also suggested. These questions are for the new council to settle. Expressions from the members of the branch were solicited to aid the council in its work and the matter was left in the hands of the latter with power to act.

The auditing committee made the following report:

The auditing committee hereby states that it has examined the accounts of Prof. J. N. Bowman, secretary and treasurer of the branch, and finds them correct.
Respectfully submitted.

T. M. MARSHALL, *Chairman.*
LUCY REBECCA WATKINS.

The report was adopted.

The report of the committee on State and local historical societies on the coast was then presented by Prof. T. N. Bowman:

At the Stanford meeting of the branch the secretary was instructed to report at the next meeting on the State and local historical societies on the coast. The following is the report:

In the different States I sought answers to the following questions: Name of the society, officers, number of members, publications, meetings, when and where; source and amount of income; attitude of the State toward the society; is the branch of any assistance to the society?

The replies received may be summarized by States as follows:

Arizona.—The Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society. Secretary, Mr. S. R. De Long, Tucson. The society is inactive.

California.—(1) The Historical Society of Southern California, organized 1883. President, Dr. G. F. Bovard; secretary, Mr. J. M. Guinn, both of Los Angeles. About 50 members. Publications, seven volumes of papers read before the society. Meetings, monthly, except July and August, in Los Angeles. Income, about \$200 a year in dues and fees. Attitude of the State, none. Branch aid, none.

(2) The California Historical Society. President, Judge J. V. Coffey, San Francisco. The society has been inactive for several years.

(3) The Santa Clara County Historical Society. President, Judge J. E. Richards; secretary-treasurer, Miss Agnes E. Howe; and two other officers, all of San Jose. About 50 members. No publications. Meetings are held quarterly in San Jose. Income is from the dues from the members. Attitude of the State, none. Branch aid, none.

Colorado.—No replies received.

Idaho.—The State Historical Society of Idaho. President, Mr. J. A. Prinney; secretary-librarian, Mr. John Hailey; and two other officers, all of Boise. About 150 members. No publications. Meetings at the call of the president. Income, \$1,350 a year from the State; the State also furnishes office room. Attitude of the State is very friendly. Branch aid, none.

Montana.—No society at present. A former State Historical Society was merged into the State Historical and Miscellaneous Library.

Nevada.—The Nevada Historical Society. President, Mr. G. F. Talbot; secretary, Prof. Jeanne E. Wier, both of Reno; and a council of the above and four other officers. About 225 members. Publications: Bulletin, 1902, and First Biennial Report, 1909. Meetings annually at Reno during the university commencement week. Income, \$2,000 from the State in 1907-8; from gifts, fees, and other sources about \$2,750 for 1909-10. Attitude of the State, failure to appropriate support was due to typographical error in the general appropriation bill. Branch can be of assistance to the society through resolutions recommending the subject to the attention of the legislature and the governor.

New Mexico.—The Historical Society of New Mexico. President, Hon. L. B. Prince; secretary, Mr. E. A. Johnson, both of Santa Fe; and six other officers. About 100 members. Publications, a series of bulletins. Meetings annually in December, and occasional call meetings, in Santa Fe. Income about \$1,000 from dues and sale of bulletin. Attitude of the Territory, friendly.

Oregon.—The Oregon State Historical Society, organized 1898. President, Mr. F. V. Holman, Portland; secretary, Prof. F. G. Young, Eugene; and three other officers. Membership, 825. Publications, the Quarterly. Meetings, annual in December in Portland. Income, \$2,500 a year from the State; from \$1,200 to \$1,400 a year from membership fees. Attitude of the State, very friendly. Branch aid in information and cooperation.

Utah.—The State Historical Society. President, Mr. J. E. Talmage; secretary, Mr. Byron Cummings, both of Salt Lake City; and five other officers. Meetings, annually in Salt Lake City. Income, about \$200 from the State. No publications. Attitude of the State is very friendly. The branch can be of great aid and benefit.

Washington.—(1) The Inland Empire Historical Society. President, Mr. T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla. The society is now inactive.

(2) The State Historical Society. No replies received.

(3) The State University Historical Society. No replies received.

Wyoming.—The State Historical Society of Wyoming. It is now practically extinct. I have found it very difficult to secure information regarding the societies. For this reason the report is not as complete as I would wish it. If the information secured above is not satisfactory to the branch, the work of another year, on the basis of the work already done, can produce, I am sure, a more complete report.

Respectfully submitted.

J. N. BOWMAN, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

The report was accepted.

The following report was then received from the committee on resolutions, composed of Prof. H. L. Cannon, Stanford University;

Miss Ada Goldsmith, San Francisco; and Mr. W. C. Westergaard, Alameda:

The committee on resolutions begs to report as follows:

Resolved, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, at its annual meeting held on November 18 and 19, 1910, at Berkeley, Cal., desires hereby gratefully to acknowledge the courtesies extended to it by the authorities of the University of California; and, further, to express its appreciation of the efficient conduct of the several sessions by the officials of the branch and by the committee on program and arrangements, and especially to extend its thanks to the members who have so generously participated in the program.

The report was adopted.

Prof. H. L. Cannon, Stanford University, moved the following resolution:

Whereas the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association has for its purpose not merely the contribution to historical knowledge in general, but also the preservation and interpretation of the records of the Pacific slope history in particular; and

Whereas it is fundamentally essential that pioneer records should be collected and preserved as well as the current history of each individual section; and

Whereas the work of collection is unusually difficult in the West;

Therefore be it resolved by the branch, that we urge upon the governors and legislatures of the various States of the Pacific slope that they give this year serious consideration with a view to adequate financial assistance as well as moral support, to the problems of such of their institutions as may be seeking to make such collections, to mark historic sites or in other ways to record in permanent form the history of the past and of the present.

The resolution was adopted.

The committee on nominations reported as follows:

Your committee on nominations begs to recommend the following names for the offices vacant: For president, Prof. Bernard Moses, University of California; for vice president, Prof. Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; for secretary-treasurer, Mr. H. W. Edwards, Oakland; for the council, Prof. D. E. Smith, University of California; Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, Stanford University; Miss Maud Stephens, Palo Alto, and Prof. Levi E. Young, University of Utah.

Respectfully submitted.

THOS. R. BACON, *Chairman*.

F. J. TEGGART.

S. P. MCCREA.

The report was adopted and the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the names nominated. The ballot was cast and the president declared the officers elected.

As delegate to the council of the American Historical Association, Prof. H. M. Stephens, University of California, was elected.

Prof. A. B. Show, Stanford University, moved that the president appoint a committee of three or five (at his discretion), with the secretary an ex officio member, on state and local historical societies. This committee should continue the work already done, keep in touch

with the different societies, and suggest ways and means of furthering their interests.

The motion was adopted.

The "teachers' session" convened at 2.40 on Saturday afternoon. The first subject for discussion was, "Shall the recommendation of the committee of five of the American Political Science Association—that instruction in government and history be taught as separate subjects—be adopted? If so, how?" The paper on this subject was read by Mr. F. H. Clark, Lowell High School, San Francisco. He reviewed the report of the committee of five and agreed with it in general. He differed from the committee, however, regarding "future citizenship" as a reason for teaching government. The word "future" should not be used, as present, actual citizenship is the object of this teaching. Citizenship and voting should and must be separated; age does not make the distinction in the member of the society. Character underlies both, and as the former is of the greater duration its character training should be the greater. This training is not possible in any one course, even in the course in government, but must be carried on by all teachers in all subjects. Ignorance alone is not the cause of bad citizenship; the cause is rather that the party is placed above the public interest, private advantage is placed above public good. Here it is character rather than ignorance that is lacking. The moral attitude and the sense of civic righteousness form the crucial question. The idea of citizenship, he thought, was carried too far by the committee of five.

Mr. Clark believed that history and government should be separated, and that both would be benefited thereby. In his own work he separated them in this proportion: Six months of history and four months of government. He believed that the two subjects should be separated so far as subject matter and lessons are concerned; but he denied that they should be separated in regard to purpose and object. He felt that the committee wished to separate the two subjects in all regards; this he would limit as just indicated.

How is the separation to take place? He would throw the factual side of the government over to this course. It should deal with the colonial conditions leading up to the formation of the Constitution; an acquaintance with the text of the Constitution should be secured. It should deal with the party origins, organizations, and purposes; with the Congress and the other parts of the government; also with the machinery of the State and local governments. But in this separation he would still insist on the spirit of unity with history and also with other subjects.

Miss Agnes E. Howe, San Jose State Normal School, then opened the discussion. She agreed with Mr. Clark. The conditions of the

schools and of the teaching at present she found in the home and in life in general. In the home and the society of childhood the child too often learns to receive but not the blessedness of giving; with him are shared the joys, but not the responsibilities. And the high school all too often continues this condition of affairs. This kind of training does not produce the kind of character that is demanded to-day. A course in government alone can not give this. These courses as they now exist give too much attention to the mere machinery of government, and the method used in teaching is the method of facts rather than the method that leads to action. The subject and facts do not lead to good government or citizenship; action is the end desired—the action of character.

Mr. J. B. Hughes, Oroville High School, discussed the subject still further. He agreed with Mr. Clark in general. He finds difficulty in doing the greatest good to the greatest number. About 75 per cent of the school is in the entering class, about 25 per cent reach the graduating year, where they get the course in government. He felt that the committee made an excellent report, and differed from Mr. Clark as to the meaning that the committee had in mind regarding "future citizenship." He was of the opinion that the committee included character in its idea of citizenship.

Mr. Hughes answered Mr. Clark's question regarding the crowded condition of the seventh and eighth grades and the possibility of adding a course in government.

Prof. H. M. Stephens, University of California, stated that the old committee of seven of the American Historical Association had but little to say regarding this separation of history and government in its report of some 15 years ago, but did have in mind that the government side should be emphasized in the history course. The demand for the separation of the two subjects has arisen since 1895. He felt that the separation was coming, and that it was a question for the high school teachers to settle as they saw best.

Prof. Reed, University of California, insisted on a knowledge of the subject. At present there are a very few teachers who have learned their subject and are really interested in it as they are in the other subjects. To correct this state of affairs he demanded greater insistence on the subject matter. He did not forget the moral side or the need of character, but urged knowledge to aid these.

Mr. Clark then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this association establish a committee whose business shall be to urge upon the legislature of California at its approaching session such action as will secure the free distribution of a limited number of copies of the regular biennial reports of the State administrative officers and commissions, of a limited number of copies of the volume of "Constitutions" compiled by the secretary of state, and of one copy of the statutes of the California Legislature to every public secondary school.

It was suggested that since the branch is an organization of the Pacific coast it would be best to state the resolution in a general form applicable to all the States.

The resolution was referred by the president to the council for action.

Mrs. Prag, Girls' High School, San Francisco, in her remarks agreed with Prof. Reed regarding the need of knowledge.

The second question for discussion was "To what extent should California history be a part of the course of study? In what grades?" The paper was read by Prof. R. D. Hunt, University of Southern California. The study of history in the schools is no longer in need of defense. Regarding the entrance of the State history in the schools he selected the three following forms of judging the question: First, is it interesting and worthy in itself; second, its relation to the national history; and third, its usefulness to the present and the future. He then showed that California history stood all these tests, and on that basis believed that it should be admitted to the curriculum. He pointed out the problems that its admission raises. Teachers must be prepared in the subject, and text-books must be written for both the teacher and the children. He believed that the demand would bring about the supply of both of these things. He noted with pleasure that the Berkeley High School is arranging such a course in California history, and that other schools were discussing the matter. Normal schools are also taking an interest in the subject. Prof. Hunt stated that he had corresponded with a great number of school officials in the State, from the State superintendent to the teachers in the grades, and that the almost unanimous opinion was that the State history should be placed in the schools.

The reader then discussed the grade in which the subject should be taught. He was of the opinion that it should be entered about the eighth grade, but since there is a difference in the arrangement of the grades in the State, he suggested the seventh to eighth, the eighth to ninth grades. Part of the work could be done with stories in the third and following grades. The formal study of history, which begins in the fifth grade, could also use this subject. In regard to the manner of teaching California history he suggested the discreet use of secondary books and texts, celebrations, journeys to historic places, the use of post cards and pictures, etc.

Prof. J. N. Bowman, University of California, agreed with Prof. Hunt, yet wished to reach the same result from another direction. The historical development of the material used in the study of history makes it clear that the State history should now be admitted. The kinds of facts used for the subject varied with the ages; history has lost many of its parts and some few have been reluctantly added. The German and French schools have long ago taken this step of

utilizing the local and state history, and America is only now coming to a serious consideration of the question. On the other hand, the method of using this material has also varied with the ages. He drew a distinction between the method of pedagogy and the method of the subject. The present method of history is the scientific method, but the struggle to adapt this method from the natural-science world to that of history is not yet completed. It is well completed for the handling of documents and their contents; but the organization of these facts into history is but too little dealt with. Yet this latter is what the grades and high school deal with for the most part. The memory of facts has been and still is the central part of the history instruction; the older manner of memorization has been varied by newer plans—but still the memory is the center. The use of facts according to a historical method of organization and the gradation of this method from the simple to the complex events are still in their beginnings. The speaker believed that this is the important question, and that the discussion regarding the teaching of a new subject would raise it up for serious consideration. He welcomed California history as a set of facts that the children of the coast and State should know; and held that this set of facts could be used as well as any other for instruction in the method of organization so that the child could be independent of teacher and book in handling his own facts.

Prof. E. I. Miller, Chico State Normal School, moved that a committee be appointed to consider the subject of teaching California history in the schools, and to suggest further discussion, and to suggest a line of action.

It was pointed out that the motion should be couched in such a way as to be of benefit to the whole coast, as the branch is a coast organization. The president referred the matter to the council.

With the close of this session the meeting adjourned.

III. THE EFFORTS OF THE DANISH KINGS TO RECOVER THE ENGLISH
CROWN AFTER THE DEATH OF HARTHACNUT.

By LAURENCE M. LARSON,
Assistant Professor of History in the University of Illinois.

THE EFFORTS OF THE DANISH KINGS TO RECOVER THE ENGLISH CROWN AFTER THE DEATH OF HARTHACNUT.

By LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Since the days of Freeman historians have been inclined to believe that Cnut the Great probably did not believe in the permanence of his Anglo-Scandinavian empire. It is thought that a king so wise as Cnut is reputed to have been could not fail to realize the impossibility of maintaining the union between Britain and the north. Like the earlier Charlemagne, therefore, he planned to divide his realms among his three sons, giving a crown to each.¹ There is little to support this belief except the Frankish parallel, and in this case the parallel is imaginary. A vigorous, ambitious king, who is still in the summer of life and has just enjoyed the triumph of conquest, is not likely to be distributing his possessions in anticipation of early death.² There is no evidence that he ever intended to give England to Harold Harefoot. Sweyn's elevation to the Norwegian kingship was practically forced by the death of the regent Hakon and the return of the exiled King Olaf in 1030. The seeming inactivity of Cnut in 1035, when the Norwegians drove his son from the Kingdom, is not to be ascribed to a lack of interest in the Empire. In the early summer of that year he was renewing his friendship with Conrad II and giving his daughter in marriage to the future Henry III.³ We should probably see in this an effort to secure the southern frontier in anticipation of renewed hostilities in the north. A few months later death overtook him.

For more than a century the Danish kings had pursued a conscious policy of conquest. When Sweyn Forkbeard died (1014), he was King of Denmark, England, and large parts of Norway. Cnut merely succeeded to the dynastic pretensions and realized more fully the dynastic purposes. In the summer of 1028, when his vast armament had overawed the Norsemen and secured his recognition as Norwegian king, Cnut called the chiefs together on the shores of

¹ Freeman, "Norman Conquest" (New York, 1873), I, 321.

² If such were Cnut's plans, they must have originated during the period of 1028-1030 when Harthacnut and Sweyn were given the royal title. In 1028 Cnut was scarcely more than 35 years old; his oldest son could not have been more than 14, as Cnut did not come to England before the late summer of 1013.

³ At the hoftag at Bamberg, Whitsuntide, 1035. Manitius, "Deutsche Geschichte unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern" (Stuttgart, 1889), 411-412.

Throndhjem Firth, and in their presence placed his 10-year-old son, Harthacnut, in the royal high seat, gave him the royal name, and charged him with the administration of Denmark.¹ In this assembly there were present magnates from all the three kingdoms. It is probable that among those who heard the proclamation was Earl Godwin, for we learn from the incidental mention of his name in a runic inscription that he accompanied this expedition.² The Encomiast bears testimony to similar intentions when he tells us that all England had taken an oath to accept Harthacnut as king.³ It seems that Cnut, to secure the succession to his legitimate son, had adopted the Capetian expedient of associating the heir with himself in the kingship.

Succeeding events, however, soon disarranged the plans of the great king. For one thing, the physical energies of the Danish dynasty were almost exhausted. Less than seven years after Cnut's death, all his four children had followed him to the grave; his only surviving descendant was a little granddaughter, who closed the career of the line in a German convent. Another disturbing factor was the activity of a rival dynasty which also had developed imperialistic ambitions. A few months before Cnut's death, the Norsemen recalled Magnus, the son of St. Olaf, and reestablished the Norwegian throne. Knowing that war was inevitable, Magnus began hostilities and carried the warfare into Danish waters.⁴ It was this difficulty that prevented Harthacnut from appearing promptly in England in 1035 when Harold Harefoot was plotting to seize the English throne.

Magnus was no mean antagonist. To be the son of a saint was a great asset in the Middle Ages, and Magnus was the son of the first and greatest of all the northern saints. A strong, militant saint like St. Olaf, whose aim was always to strike the first and hardest blow, naturally appealed to the religious instincts of the newly baptized vikings; and during the years of Cnut and Edward the Confessor the cult of St. Olaf spread with amazing rapidity along the shores of all the northern seas.⁵ Magnus also had certain native qualities of the kingly type; furthermore, he developed into a great warrior. From his father he had inherited a battle-ax with a long shaft, a sanctified weapon that bore the unsanctified name of Hel,⁶ the old Norse name for the goddess of death.

After a few years of desultory warfare, Magnus and Harthacnut made peace and entered into a sworn brotherhood, very much like the earlier compact between Cnut and Edmund Ironside. It was

¹ Snorre, "Heimskringla: St. Olaf's Saga," c. 171. The administration of Norway was given to Cnut's nephew, Earl Hakon, who died less than two years later.

² "Afhandleringer viede Sophus Bugges Minde" (Christiania, 1908), 8.

³ "Encomium Emmæ," iii, c. 1. (Langebek, "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum," II).

⁴ Snorre, "Heimskringla: Saga of Magnus the Good," cc. 1-6.

⁵ On this matter see Daae, "Norges Helgener" (Christiania, 1879), i, cc. 2-3.

⁶ Snorre, "Heimskringla: Saga of Magnus the Good," c. 28.

expressly stipulated that if either king died without heirs the other should inherit his kingdom. Twelve of the best men from each realm swore to maintain the agreement.¹ Three or four years later, the death of Harthacnut gave the Danish crown to Magnus.

To secure the English inheritance was, however, a more difficult matter. In 1042, three men stood forth as candidates for the throne of Alfred: Magnus the Good, as Harthacnut's heir by oath and adoption; Sweyn, the son of Cnut's sister Estrith, now the ranking member of the Danish dynasty, a prince who was most probably an Englishman by birth² and whose aunt was the wife of the influential Earl Godwin; and Edward, later known as the Confessor, who strangely enough represented what national feeling there might be in England, though of such feeling he himself was probably guiltless.

There is no good evidence that Edward was ever formally chosen King of England. Harthacnut died at Lambeth, only a few miles from London. "And before the King was buried all the folk chose Edward to King in London," says the Peterborough manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. If that be true, there could have been no regular meeting of the witan. The circumstances seem to have been somewhat in the nature of a revolution, headed no doubt by the anti-Danish faction in London.³

But even if there were no formal election, negotiations, both formal and informal, must have been conducted for some time after Edward was proclaimed; for we are told that his successful accession was mainly due to the efforts of Earl Godwin and Bishop Lifing.⁴ If Edward succeeded "without opposition," as Hodgkin puts it,⁵ the earl and the bishop must have gone to much unnecessary trouble. But the situation was anything but simple. The election of Magnus would restore Cnut's empire, but would probably mean English and Danish revolts; it may also be that the English lords knew of the King's harshness toward those who had led the opposition to his father, the holy King Olaf. To elect Sweyn would almost surely mean war with Magnus over Sweyn's Danish inheritance. Just then the Danish claimant was making the most trouble, for Sweyn seems to have arrived in England soon after Edward was proclaimed.⁶ The outcome was that Edward kept the crown, but Sweyn, according

¹ *Ibid.*, c. 6.

² Sweyn must have been born about 1018. At that time his father, Ulf, doubtless had already been appointed to the English earldom that he surely held two or three years later. See Kemble, "*Codex Diplomaticus*," Nos. 735, 740.

³ Freeman believes in a second election at a gemót held at Gillingham ("*Norman Conquest*," II, 5). It seems clear, however, that Edward was in possession, at least nominally, of the English crown from the time of his accession. The meeting at Gillingham probably had to deal primarily with the pretensions of the other candidates. Regular constitutional procedure is not to be looked for in revolutionary times.

⁴ Florence of Worcester, "*Chronicon*," I, 196-197. Not much reliance can be placed on William of Malmesbury's account of these negotiations. "*Gesta Regum*," I, 233.

⁵ Hunt-Poole, "*Political History of England*," I, 442.

⁶ Adamus, "*Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum*," ii, c. 74.

to the account that he gave to Adam of Bremen, was designated as heir.¹ Prof. Oman seems to question the Dane's veracity on this point, but without good reason.² In 1042 there was scarcely anyone else to designate. It was probably common knowledge in the ruling circles that the new King was inclined to and perhaps even pledged to a celibate life. We do not know whether Englishmen were at this time informed of the ethelings in Hungary. The probabilities were that Alfred's line would expire with Edward; under the circumstances, Sweyn was the likeliest heir.

Sweyn returned to Denmark and was invested by Magnus with the earl's dignity and the defense of Jutland. The next year he raised the standard of revolt and assumed the royal title.³ With the resources of Denmark at his command he might find it tiresome to wait for the death of the gentle Confessor; it may therefore be significant that a few months after Sweyn's revolt Edward married Edith, who was Sweyn's cousin. Later medieval writers looked on this marriage as a wicked scheme on the part of Godwin, who wished to become the King's father-in-law.⁴ There may be something in this belief, but it fails to take the wishes of the bridegroom into account. It is quite likely that Edward hoped in this way to draw Godwin and his family farther away from their Danish kinsman who had just seized a throne.

The situation in the North soon came to be such, however, that Edward's kingship was in no immediate danger. According to the sagas, Magnus sent an embassy to England, perhaps in 1043, to demand the surrender of England.⁵ The English sources do not mention any such demand, but the extensive naval preparations in England in 1044 and the following years⁶ indicate that the account in the sagas is correct. But Magnus never came; he was kept busy at home defending his kingdoms against the attacks of Sweyn and of his own uncle Harold, who claimed a share of Norway. In 1047 he died, and the union between Norway and Denmark was dissolved.

Harold Hardrada, the King who did not gladly receive counsel, was now sole ruler in Norway. Harold was an adventurer, a magnificent warrior of the roving type, but a strong, though inconsiderate King. It was to be expected that he would follow up his predecessor's designs on England as soon as opportunity should appear. In the first year of his reign a Norwegian fleet plundered the shores of southeastern England; it was clearly a private venture, though

¹ *Ibid.*

² "England before the Norman Conquest," 610.

³ Snorre, "Heimskringla: Saga of Magnus the Good," cc. 23-25. In the matter of chronology I follow Munch, "Det Norske Folks Historie," II, 31 ff.

⁴ "Lives of Edward the Confessor" (Rolls Series, No. 3), 58-59.

⁵ Snorre, "Heimskringla: Saga of Magnus the Good," cc. 36-37.

⁶ See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for these years.

scarcely undertaken without the connivance of the King.¹ But soon the war with Denmark flared up again, and in 1049 both the Northern Kings were seeking military aid from the English King whose throne they coveted. For a decade or more there seems to have been little peace in Scandinavia, and Edward was consequently permitted to enjoy his honors till his death. But the northern Kings did not forget their claim to the crown of Cnut. It was in pursuit of this that Harold led his host into Northumbria in 1066, only to meet disaster at Stamford Bridge.

The events in England in the autumn of 1066 were doubtless followed with keen interest at the Danish court. The slaughter at Stamford Bridge not only removed Sweyn's warlike rival and destroyed the flower of the Norwegian host—it destroyed for the moment the Norwegian monarchy as well; for, on the return of the surviving remnant, Norway was divided between the two sons of the fallen King, Magnus and Olaf.² Soon came the news from Hastings of the fall of Harold and the ruin of Godwin's house. Sweyn could now come forward in a double capacity—as the chief of two royal families;³ as the heir and avenger of his kinsman Harold and as heir to the rights of his uncle, Cnut the Great.

The Danish King had suddenly become the most commanding figure in all Scandinavia. Norway was divided; Sweden was drifting toward heathen reaction and civil war; the men of the English Danelaw were imploring his help against the Norman usurper. The difficulty was that Sweyn's ambition was too great for the time and the circumstances; he evidently aimed at the reestablishment of Cnut's empire, but he had not the strength to fight Normans and Norsemen at the same time. An ambassador was sent to England to demand submission,⁴ and the peace with Norway was declared to have terminated with the death of Harold Hardrada. The Norsemen accepted the challenge and apparently fought with some success; the death of King Magnus reunited the Kingdom under Olaf the Quiet, and the Danes soon found it expedient to accept the terms of peace that Olaf offered.⁵ But in this way two years were allowed to slip by before an effort was made to dislodge William. English historians have ascribed the delay to "native irresolution,"

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1046, 1047; the year should doubtless be 1048. The account does not say that the fleet was from Norway, but the names of the leaders, Lothen and Erling, are found in the family of Erling Skjalgsson, who in the days of Cnut was the lordliest of all the Norwegian chiefs.

² Munch, "Det Norske Folks Historie," II, 376-377.

³ The young sons of the English Harold could, of course, not pretend to family leadership.

⁴ According to Henry Knighton, Sweyn sent a housecarle (miles) to demand homage and tribute. "Chronicon" (Rolls Series, No. 92), II, 58. See also "Script. Rer. Danic.," III, 252-258 ("Lectiones de Legatione Helsini Abbatis in Daniam circa An. 1067").

⁵ Snorre, "Helmskringla: Harold Hardrada's Saga," c. 101; Munch, "Det Norske Folks Historie," II, 377-381. We can not be sure that Magnus died before the peace was made; but as he seems to have had no part in the resistance, it is thought that such was the case.

“prudence,” “caution,” and other imaginary causes.¹ Sweyn was patient, but neither irresolute nor timid; he responded to the English invitation as soon as circumstances would permit.

Instead of a defiant reply to the demands of Sweyn, the Conqueror sent an embassy to Denmark to learn the King's intentions and to labor for peace. As chief envoy he selected Ethelsige, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, also for a time abbot of Ramsey. Ethelsige was intrusted with greetings and gifts for the King, and we are told that he also honored the chief Danish nobles with gifts.² William also called upon the archbishop of Hamburg, the primate of the northern church, to assist in maintaining the peace. But hostilities were not averted, although, says Adam of Bremen, “our archbishop, moved to action by William's gifts, strove to mediate between the kings.”³ Still later, perhaps in 1069, an embassy was sent to Norway,⁴ doubtless to secure William against an attack from that country, for Olaf had just made peace with Sweyn and had married his daughter. An alliance with William was out of the question, but Olaf seems for some time to have maintained a strict neutrality.

For two years England had expected invasion; finally, in 1069, the Danish fleet was ready to sail. While we can not be sure, it seems probable that all the forces hostile to William in the North and in Britain were trying to act in concert in the summer of that year, though the understanding can not have been complete.⁵ In June came the sons of Harold from the Norwegian refuge in Ireland, and attacked the southwest.⁶ Two months later a fleet of 240 ships, carrying about 15,000 men, perhaps, attacked the southeast. It seems to have been a force collected, not necessarily “sharked up,” from Denmark and the Danish possessions on the Slavic coasts.⁷ It was not a viking expedition, as Ramsay believes,⁸ but a national levy commanded by men of the highest rank—the King's brother Asbjörn; two of the royal princes, Harold and Cnut; an earl, Thurkil, probably grandson of Cnut's great

¹ Freeman, “Norman Conquest,” IV, 80; Stenton, “William the Conqueror,” 253; Davis, “England under Normans and Angevins,” 15.

² “Script. Rer. Danic.,” III, 253. * * * munera ac servicia ex parte Wilhelmi novi Regis Angliæ optulit, ac Proceres terræ muneribus honoravit.” (“Lectiones de Legatione Helsini Abbatis.”)

³ Adamus, “Gesta,” iii, c. 53.

⁴ Simeon of Durham, “Opera Omnia,” (Rolls Series, No. 75), II, 202-203: “In qua navi etiam legati Willelmi regis Norwegiam mittendi subvectionem sibi paraverant.”

⁵ For a slightly different view, see Stenton, “William the Conqueror,” 270. Stenton underestimates the importance of the Scandinavian element in the Danelaw.

⁶ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1069. The sons of Harold had sought and found refuge at the court of a Celtic king, but their forces were evidently recruited from the Norwegian colonies in Ireland.

⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, “Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Libri Tredecim,” II, 191 (Paris edition of 1840), tells us that Sweyn received aid from the Poles, the Frisians, and the Saxons; that Leuticia also sent forces; elsewhere in the narrative Norwegians are also mentioned as in the expedition. By Poles we should probably understand the Pomeranian Slavs, who had long been under Danish rule and influence. That there were Norse, Frisian, and Saxon volunteers in the fleet is also possible, though it is possible that Ordericus merely indulges the medieval fondness for a display of geographical knowledge. Leuticia, as Ordericus describes it, can scarcely be a Slavic or Lithuanian country; its inhabitants were worshippers of Norse gods.

⁸ “Foundations of England,” II, 69.

general, Thurkil the Tall, and two bishops.¹ As the princes and the earl were young and the bishops were not supposed to be warriors of the carnal type, the chief command evidently fell to Asbjörn, who as a former resident (perhaps native) of England and at one time a chief in the royal guard, should be specially fitted for leadership as regards both military experience and knowledge of the land.²

The results of the expedition were not in proportion to the energy spent in preparation. No doubt the Danes looked for substantial assistance from the disaffected English, and that there was rebellion in the Danelaw is evident from the haste with which the northern chiefs made their submission to Sweyn.³ But soon William appeared in the north country with his terrible Norman cavalry. Unable to reach the enemy, he conceived the terrible plan of devastating the rebellious region. He also approached the avaricious Asbjörn (who had probably lost courage by this time) and honored him highly with gifts. The Dane was also permitted to plunder the English coast on the condition that he should leave by the close of winter. But the temptation to pillage was great and Asbjörn lingered until June. On his return he was accused of incompetence and sent into exile.⁴

Five years later (1075) a second fleet sailed from Denmark on a similar mission. It was not so large as the earlier one; still it counted 200 ships. This time, too, the Danes came on invitation; it was the year of the "rising of the earls." Young Cnut and Earl Hakon were in command.⁵ But they found that the English dared not join them; the memory of the Vale of York was still too fresh in the popular mind. After plundering St. Peter's minster at York,⁶ the Danes withdrew and the movement collapsed.

The three chief conspirators in England all suffered punishment, but Earl Waltheof alone paid the penalty of death. Waltheof was the least guilty of the three, and William at first seemed disposed to forgive him. We do not know why the King changed his mind, though various conjectures have been put forth. It may be that Waltheof was not executed for his part in the preliminaries of the earls' rebellion, but because his relationship to English and Danish royalty made him an exceptionally dangerous subject. His mother was of Northumbrian royal blood; his father, Siward the Strong, was a nephew of Thorgils Sprakaleg, the grandfather of King Sweyn of

¹ According to Ordericus, op. cit., II, 190, there were three earls in the expedition.

² Asbjörn seems to have been exiled in 1049, when a wave of anti-Danish feeling seems to have swept over England. See Adamus, "Gesta," iii, c. 13.

³ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1068; Florence of Worcester, "Chronicon," II, 3.

⁴ Florence of Worcester, "Chronicon," II, 6-7. It is possible that Asbjörn's willingness to treat with William was not due to personal avarice, but prompted by the difficult condition in which the force found itself during the winter of 1069-1070. See "Ordericus," II, 197.

⁵ Lappenberg believes that this Hakon was the son of Sweyn, the son of Godwin. Freeman doubts this, as no evidence is given; "Norman Conquest," IV, 397. Munch identifies Earl Hakon with Hakon Ivarsson, Earl of Halland in southwestern Sweden; "Det Norske Folks Historie," II, 394.

⁶ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1076 (1075).

Denmark.¹ Waltheof was consequently a third cousin of King Harold of England as well as of King Sweyn. It is therefore not strange that the rebel earls should suggest to him the possibility of winning the English throne. So long as the Danish King lived and was the recognized head of the Sprakaleg family, as well as an active claimant to the English kingship, Waltheof was not particularly dangerous; and it is significant that at the midwinter gemót the earl was not found guilty, though he was not set free.² But four months later (April 28, 1076) King Sweyn died. Three weeks later, at the Pentecostal gemót (May 15–22), Waltheof was again tried and condemned to death.³ It is not unlikely that William feared that the earl might now assert a claim to the English crown; as the most prominent of the native nobility and the senior member of a mighty kindred, he might, at least, prove a very inconvenient subject.

So far as the Danes were concerned, the only result of these expeditions seems to have been that the Danish church secured (or believed that it secured) the relics of two great English saints, St. Alban and St. Oswald. These probably made part of the plunder that Asbjörn brought in 1070. That monasteries were not spared in that raid is evident from the sacking of Peterborough.⁴ The contemporary biographer of St. Cnut, Ethelnoth, an English ecclesiastic, attributes the translation of St. Alban to the King that he glorifies; but Cnut took part in both these raids.⁵ A discussion of the genuineness of these relics would carry us too far afield; but there can be no doubt that the Danes of the time believed that the bones of both St. Alban and St. Oswald were resting at Odense.⁶

Ten years later, the Danes mustered for the last time to invade England. Sweyn had passed to his reward; his son Harold had followed him after a brief reign; and now Cnut of sacred memory sat on the throne of the elder Cnut. St. Cnut seems to have lacked some of the finer qualities of kingship, but he had much rude strength, unbending purposes, and a high conception of kingly honor. What his earlier plans with regard to his supposed English rights were can not be known; but when dissatisfied Englishmen once more came to

¹ It is possible that Siward was Thorgils' grandson, but Steenstrup's view that he was Thorgils' nephew seems more in accord with what we know of the history of the Sprakaleg family; "Normannerne," III, 437–440. With Steenstrup's corrections, the genealogy will be as follows:

Ursus (Björn).

Björn.	(Thorgils) Spraclingus.	
Siward.	Ulf=Estrid (Cnut's sister).	Gytha=Godwin.
Waltheof.	Sweyn of Denmark.	Harold II.

² See Freeman, "Norman Conquest," IV, 401.

³ *Ibid.*, 402.

⁴ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1070.

⁵ Ethelnoth tells us that Cnut was slain "in Basilica Sancti Albani Martyris, per eum paulo ante de Anglia in Daciam transvecti. . .;" "Script. Rer. Danic.," III, 372.

⁶ In the struggle about the altar when King Cnut was slain, the shrines of the two saints were overturned—"capsulasque Reliquiarum, pretiosorum martyrum, Albani nec non et Osvualdi;" *ibid.*, 368.

urge an invasion of their country, Cnut seems to have listened eagerly.¹

For such a venture the time seemed exceedingly favorable. The King of Norway had promised to assist; Sweden had just passed through the horrors of civil war; nor was anything to be feared from the Empire; those were the closing days of the greater Gregory, and Henry IV had his face turned away from Denmark. The Count of Flanders, who was William's enemy and Cnut's father-in-law, had promised to join with a strong force. William seemed to have fallen upon evil days; enemies had risen upon every side. In 1079, he was defeated and wounded by his own son at Gerberoi. The King of France supported the rebellious prince. The same year Malcolm of Scotland ravaged the northern borders. The next year the men of Durham rose and slew the bishop that William had given them. In 1082, the Conqueror found it necessary to imprison his own brother, the Bishop Odo.

A year later (1083), apparently, the temptation had come to Cnut. The messengers from England must therefore have come very soon after the imprisonment of Odo; but it would not be safe to affirm that they were, or represented, the good bishop's friends. Preparations must have begun in 1084, for the fleet began to gather the following spring. The entire Danish host seems to have been summoned. We are told that a thousand ships gathered near the western outlet of the Lime Firth,² an inlet that in those days was a strait and not as Freeman conceives it now a strait and formerly an inlet.³ Sixty large Norwegian ships formed the contingent promised by Olaf of Norway. The Count of Flanders had promised to furnish 600 more.⁴

We need not accept these numbers as accurate statements; still it is evident that a mighty effort was being put forth. William realized that his throne was in danger. While Cnut was seeking allies he was in Maine striving to subdue a rebellious vassal; but when he learned of the danger from Denmark he hastened to England with a large force of continental mercenaries, both foot soldiers and knights, a force so numerous "that men wondered how this land could provision all that host."⁵ To make the invasion more difficult he ordered large parts of the eastern coast to be laid waste. But all his precautions were unnecessary, for Cnut and his great fleet never came.

¹ "Unde, Legatis frequentius transmissis, præstantissimi Principis Kanuti deposcunt auxilium; illi magis cupientes, hostibus aggressis, ad Anglorum decertare imperium obtinendum . . ." *ibid.*, 347.

² William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum," II, 319; "Script. Rer. Danic.," III, 350 (Ethelnoth); "Knytlingasaga," c. 42.

³ "Norman Conquest," IV, 466.

⁴ William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum," II, 319.

⁵ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1085.

The King was not with the ships in the Lime Firth; he was at Heathby, near the modern city of Schleswig, nearly 200 miles away, "taking counsel with wise and prudent men." The Danes soon wearied of waiting and sent a deputation headed by the King's own brother, Olaf, to Heathby to urge activity. On their arrival Olaf was arrested and sent to Flanders for safe-keeping. When the Danes learned that their remonstrances were unheeded most of them mutinied and returned to their homes. A little later the King appeared at the rendezvous, only to find that the Norwegian ships were almost the only ones remaining.¹

Various reasons have been given for the King's delay and the consequent break-up of the fleet—domestic difficulties, bribery on the part of William, danger from the Slavs, doubt as to the outcome in view of William's great preparations. It may be that all these were contributing causes, but it seems that the chief cause must be sought in the new situation on the southern frontier. The *Knytlingasaga* emphasizes the threatening movements among the Slavs of modern Mecklenburg and Pomerania. There can be little doubt that the Slavs actually were on the warpath and that Cnut was anxious to make peace with them, as the saga relates.² But a still more serious situation had developed on the German frontier. While the Danish ships were gathering in the Lime Firth Hildebrand breathed his last. As soon as the news reached Germany Henry IV made a dash into Saxony, and soon the rival Emperor, Henry of Salm, accompanied by the archbishop of Madgeburg and the bishop of Halberstadt, came to seek refuge in Denmark.³ With a victorious and probably hostile imperial force on the southern border it was plainly inexpedient to withdraw the entire Danish host from the country, and hence the long deliberations at Heathby.

A few months later William had "deep speech" with his wise men at Gloucester. Out of this came the Domesday inquest. It is clear that the large force of mercenaries that had been brought from the Continent to repel the Danes must have proved a severe drain on William's exchequer. Whether it was the need of funds to meet these expenses that led to the great assessment can not be known; still it seems likely that one of the influences that determined the decision of the Gloucester gemót was the threatened invasion of the summer before.

Another event that is sometimes associated with Cnut's plans is the meeting of the landholding men at Salisbury in 1086. It is the belief of Stenton that the Salisbury oath "was demanded with the single purpose of providing against the defection of disloyal knights

¹ On Cnut's delay at Heathby and the break-up of the fleet, see "Script. Rer. Danic.," III, 351-352 (Ethelnoth); "*Knytlingasaga*," cc. 42-43.

² "*Knytlingasaga*," c. 42.

³ "*Danmarks Riges Historie*," I, 486.

and barons to Cnut of Denmark in the imminent event of his landing." ¹ Other historians hold similar views. But in August, 1086, there was no danger from Denmark. Perhaps William did not know that Cnut had been assassinated three weeks earlier, though he seems to have kept in close touch with Danish affairs; but he surely knew that the fleet had deserted a year before, that Cnut had spent the last year of his life in punishing the deserters, and that his severity had kindled the flames of civil war. William surely understood that all such danger was past. It seems that the motive for the Salisbury oath must be sought elsewhere.

In the study of these episodes English historians have usually stated the facts correctly, but the interpretations offered are too often mere conjectures. Three important facts need especially to be understood before the events can be seen in the proper light—the hereditary claims of the Danish dynasty, the relations existing between Denmark and Norway, and the persistence of Scandinavian sentiment in the Danelaw. It is not sufficient to say that the Danish kings had no English rights, as England was an elective monarchy; the Danes had accepted the principle of heredity and saw no reason for limiting its application to their own country. Furthermore, the English principle of election had very little vigor in the eleventh century. Nor will it do to claim very much for English national movements and national feeling in the days of Edward and William. We should not go far wrong in saying that in the tenth and eleventh centuries there were two nations in England—the West Saxon and the Anglo-Danish. It was in the old Danelaw where the Conqueror met the most frequent and the most stubborn resistance; it was no doubt from the Danelaw that the call came loudest to Sweyn and Cnut; the hopes of Danish aid may have had much to do with the rebellious behavior of the chiefs in the north country. At the same time, though divisions in England were a factor favorable to intervention, the ambitions of Norway to be and remain an independent nation made impossible the reestablishment of Cnut's empire and ruined the chances of successful invasion at the moment when such an undertaking might have succeeded, in the year following the conquest.

¹ "William the Conqueror" (New York, 1908), 365.



IV. THE RECORDS OF THE PRIVY SEAL.

By JAMES F. BALDWIN,
Professor of History in Vassar College.



THE RECORDS OF THE PRIVY SEAL.

By JAMES F. BALDWIN.

For research in medieval history the public record office in London continues to offer the richest and most accessible material. Even the old and well-known lists of records which lie here, such as the rolls of the exchequer, the chancery, and the courts of law, are by no means exhausted, and they are likely to be used in the future for purposes more varied than at present. Not to describe these further I shall refer to a class of records which are less familiar, of which no general publication has yet been made, and to which more attention in the future is likely to be given; namely, the records of the privy seal. To the history of the privy seal a valuable contribution has been made by a French scholar, M. Eugène Déprez, *Le Sceau Privé* (Paris, 1898), which is a study solely on the diplomatic side. But the importance of the office and the value of its records have a bearing far more extensive than anyone has ever shown.

The privy seal, we may be reminded, is believed to have been invented under John, and was first used as a personal and secret seal of the King. In the reign of Henry III it was used for official purposes also, and henceforth was employed as a regular instrument of government, different in many respects from the great seal. With the extension of its operations the office grew in dignity and power. The clerk, better known as the keeper of the privy seal, in the reign of Edward III was recognized as next in rank to the chancellor and the treasurer, while under him was employed a staff of five clerks in the reign of Richard II, and nine in the time of Henry IV. As letters of the privy seal were used more and more widely, the new secretariat fairly rivalled the older department of the chancery. It differed from the chancery in the essential respect that it kept no rolls, and so the task of gathering its miscellaneous records in available form has been very great. Some of the lists in fact are still in course of compilation. Of these I can mention only a few, at the same time making some reference to their historical utility.

The principal use of the privy seal, it is well understood, lay in the issue of warrants, which were orders in the King's name to the treasurer or the chancellor. So restrained in fact were the ex-

chequer and the chancery in their operations, that they could do nothing out of the ordinary routine, except by orders of this kind. Thousands of these warrants are now compiled—especially (chancery) beginning with Edward I—which are often worth scrutiny, since not all letters close and patent were enrolled. Where the close rolls and the patent rolls therefore are deficient, the privy seals in a measure supply the lack.

Another use of the privy seal was for letters and writs which were not framed under the great seal at all. There was a marked tendency, in fact, to employ the privy seal instead of the great seal for many purposes. There were reasons for this: The privy seals were briefer and more readily understood as they were written generally in French or English, and were not encumbered with the Latin formulæ of the chancery; they were also more expeditious and economical; above all they were not registered and so were less subject to scrutiny and criticism. For example, the writs of summons known as subpœnas, although they were invented in the chancery, were afterwards translated and generally sent under the privy seal. Communications to officers, also foreign correspondence, and orders for the government of Gascony and Ireland came to be given in the same manner. Most of the letters, for instance, contained in the volumes of "Ancient Correspondence" are in fact missives of the privy seal. The value of these requires no further elucidation.

For manifest reasons, the privy seal was used not only by the King, but was grasped also by more than one of the Government departments. For a time, it was the special instrument of the wardrobe, mainly prior to 1324, when the wardrobe was an office through which passed many documents of diplomatic importance, and the keeper of the wardrobe was to an extent a minister for foreign affairs. Here we know the privy seal was often kept, and was used for the purposes of the office. Inasmuch as payments to soldiers and ambassadors regularly went through the department of the wardrobe, its various accounts and vouchers are well worth study in detail. On this subject more is likely to appear, since Prof. Tout is known to be working in the field.

With somewhat more confidence I am able to speak of the records which bear upon the history of the King's council. Probably because of its original close association with the King, the council naturally expressed itself through the medium of the privy seal. The warrants, in fact, are alternately attested per Regem and per Consilium. Of the documents relating especially to the history of the council certain files known as "Warrants council and privy seal" are now in process of compilation. From these documents can be discerned, for instance, the separation of the council from the Parliament,

which can not positively be stated so long as the records of the two bodies were alike and confused. When the council, however, operated by means of the privy seal, employing too the clerks of the privy seal for its secretarial work, the difference between the council and Parliament became as wide as that between the two seals. They represented in fact rival systems of administration, which from the reign of Edward III came frequently into antagonism. This was the primary reason for the opposition of Parliament to the ordinance power of the council, for, as it was once expressed, "ordinances and agreements made in councils are not matters of record, as if they had been made in Parliament," and likewise for the resistance to the judicial activities of the council, which were stigmatized as "the writs and processes of the privy seal." Almost the entire history of the contest of Parliament and the privy council, in fact, proceeds upon these lines.

In the same manner another differentiation is found between the privy council and the court of the chancellor. At first the council and the chancery, in all their larger jurisdictions, were the same; the court was nothing less than the council under the presidency of the chancellor and operating through the medium of the chancery. With the King's council falling back upon the privy seal, while the chancery continued to act by the great seal, two methods of operation were found—the one I have called "the council (privy seal)," the other "the council in chancery." This proves to be the line of cleavage which in time effectively separated the court of star chamber from the chancellor's court. The reasons for the ultimate formation of these two jurisdictions, I am convinced, were at bottom administrative, in the methods of the two secretarial departments.

Still further, there is something to be learned of the inner history of the council itself. The well-known collection of Sir H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council* (London, 1834–1837, 7 vols.) contain the bulk of material of this kind. To this may now be added various fragments of council proceedings of Edward III, and even some of earlier date. Very recently, too, I discovered a journal kept by the clerk of the council for the 15th and 16th years of Richard II, which is more extensive than all the other council records of the reign together. From other new evidence of the same kind, the history of Richard's absolutism, 1397–1399, is shown to have been substantially the appointment and operation of a royalist bureaucratic council in opposition to the lords of Parliament. For certain years of the fifteenth century something equally valuable may yet appear. In the aforementioned work of Nicolas, for the period from 1460 to 1509 there is a complete gap in the records of the council. The "Book of the Council" for these years is unaccountably lost.

It is quite possible that the lists already mentioned of "Warrants council and privy seal," when fully compiled, may enable us to supply something for these missing years.

The few points which I have mentioned are those only of my own observation. Undoubtedly other investigators will find more. The material is very miscellaneous, and its complete examination will take time. After a fair amount of sifting and selection no doubt calendars may well be printed, and a valuable addition will be made to the existing collections of published state papers.

V. ROYAL PURVEYANCE IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND IN THE
LIGHT OF SIMON ISLIP'S SPECULUM REGIS.

By CHALFANT ROBINSON,
Assistant Professor of History in Yale University.

ROYAL PURVEYANCE IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND IN THE LIGHT
OF SIMON ISLIP'S SPECULUM REGIS.

By CHALFANT ROBINSON.

In 1661¹ the Commons of the Cavalier Parliament induced Charles II to accept a fixed revenue on various liquors consumed in England in exchange for the King's right of royal purveyance. By that act they brought to an end one of the most ancient prerogatives of the Crown in England.

"Purveyance, from *pourvoir*, to provide," says Blackstone, "is a prerogative enjoyed by the Crown of buying up provisions and other necessities, by the intervention of the King's purveyors, for the use of his royal household, at an appraised valuation, in preference to all others, and even without the consent of the owner, and also of forcibly impressing the carriages and horses of the subject to do the King's business on the public road, upon paying a settled price, a prerogative which prevailed pretty generally throughout Europe."²

Older than Magna Charta, the exercise of this prerogative of the King was definitely limited when that instrument was drawn up. No royal bailiff, says that familiar document, shall take any man's corn or other chattels without immediate payment, unless the seller voluntarily gives credit; nor shall the King or his bailiffs take any horses or carriages of freemen for cartage, or any man's timber for castles, or other uses, unless by consent of the owner.³ But the effort to control the King's power did not stop there. Thirty-six statutes were passed, at one time or another, in a long struggle to check the extension and the abuse of this right of the King. At all times its burden was grievous to the people. Indeed, throughout the whole course of English history there is no one institution, with the possible exception of the English prison system, which produced for the same span of years such widespread misery for humble Englishmen and in which so large a number of people participated as the royal prerogative of purveyance. Obviously, so tough an institution as this one, which lasted for more than four hundred and fifty years in the face of drastic statutes passed to restrict it, and in spite of almost universal protestation against its continuance, must

¹ 12 Charles II, cap. 24. 1661.

³ Magna Charta, sections 28, 30, and 31.

² Commentaries, I, 287.

have had remarkable vitality. Its very longevity justifies its existence, for had there not been the need for such an institution it must have perished long before it did.

While it bore on the poor during its whole lifetime, it was in the fourteenth century that its weight was most intolerable. Protests and petitions to the King asking him for relief are frequent in the rolls of parliament of that century. This is especially true in the reign of Edward III. During the time that he was King of England one-fourth of all the statutes passed in restraint of purveyance are to be dated. Purveyance under him does not appear to have differed in principle from the purveyance of previous kings. They, too, had levied on the goods of their subjects; but the abuses of the system under Edward III, and under his degenerate father before him, were enormous, and called forth loud complaints from the people. There was good reason why they should. The demands made upon the resources of England for the conduct of the Hundred Years' War were unusual and heavy. There was great extravagance and waste in the train of the King's earlier victories.¹ He made lavish gifts to his personal friends, and the uncertain conditions under which the revenue was collected made the burden very unequal. To these sources of expense must be added the splendor of state which the King maintained wherever he went, the great banquets, at which he wore his royal crown, the magnificent tournaments of which he was the special patron, and the royal progresses which he made from one castle to another. There always attended him a great cavalcade of horses, and there followed him long lines of carts and wains loaded with the King's provisions and furniture, some drawn by oxen, some by horses, all doubtless painfully and with great difficulty over the unspeakable roads of medieval England. With the medieval kings it was necessary to move on, every few days. A sufficient quantity of provisions could not be gathered from the domain of the royal manors and from the countryside, within the verge, to supply the needs of the King's family and retinue for more than a very limited period of time, so that when the stores were consumed in one place he moved on to the next. Hence the incessant journeyings of the royal household.

When His Majesty journeyed, the King's purveyor, or harbinger, as he was called, went on ahead to announce the King's coming and to command the villagers to bake and to brew and to provide other supplies for the King's needs. And it was not only the King who exercised this right when he went through the land, but other members of the royal family and the great noblemen did as the King did.²

¹ W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, first ed., 1874-1878, II, 546. From July 20, 1338, to May 25, 1340, the expenses were £337,104 9s. 4d.

² 36 Edward III, cap. 2.

This led to frequent and heavy demands on the store of provisions of the subject, always pitifully small in the middle ages, and on the horses and carts to carry them for the King.

In 1337, and again in 1345, before he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Islip wrote a series of indignant remonstrances to King Edward III upon the folly of this course, and upon the distress which it was producing throughout England. His remonstrance is the *Speculum Regis*, the King's Mirror, in which King Edward is to see his own unlovely image.¹ It is not the purpose of this paper to consider the institution of purveyance. Its design is rather to make use of the scenes which Simon Islip describes in an effort to show how the struggle of the poor for existence, naturally bitter, was rendered hopeless, many times, by the callousness and rascality of the King's officers. The incidents which he pictures with such fidelity were of daily occurrence in many a medieval village in England. Islip himself had been an eyewitness to many of them, and he knew, as he says, from personal observation the want and the hunger which followed in the path of the King's purveyor, as he took from the poor villager his chickens, geese, cattle, bread, grain, hay, and firewood to satisfy the King's need. He also knew the King and the vain and foolish luxury of his court. He knew, too, from his experience as a minister of state under Edward the paucity of the nation's resources and its bankrupt financial condition.

All this makes what he has to say of special interest, and when he writes to the King he speaks with the uncompromising directness of an Old Testament prophet, and his "Thus saith the Lord" is the voice of Elijah the Tishbite or of Nathan the prophet. In this character of seer he tells the monarch, in these words, just what end his evil course of life will lead to if it is not altered:

And I say to you, oh lord king, that if, with your consent, this pillaging and plundering by your court lasts to the day of your death, you will then exclaim thrice woe. And why do I say that you will exclaim woe three times? First, Woe that you were ever born. Because it was woe wherever you went on earth. But more woe to you when, upon its final dissolution, your soul is freed from its body by the devil. But most woe to you when your soul will be borne down into hell, where there will be woe and torment without end.²

The *Speculum Regis* is the most important source of information which we have to consider, but there are other documents of the

¹ The *Speculum Regis* does not exist, so far as the writer has been able to determine, outside its original Latin form. At least, it does not appear to have been translated into English. This fact is his best excuse for offering his own translations of the passages used as illustrations. These are all taken from Josephi Moisant's *De Speculo Regis Edwardi III seu tractatu quem de mala regni administratione conscripsit Simon Islip cum utraque ejusdem recensione manuscriptorum nunc primum edita* (Paris, Picard, 1891). Moisant gives a thoroughgoing treatment of the whole subject in Latin, and to this very valuable thesis the reader is referred.

² Moisant, ed., *Speculum Regis*, Recension B, cap. 49, p. 164.

period dealing with purveyance which have equal range with the *Speculum Regis*. These are the statutes of the reign of Edward III. They sum up the main points of complaint against the system of purveyance and attempt to provide a remedy. Coming after the *Speculum Regis*, it is commonly supposed that the King was moved to this legislation because of what Simon Islip had written. There is, however, some doubt as to the fact. At any rate, the points in the statutes are the ones which Islip had already taken up, and they furnish a very satisfactory means of approaching the system in detail. For the *Speculum Regis* illustrates by example the grievances which are listed in the statutes. It is the plan of this article to consider them one after another in order.

It was one of the first concerns of the Commons to limit the number of great horses belonging to the King's household.¹ These horses were luxuries of the court. For the purpose of parade and for tournaments only, they did not do any work. More than that, they did consume valuable grain and hay. This was a direct waste of the country's resources which, as Islip says, might have been put to better use in supporting human life. The connection is quite close. Hay and grain to-day are abundant and cheap, but it was a different thing in the fourteenth century; then there was never enough of either, and both hay and grain were accordingly highly valued. Out of the year's supply of grain the peasant had to keep back enough for the next season's sowing. But more important was the fact that the amount of hay and grain which he could store away determined whether he could keep through the winter his oxen, the mainstay of his agriculture, or whether he would be compelled to kill them and salt down the meat for his later use. He might be spared this hard necessity if he had provision enough for himself and for them, but it was this very provision of grain and hay that the King's purveyor insisted on taking away to feed the King's great horses. Considerations such as these plainly show that Islip in protesting against the King's extravagance in maintaining so many of these great horses was dealing with a matter vital in its importance to the poor. The two extracts from the *Speculum Regis* which follow serve to illustrate this point:

And now, lord king, consider what expenses you incur annually on account of one great horse. A single great horse has at least one groom, who receives a penny a day for his own expenses; for his horse besides he takes half a bushel of grain a day, valued at a penny. * * * On this amount four or five poor men could be supported. The estimate for one groom and one horse having been made upon this basis, amounts to 6 pounds, 16 pence, for a year. * * * How much and how great are the expenses incurred throughout a year for all your horses and grooms.²

The salvation of the King's soul lies next the heart of the good ecclesiastic, and in the passage below he is earnest in pointing out to

¹ 14 Edw. III, cap. 19; 36 Edw. III, cap. 6.

² *Speculum Regis*, B, cap. 8, sec. 15, p. 143.

him that almsgiving is more important to his eternal welfare than a vain display of horses:

Oh my lord the king, would that you were wise, and that you would provide for your latter end. That is, that you might have in mind how many and how great expenses your great horses occasion. That you might understand how many good works of piety might be done in this world by means of these foolish expenses * * * and that you should provide for your own unhappy death, surely you should limit the number of those great horses. You should pay your debts, and the debts of your father, and instead of inordinate expenses of this kind, that is, in place of horses, you should perform diverse works of piety. For it is said in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, A wise King will not multiply horses to himself.¹

The next two extracts show what a variety of means the King's grooms used in bullying and cheating the timid villager.

* * * One groom from your court comes to a country village with one of his master's horses, and there he chooses for himself the best house in the village, and demands litter for his horse. He wants to have a fire for himself and for his horse, and wants to have the best food and drink for himself, perhaps a chicken. So the lord of the house in paying and in charging, by reason of this eating and drinking, spends a sum of 8 or 10 pence. In the morning, when he departs, he pays nothing at all for his bed; for grain, one penny, for food and drink, one penny and a farthing, because he has not received more from his master. And so when the reckoning is made he has not paid one half his expenses. But if all the grooms of your household did even this, in that far it would be good, for it is better to have something than to get nothing at all. The rest are not like this one, * * * for I have chosen the example of a groom who conducts himself better and more honestly than the rest. For it may be said of the men of your household, as it is said in Genesis 18 and 19, that when inquiry was made five righteous men could not be found.²

Then again:

* * * Varlets with their masters' horses come to a country village, and the more remote they are from your court the more prone they are to do evil; 4 varlets, let us say, with 4 horses, come to some country village, and stay there 4 or 5 days; they require here from different men, 8 or 10 quarters of grain by gift, or by violence, or by fear. They do not tell their masters that they break in doors to get hay and grain, and that what is spoiled they feed to their masters' horses, and what has any value they sell for themselves. * * * then the men with their horses depart, nor are they willing to pay anything.³

Apparently there were attendant grievances, for in the statute 14-Edward III, cap. 19, is the provision that for each horse there shall be one groom only, and that without bringing women, pages, or dogs with them. And it further specifies separately that the number of dogs, hunting dogs, doubtless, for which purveyance is to be made, shall be definitely stated in the purveyor's commission.⁴

Another statute of Edward III provides that the purveyor's commission be sealed with the great seal; that it shall be returned each year to the chancery and be exchanged for a new one; and that every commission shall specify in detail just what is to be taken, and

¹ Speculum Regis, B, cap. 8, p. 142.

² Speculum Regis, A, secs. 25 and 26, p. 107.

³ Speculum Regis, A, sec. 24, p. 107.

⁴ 14 Edw. III, cap. 19.

in what manner.¹ The following passage from the *Speculum Regis* makes evident the fact that these provisions were necessary in order to prevent the people from being imposed on by the King's officers:

Oh, my lord, the King, now recently is added a burden by those of your household. The harbinger comes to provide in a certain country village for 20 or 30 horses and for as many grooms, who are of your household. And he brings with him a commission, signed with a seal not known, indeed, to those of that parish, nor does it say in the commission how many horses and how many men they ought to receive. The people of the parish, induced by fear, because of the great burdens brought upon them by these grooms, agree with that harbinger and with his companions that they shall go away. And they give them to do this a half-mark, or 5 shillings, or 40 pence. Nevertheless, the villagers remit to them the expenses to which they have been already put. On the day following, or on the second day, there comes another harbinger with a certain commission sealed as before, requiring that provision be made for the varlets and horses of the Queen's household, or the household of the King's sister. These varlets, with their horses, are more burdensome than the first. For a certain sum of money the people of the parish agree with these that they, too, shall go away. But the money being once paid over, some of them do go, but others remain, and take grain, hay, and other things for which they pay nothing. They do what robbers would not do after a compact had been made with them. Certainly it happens, as it is said, that one man will have such commission to one village, another to another village, a third one to a third, and so on. And because these varlets are vicious, and because they receive almost nothing from their masters, * * * they gather together, and come first to one village and show their commissions, and by virtue of that commission take grain, beans, and things to eat and drink, and much else besides, whether by violence or by fear, because the simple folk of a country village do not dare to resist them because of their numbers; and when they have done this in one village, they go away, and come to another, show the same commission, do the same thing there, and so on.²

In place of the indiscriminate taking of provisions by the purveyors, the statute 36 Edward III, cap. 2, further provides that there shall be a commission of the constable and four discreet men of every town, who shall make indenture with the purveyors; determining the price, the quantity, from whom the provisions are to be taken, that the taking shall be in a manner convenient to the seller, without duress, menace, or other villany, and that provisions be taken in such place as there is the greatest plenty, and at a fitting time of year.

That there was abundant need for these provisions, as well, is further shown by the following extracts. The first is an illustration of the consternation produced in the village by the arrival of the King's harbinger:

Whenever there are rumors of your coming, and a single blast of your horn is heard, whoever by chance may be in the village trembles. Later on your harbinger comes to the village, and all seeing him are downcast and fearful. He does not say to them, "Fear not!" but he says that he wants oats, hay, and litter for the King's horses; and then the poor people of the village are greatly saddened and more and more alarmed. Afterwards comes another in the same way, and he says that he wants geese, hens, and many other things. Then comes a third, who wants grain and so forth, and so the terror grows.³

¹ 36 Edw. III, cap. 2 and cap. 5.

³ *Speculum Regis*, B, sec. 8, p. 135.

² *Speculum Regis*, A, sec. 20, pp. 104-105.

From this terror and general confusion Simon comes to the particular case of the poor woman's hen:

Oh, my lord, the King, I pray you do not be angry if I speak to you again on this matter. When one of your purveyors has come to a village for the purpose of making provision for your household in the way of geese and chickens he takes from a poor woman a hen from which she is able to get four or five eggs a week to keep herself and her children; the purveyor gives her a penny for it, or at most a penny and a farthing, no more. The poor, miserable woman would not have been willing to part with it for 3 pence. This hen, because it is fat, is prepared for your lips; you in eating of it are made glad; the needy woman is saddened. You fill your belly with this fowl unjustly acquired, she goes hungry, and begs her bread; you dine splendidly on many viands unjustly obtained; she has well-nigh nothing to eat. You in the abundance of riches, she in the extremity of poverty; you clad in cloth of gold, she in rags; you having, she wanting; you keeping open house with your soldiers and followers, gladdened with choice food, she keeping open house with her children begging for bread. I ask you, by what daring, by what audacity do you dare to eat of that fowl? Upon hens and geese of that kind and upon other provisions taken by violence you make your feasts, your merrymakings, and your songs; but I promise you that all such gladness shall be turned to sadness and woe unless a remedy is speedily found for this state of affairs.

Amos viii, "And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentations."¹

The particular mandate in the statute that provisions be taken in a manner convenient to the seller, without duress, menace, or other villany, borrows illustration from this extract:

But hear, my lord, if you please, the evils which have been lately done. Certain officers of your household, with a commission not of God but in the name of the devil, come to a market and take sheep, oxen, cows, fat pigs, and whatever they can happen on, and that against the will of the owner. They pay nothing at all; on account of which all who come to the market as well as the whole countryside are confused and alarmed. * * * A certain poor man, we will say, comes to market with a single ox valued at 1 mark, and he owes a mark on a certain day to pay for his holding of land. His ox is driven off by your men, and nothing is paid to him for it. Therefore he loses his holding of land because he did not pay his debt at the fixed day. Some, indeed, whose sheep and oxen are taken do not pay their creditors on the appointed day, and therefore incur perjury and excommunication, and are reputed to be false men.²

Islip then cites the case of Nathan and David and the ewe lamb of the poor man, and continues, "but if a rich man has sheep and fat oxen in the market and shows your letters of immunity, he keeps them untouched."

In the rolls of Parliament is found additional illustration of what is meant in the statute by "a fitting time of year." This is a complaint against the injustice and dishonesty of purveying mutton for the King's table. The purveyors, it says, were accustomed to drive off the farmers' sheep just before shearing time with the wool on them, shear them at the proper time, sell the wool, and keep the sheep till such time as the King needed mutton.³

¹ Speculum Regis, B, cap. 12, sec. 43, pp. 159-160.

² Speculum Regis, A, sec. 14, p. 99.

³ Rot. Par., II, 241 (1351-2); 25 Edw. III, cap. 15, stat. 5.

Another example of the same character is to be found in the Commons' complaint that purveyors sent out to secure timber for the King's needs made a practice of cutting down the shade trees growing around the houses of the gentry. The purveyor might, of course, be bought off, but the Commons did not want to save their ancestral oaks in that way.¹

But the timber had to be carted, anyhow, either to the river, if it was for the King's galleys, or to where the actual building was going on, whether it was for a castle or for building siege engines, such as catapults, mangonels, or balistas, for operation in war. Provisions, too, had to be carted to the place where they were wanted by the King. That it was inconvenient for the farmer to have his horses or oxen taken out of the fields where they were at work, whether it was plowing time or seed time or harvest, made no difference to the purveyors. In fact, the more inconvenient the time the more likely the farmer would be to pay well for being let off, and the levy made on some one who could not pay the price to the King's agent.

In a statute provision is made that no more carriages are to be taken than are needed and that no purveyor shall take any gift for sparing any man in taking purveyance or carriage.²

These conditions receive illumination from the following passages taken from the *Speculum Regis*:

* * * The precursors, the varlets of your household, and others take men and animals working in the fields and animals that plow the ground and carry seed to the field, that they may labor for two or three days in your service and receive nothing for it.³

Evidence, too, of the desolation which this practice caused is furnished in the *Speculum Regis* in this extract. Islip here directs attention to the tracts of arable land which lie uncultivated.

* * * Likewise those of your household take from the forest of Winchester and from neighboring places men, carts, and horses of poor men, and compel them to go from their homes a 10 hours' journey, and likewise compel them to draw wood, not only for three or four days, but for many days. And they promise to pay them for labor of this kind, but pay nothing. Thus because of diabolical deeds of this kind the fields of the poor are not cultivated nor are they sown, nor have the poor any property whereby they may sustain a burden of this kind. Therefore they cry aloud to God, and their cry ascends to God, even as the cry of the Children of Israel ascended to God when the Egyptians oppressed them with labor, as it is said in Exodus xii, at the end of the chapter.⁴

Again, from the passage below, it is plain how little justice or honesty could be expected of the King's purveyors:

* * * Likewise it sometimes happens that those of your household wish to have men and horses and carts in some parish. Those from that parish agree with the purveyors for a half a mark, more or less, that they may be permitted to remain at home

¹ Rot. Par., II, 230 (1351-2); 25 Edw. III, cap. 6, stat. 5.

² 36 Edw. III, cap. 3.

³ *Speculum Regis*, B, cap. 3, sec. 5, p. 132.

⁴ *Speculum Regis*, A, sec. 15, p. 100.

and that they be not compelled to labor in your service. On the day following or on some other day, others of your household come and take away the horses and carts in that parish, although those that gave half a mark believed that they had secured immunity.¹

Even when they actually perform the service the farmers must lose a great deal of time in waiting the pleasure of the purveyor, who frequently has to be bribed to pay the farmers their due hire, as this illustration shows:

The whole English people may blush to have a King at whose coming the people are universally saddened and at whose departure there is universal rejoicing. * * * The reason for the sadness of the people at your coming is that your servants take a great deal of property against the consent of the owner, and for a less price than he is willing to take for it. If the people wish to get the money owed to them by your servants, it is necessary for them to journey five or six hours, and often more, to ask for the money, and perhaps even then to wait for a whole day, and it often happens that they have to give up some of their own property in order to get their due.²

These were some of the conditions accompanying the exercise of purveyance. Others of like character might be cited. They were the conditions in time of peace, not of war. Islip knew them all, but he was most deeply stirred by the pitiful spectacle of the very poor people, in a panic at the approach of the purveyor, frantically eating up and drinking the slender store of provisions that stood between them and actual want lest the King's agent should get even that. Then, gorged in this fashion, they watch the coming of the purveyor with apathy. The contemplation of that scene moves him to arraign the King's conduct in the following unmeasured terms:

And behold, my lord the King, what your poor tenants do, to whom should be given in works of charity rather than from whom anything should be taken. Because when news is heard of your coming they are dejected and immediately in fear they hide away their geese, their chickens, and their other goods, or they consume them by eating and drinking, lest they should otherwise lose them at your arrival, just as they would do if they believed that thieves and robbers were coming to the village.

Oh Grief! Oh Shame! Oh Opprobrium! Oh Infamy! Oh Affliction! Oh Ambition! Oh Crime! Oh Compassion! Oh Conviction! Oh Damnation! Oh Sadness! Oh Error! Oh Falsity! Oh Fraud! Oh Theft! Oh Rapine! Oh Infidelity! Oh Ingratitude! Oh Instability! Oh Labor! Oh Tears! Oh Lamentations! Oh Martyrdom! Oh Lying! Oh Perjury! Oh Danger! Oh Fear! Oh Scandal to you, O King, and to the whole English people, that such things can happen at your coming! Fie! Fie! Fie! Alas! Alas! Alas! That such things are permitted to be done.³

As we have already seen, this cascade of lamentations and woe did not fall unheeded on the head of the King, for he passed laws which were honestly designed to remedy many of the abuses of the system. And in so far as that legislation records his best effort to abate the wrongs, which were beyond his power to abolish, the Speculum Regis served its purpose.

¹ Speculum Regis, B, cap. 3, sec. 5, p. 132.

² Speculum Regis, B, cap. 3, sec. 5 p. 131.

³ Speculum Regis, B, sec. 6, p. 133.

VI. ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS, 1654-1660.

By RALPH C. H. CATTERALL,
Professor of Modern European History in Cornell University.

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The history of Anglo-Dutch relations during the whole of the second half of the seventeenth century revolves about the attempt of the Dutch to persuade the English to adopt a policy of freedom in regard to commerce and navigation. The act of navigation was the chief ground of offense, and to secure its revocation was the first object of Dutch policy in regard to England. The second object was the making of a marine treaty containing (1) a recognition of the principle "free ships, free goods," (2) a concession that search should not be exercised in case of Dutch vessels carrying properly authenticated passports, and (3) an interpretation of contraband goods which would restrict that term to objects directly used in waging war.¹ All these questions had been debated during the negotiations over the treaty of 1654, and none of them had been settled.

The interests of the United Netherlands and those of Great Britain were flatly opposed in respect to freedom of commerce and navigation. The Dutch were the carriers of the world and needed a policy of noninterference with trade in order to remain so. The English, on the other hand, were anxious to secure the carrying trade at the expense of the Dutch. To do this they adopted a protective policy, the chief instrument in which was the act of navigation. In addition they restricted the rights of neutrals in time of war as completely as possible. Since the period was one of continuous warfare so far as England was concerned, restriction of neutral rights was ruinous to the Dutch, great numbers of whose vessels were seized, brought into English ports, and had their fate determined by the English court of admiralty. The result was that even when the ship and cargo were released the losses sustained by delay, the expenses of the suit, and damage to the cargo were so great as to make the voyage unprofitable. Similarly, in exercising the right of search, the English broke open so much of the cargo that great damage was inflicted. Moreover, their brutal usage of Dutch captains and crews was one of the insufferable abuses of the time.

¹ Instructions of May 22, 1654; Resolutions of the States General, fol. 394 (the Resolutions of the States General, to which frequent allusion will be made hereafter, are in the Rijksarchief at The Hague); ambassadors to Ruysch, June 19, 1654, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 17.

The exercise of the right of search and the seizure of Dutch vessels went on continuously all through the Cromwellian period. A few instances will suffice to show the grounds for Dutch complaint. In the spring of 1655 Blake's fleet seized a score of Dutch vessels at Barbados,¹ and restitution of these ships was long deferred. The act of navigation gave rise to several seizures in 1655. Thus a Dutch ship went ashore on the English coast in February, and the crew sold part of the cargo to provide themselves with food. Hereupon the ship and cargo were seized, since the sale was contrary to the act of navigation.² A similar case occurred in May, 1657.³ In November, 1655, 12 Zealand ships were seized in London by an individual named Timothy Pye, son of a laundress at Whitehall, on the ground that their cargoes were illegal under the act. The case is interesting as showing what indignities might be inflicted upon foreign merchants by an individual acting under authority given by the act of navigation. Nieupoort complained to the council of state.⁴ On the same day the matter was referred to the commissioners of the admiralty to report.⁵ The commissioners reported that the seizure was without justification.⁶ Hereupon the council ordered the restoration of the ships.⁷ To make sure that the ships should not escape, Pye had issued an order on the 22d of November that their sails should be seized, and this had been done,⁸ and now in answer to the council's order for the release of the ships, he instructed his agents to permit nothing of the sort.⁹ He also sent a petition to the council stating that he would be ruined if their order was enforced.¹⁰ The council referred this petition to a special committee on December 24.¹¹ This committee reported early in February that Pye had refused to restore the sails, and had caused the arrest of one of the masters, an act which they declared to be a great contempt of His Highness.¹² On the advice of the committee the council issued a warrant for Pye's commitment until "he yield obedience."¹³ Thus, after two months and a half full of wearisome proceedings and infinite trouble and expense, the ships were released. In December, 1656, the court of admiralty declared a Dutch ship good prize because

¹ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Sept. 3, 1655, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6915, piece 2126.

² Same to same, Feb. 19, 1655, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6915.

³ Memorial of Nieupoort to Cromwell, Apr. 30-May 10, 1657. Public Record Office (London), State papers, For., Holland, bundle 162, fol. 513.

⁴ See Nieupoort's memorial, Nov. 27-Dec. 7, 1655, P. R. O., State papers, For., Holland, bundle 161, fol. 190. Also Nieupoort's letter to Ruysch, Dec. 10, Thurloe, State Papers, IV, 258-259.

⁵ Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1655-56, p. 34.

⁶ Report of the commissioners, P. R. O., State papers, For., Holland, bundle 161, fol. 189.

⁷ Dec. 5-15, 1655. Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1655-56, p. 47.

⁸ Pye's order, P. R. O., State papers, For., Holland, bundle 161, fol. 222.

⁹ Dec. 7, *ibid.*, fol. 223.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 219.

¹¹ Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1655-56, p. 53.

¹² Report Jan. 24-Feb. 3, 1655-56, P. R. O. State papers, For., Holland, bundle 161, fol. 255.

¹³ Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1655-56, p. 135.

it had on board three Spanish passengers.¹ In April, 1657, seven Dutch ships laden with salt were carried into an English port by English men-of-war, apparently without any legal justification.² The next month the English seized the *Morning Star*, a large Dutch vessel, laden with a valuable cargo of West India products, which it had taken on at Santa Cruz in the Canaries. The States General dispatched a letter to Cromwell, declaring that the seizure was contrary to the treaty of 1654, since the vessel belonged to neutrals, and carried no prohibited articles of any sort. At the same time the States instructed Nieupoort to use his best efforts to secure the immediate release of the ship without having her brought before the court of admiralty, and without incurring any costs or damages.³ Nieupoort had an interview with the Protector, stating the case as instructed. Oliver answered that he had heard nothing of the matter, but assured Nieupoort "that the said ship should be speedily released and that I might rely upon it."⁴ Notwithstanding Cromwell's promise, the ship was held for examination. Nieupoort complained to Thurloe in angry terms. Such practices, he declared, were "not only against the articles of the treaty of peace, but also against all right and reason." Thurloe replied that the ship had been at the Canary Islands at the same time that the Spanish plate fleet had been there, and when the English had reason to believe that the silver would be brought to Europe in Dutch bottoms. He added that two Spaniards had been found on board. Nieupoort was annoyed, and said that the alleged Spaniards were nothing of the sort, one of them being an Italian and the other a Portuguese.⁵ Later Thurloe told the Dutch ambassador that the ship when it had been seized exhibited bills of lading which were fraudulent, and that the true bills had been found concealed in the gun room. These, he said, proved that the goods were the property of a Genoese. To this Nieupoort replied that even so there was no ground for confiscation, since the Genoese were also neutral. He repeated that none of the goods were contraband, and said that it was very prejudicial for commerce that sealed letters and papers should be opened.⁶ All this time, the case of the *Morning Star* had been before the court of admiralty, and late in July, the judges of that court ordered the sale of the perishable goods on board of her. Nieupoort protested again.⁷ Then the

¹ Nieupoort to the High and Mighty Lords, Dec. 8, 1658. Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6916, piece 2203.

² Resolutions of the States General, Apr. 18, 1657, fols. 262-263.

³ High and Mighty Lords to Cromwell, May 26, 1657, Rijksarchief, Register of Outgoing Letters, 1657, fols. 105-106; same to Nieupoort, *ibid.* Also Resolutions of the States General of same date, fol. 343.

⁴ Nieupoort to Ruysch, June 1, 1657, Thurloe, VI, 303; see also the memorial handed to the Protector at this time, *ibid.*, p. 302.

⁵ Nieupoort to Ruysch, June 15, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 169.

⁶ Nieupoort to Ruysch, June 29, 1657, Thurloe, VI, p. 360.

⁷ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 3, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 178.

council submitted the case to a committee, which consulted the admiralty lawyers.¹ These officials reported that the ship was not laden for Hollanders, that the bills of lading first presented were false, and that the genuine papers proved that the goods were the growth of Spanish colonies and the property of a Spanish subject. Hence they were contraband. The ship came from an unfree port, and no claim had been made in the court of admiralty for any of the goods.² Nieupoort protested emphatically.³ On the 17th of August, he was once more complaining to Thurloe and the Protector, and when Thurloe excused the English for their slowness in settling the case by saying that there was so much necessary business to be done, Nieupoort responded threateningly that this case must also be counted among the necessary business.⁴ This seems to have been the conclusion of the affair. This is a characteristic instance and only one of many.

Still more irritating to Dutch pride and Dutch patriotism was the insistence of the English on the right to visit and search ships under convoy. The Dutch could not deny the right, though they objected strenuously to its exercise.⁵ In April, 1656, De Ruijter, while convoying a number of merchantmen through the Straits of Dover, was met by an equal force of English men-of-war, whose commander insisted that De Ruijter put into the Downs with his convoy and submit to search. The incident came near to ending in bloodshed, but the English commander at last allowed the Dutch admiral to pass on De Ruijter's assurance that there were no Spanish ships in his convoy, and so far as he knew no Spanish silver on board of any of his ships.⁶ In July, Capt. Cornelius Evertsen, convoying three Dutch ships, was compelled to put in to the Downs and to permit the merchantmen to be searched.⁷ The same day on which Evertsen was so ungraciously used, another Dutch captain had his convoy searched, and was ordered to report on board the vessel of the English commander. He refused to do so, but finally permitted his lieutenant to make a report to the Englishman.⁸ But the most exasperating instance and the one which brought the fighting blood of both nations to the boiling point was the attempt to search some 50 Dutch merchantmen under convoy, which came into Torbay in August, 1656. The English seized one of the Dutch merchant ships, and a Dutch man-of-war

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1657-58, p. 33, July 21-31.

² P. R. O., State papers, For., Holland, bundle 162, July 23-Aug. 12, 1657.

³ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 10, 1657, Thurloe, VI, 428.

⁴ Nieupoort to De Witt, Aug. 17, 1657, Brieven tusschen Johan de Witt, etc., IV, 409. Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 17, 1657. Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 179.

⁵ Resolutions of the States General, Aug. 10, 1654; Thurloe, II, 504.

⁶ Resolutions of the States General, May 5, 1656, fols. 301-302; also Thurloe, IV, 730-731.

⁷ Nieupoort to the High and Mighty Lords, July 28, 1656, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6916, piece 2187; Nieupoort to Thurloe, July 14-24, 1656, Thurloe, V, 211.

⁸ Nieupoort to Cromwell, July 31-Aug. 10, 1656, Thurloe, V, 258; Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 11, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 128.

retook it, ramming the English ship several times. Finally the English got away with one of the merchants, which they declared to be a Spaniard.¹

Search of convoyed merchantmen was bad enough, but it was nothing when compared to search of men-of-war. The Dutch instructed their officers not to submit to such search under any circumstances.² The English insisted that they had a right to search men-of-war if they carried merchandise. Early in 1655 Capt. Banckaert was compelled to suffer search at Gravesend.³ In May, 1656, a yacht belonging to the Dutch Navy was searched.⁴ In August the man-of-war *Japonder*, putting in to Gravesend, had to undergo the same indignity.⁵ In 1657 the Dutch, to avoid all difficulty, ordered the captains of men-of-war and the officers of the admiralties not to allow any merchandise whatever to be put on board of men-of-war.⁶

Later the English suffered also from the exercise of search and seizure on the part of Dutch privateers with Spanish and Danish commissions. On the coast of Guinea the Dutch seized four English ships in 1657.⁷ In 1658 the Dutch East India Co. took possession of three English vessels trading to the East Indies, an act which caused more bitter feeling in England than any other offense committed by the Dutch in all this period.⁸ It is evident that some regulation of marine affairs was desirable, especially for the Dutch.

No sooner was the treaty of 1654 ratified than the Dutch, with their customary pertinacity, began a diplomatic campaign to secure from England the concessions in regard to commerce and navigation which had been so persistently denied during the negotiations. On May 11, 1654, the college of admiralty of Rotterdam addressed a letter to the High and Mighty Lords requesting to know what the States General thought in regard to the act of navigation now that war was concluded. Was it annulled?⁹ A letter from the college of admiralty, at Amsterdam, requested similar information in regard to Dutch laws prohibiting the import of English manufactures.¹⁰ Hereupon, on May 22, the High and Mighty Lords instructed their ambassadors in England to negotiate for a marine treaty on the model of that made

¹ John Nicholls to Thurloe, Aug. 19, 1655, Thurloe, V, 324; State of the case for the English, Aug. 28, 1656, Thurloe, V, 358-361; Nieupoort to Ruysch, Sept. 8, 1656, Thurloe, V, 361; Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 13, 1656, fol. 587; report of the college of admiralty of Amsterdam in Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 25, 1656, fol. 609.

² Resolutions of the States General, Aug. 10, 1654, Thurloe, II, 504.

³ Letter from the college of admiralty, Amsterdam, to the High and Mighty Lords, Apr. 24, 1655, in Resolutions of the States General.

⁴ Resolutions of the States General, May 12, 1656, fols. 317-318.

⁵ Id., Aug. 21, 1656, fol. 548.

⁶ Rijksarchief, Register of outgoing letters, 1657, circular to all colleges of admiralty, May 23, fol. 104.

⁷ Nieupoort letters, Thurloe, VI, 78, 82-83, 111, 125; Nieupoort to Ruysch, Nov. 9, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 195.

⁸ Nieupoort to Cromwell, Aug. 12-22, 1658, in his letter to Ruysch, Aug. 16, 1658, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 198, Bijlage.

⁹ Resolutions of the States General, May 13, 1654, fol. 357.

¹⁰ Ibid.

between the United Provinces and Spain in 1650,¹ while at the same time seeing what could be done to bring about the revocation of the act of navigation.

The attempt to secure the repeal of the act of navigation was hopeless from the first. The ambassadors at once consulted with a number of Dutch merchants in London. These men were certain that there was "little hope" of any "prospect of success" in proposing the direct revocation of the act. The English merchants who were believed to have incited Parliament to pass the act were in such esteem with Cromwell that they could and would prevent any interference with it. They thought that their trade in the East Indies and in the colonies was bound up with its strict execution.² Besides, acts of Parliament were revocable only by Parliament. The act could not, therefore, be repealed at this time, since Parliament was not in session. But the same end might be secured indirectly; the act might not be strictly executed by the administration. Members of the government gave the ambassadors reason to hope that this might be the Cromwellian policy.³ The High and Mighty Lords were never so thoroughly convinced of the hopelessness of this task as were their representatives in England. Parliament met on September 13, and on September 16 the States renewed their instructions to their ambassadors, urging them to secure, directly or indirectly, the repeal of the act,⁴ and reenforced this instruction by another of the 24th of September. But the ambassadors would not be convinced that it was wise to attempt it. "We can not," they said, "as yet meddle with giving any advice concerning a direct revocation or indirect cessation of the act of the 9th of October."⁵ In November, 1655, the States once more instructed Nieupoort to use all his efforts to secure from Cromwell an annulment of the act.⁶ Nieupoort replied that hitherto he had made no public effort to secure this object. He felt that it would not be wise, for the English had become more enamored of the act and more convinced of its merit when the embassy of 1652 had allowed them to see that the Dutch were anxious for its revocation. If he made any open effort with Parliament for the repeal of the act, this impression would only be strengthened. But he had unobtrusively and in private spoken with members of the council and various other prominent men on the subject, pointing out to them that all Englishmen not directly interested in navigation suffered from the enforcement of the act. He had also complained of the clauses in the statute which allowed individuals to execute it.

¹ Resolutions of the States General, May 22, 1654, fol. 394.

² Ambassadors to Ruysch, June 12, 1654, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 76.

³ Same to same, June 19, 1654, id., piece 17.

⁴ Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 16, 1654, fols. 685-688.

⁵ Beverning, Nieupoort, and Jongestal, to High and Mighty Lords, Oct. 9, 1654, Thurloe, II, 638.

⁶ Resolutions of the States General, Nov. 27, 1655, fol. 842.

Such power, he told the English, frightened foreigners from attempting to trade in England. Consequently the English suffered more in their commerce than they benefited in their navigation. Such were his arguments, and he believed that he had convinced many Englishmen of their validity.¹

Again on February 2, 1657, the States General sent instructions to Nieupoort to make a further attempt to secure the repeal of the act.² Nieupoort forwarded a memorial on the subject to the Protector and council.³ The English Government was in no hurry to reply to him. He became irritated, and on the last day of August demanded an answer, stigmatizing the act of navigation as "unfriendly and unneighborly." Thurloe replied that nothing could be done about the act since Parliament was not in session, and added ironically that he did "admire" to hear Nieupoort call the act unfriendly and unneighborly when none of England's other allies had complained about it.⁴

The attempt to secure the revocation of the act of navigation never promised any success. It was otherwise in respect to the second plan of the Provinces—that of settling differences regarding neutral rights by making a marine treaty. When the ambassadors received the instructions of May 22, 1654, they much preferred this expedient. They would open negotiations, they said, by making the demand, sanctioned by the seventh article of the recent treaty, for a specification of contraband goods. They would also complain of the English exercise of the right of search. They doubted whether England was justified in exercising any search, because they had successfully resisted the inclusion of a clause giving England that right in the treaty of 1654. But the English exercised search. Consequently the question must be discussed, and they had handed in a memorial to the council of state, vigorously objecting to the exercise of search as recently practiced upon a Dutch ship.⁵

The ambassadors therefore attempted to get the English to take up the question of a marine treaty. Two months later, however, they had not been successful in beginning negotiations. Meanwhile England had concluded a treaty with Portugal, which gave the English special privileges in the carrying of Brazilian products. Since hostilities existed between Portugal and the United Provinces, the Dutch now had the opportunity of retaliating by seizing English ships loaded with Brazilian products, or with Portuguese goods for Brazil. This was an argument which Englishmen could appreciate and they might now be willing to treat. The ambassadors asked for

¹ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Dec. 17, 1655, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 6915, piece 2146.

² Secret Resolutions of the States General, 1654-1660, Feb. 2, 1657, fol. 247.

³ Nieupoort to Ruysch, July 13, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 175.

⁴ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 31, 1657, Thurloe, VI, 477.

⁵ Ambassadors to Ruysch, June 19, 1654, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 17.

more precise instructions in regard to the principle "free ships, free goods."¹ The States General prepared new instructions on the 16th of September. They urged the ambassadors to point out how necessary the principle of free ships, free goods was for the English, as a consequence of their recent treaty with Portugal.² The recognition of this principle was the essential concession which the Dutch demanded. It would allow them to carry enemies' goods in time of war with England, and, as they had secured the recognition of the principle from Spain, they would, in case of war involving these powers, virtually secure the entire carrying trade of both. The ambassadors presented a memorial on the 29th of September, asking for the appointment of commissioners to negotiate a marine treaty with them, and every day from that date until the 9th of October they requested Thurloe to give them an answer to their memorial.³

The Portuguese situation probably brought the English to consent to take a step toward negotiations. On the 6th of November they appointed five commissioners who should meet the ambassadors and discuss the matter with them.⁴ But three weeks later it was still impossible to secure a conference.⁵ In December Beverning returned home, leaving Nieupoort as ambassador extraordinary. On the 18th of December, Nieupoort wrote that he had not yet secured a conference.⁶ On the 31st of December Nieupoort handed to Strickland and A. A. Cooper, two of the English commissioners, a draft treaty, which proposed that contraband goods should be specified so as to include only articles necessary for the prosecution of war, omitting from the list foodstuffs and money except when being carried to blockaded towns; that Dutch vessels should be permitted to pursue their voyages unmolested by any search, if they were able to show passports and certificates specifying the articles of the cargo; that English or Dutch goods which might be found in the possession of an enemy should be restored, and that cargoes of wrecked vessels should be handed back to the original owners.⁷

On the 28th of January, Nieupoort had his wish for a conference gratified. Even then it was of little comfort to him, for the commissioners said that they had not yet had time to read over his articles handed to them a month before, though they hoped soon to perform this arduous task.⁸ The hope does not seem to have had a swift

¹ Beverning, Nieupoort, and Jongestal to the High and Mighty Lords, Aug. 20, 1654, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6914, piece 2039; also same to same, Aug. 21, 1654, Thurloe, II, 561.

² Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 16, 1654, fols. 685-688.

³ Beverning, Nieupoort, and Jongestal to the High and Mighty Lords, Oct. 9 1654, Thurloe, II, 638.

⁴ Beverning and Nieupoort to Ruysch, Nov. 6, 1654, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6914, piece 2056.

⁵ Same to same, Nov. 27, 1654, *ibid.*, piece unnumbered.

⁶ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Dec. 18, 1654, *ibid.*, piece 2068.

⁷ Paper of Nieupoort in Thurloe, III, 32-33; also Nieupoort to Ruysch, Jan. 1, 1655, *id.*, 37.

⁸ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Jan. 29, 1655, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6915, piece 2077.

fulfillment, for the next conference did not come until March. Then Thurloe objected to the article in Nieupoort's draft excepting money and foodstuffs from the list of contraband, as contrary to the treaty of 1654, which specified that no contraband, nor money, nor foodstuffs should be carried by either ally to enemies of the other. The commissioners also objected to passports as a practicable means for avoiding the carriage of contraband or enemies' goods, since passports might easily be counterfeited. In other words, nothing would be effective to stop the carrying of contraband or enemies' goods but the exercise of search.¹ The conference ended with nothing accomplished.

By July Nieupoort had become impatient. He demanded an answer to his memorials on the various questions in dispute. The articles of December 31, 1654, he asserted, were just and reasonable, and necessary to the conservation of the peace of 1654. Yet he had no satisfaction given to him, and meanwhile numbers of Dutch ships had been seized, the cargoes sequestered, the crews imprisoned, beaten, and plundered. He concluded by intimating that war might result if some redress were not accorded.² Apparently nothing followed as a consequence of this remonstrance.

Nieupoort was again urging the treaty at the beginning of November, 1655.³ He carried the matter to a private audience with the Protector. He pointed out to him how necessary a marine treaty was to put an end to outrages upon Dutch commerce. Cromwell replied that he had done his best to remedy the state of affairs, but that during the war with France the council had thought it too prejudicial to England to permit the Dutch to carry on the entire commerce of that nation, as they would have done if England had recognized the principle of free ships, free goods; but now that peace with France was signed, he hoped that remedies would be found.⁴

The cessation of war with France would undoubtedly have made an immense difference had not war between England and Spain followed at once. The States General perceived the danger arising from this second war, and renewed their instructions to Nieupoort to push for a marine treaty.⁵ Nieupoort again urged the matter upon Oliver. The Protector said that he was willing and anxious to have the marine treaty completed.⁶ Nevertheless, the year 1655 ended, as had the year 1654, without any result whatever.

The years 1656 and 1657 were those in which the most serious efforts were made by the Dutch to secure the treaty and in which

¹ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Mar. 12, 1655, *id.*, piece 2084.

² Nieupoort's Memorial, July 14, 1655, P. R. O., State Papers, For., Holland, bundle 160.

³ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Nov. 5, 1655, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 93.

⁴ Same to same, Nov. 19, 1655, Thurloe, IV, 177-178.

⁵ Resolutions of the States General, Nov. 27, 1655, fol. 842.

⁶ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Dec. 17, 1655, Rijksarchief, Corresp., England, bundle 6915, piece 2146.

these efforts seemed most likely to succeed. On February 5, 1656, the States General instructed Nieupoort to apply to Cromwell to give orders to the commissions for the making of a marine treaty.¹ Nieupoort obeyed. Oliver replied that he was entirely in sympathy with the desire for a marine treaty, and that he knew no one in the council who did not believe that the matter should be settled; the subject would be taken up at the first meeting of the council.² Despite these assurances, Nieupoort was very doubtful of success.³ He had a long conference with Thurloe, in which he argued the matter from end to end, asserting that the English had done nothing to settle the matter, though both the Protector and the secretary had several times assured him "with very strong expressions, that it should be dispatch'd." Thurloe replied that he should receive propositions from the English Government in a few days.⁴

Very shortly after this interview three of the English commissioners called on him and complained of three Dutch ships which were employed in the Spanish service. The Protector and council transmitted the information about these ships to him, with the "very serious request" that the High and Mighty Lords would see to it "that the Netherlands' ships did not serve" England's enemies; likewise that they should "prevent them from bringing their prizes into any of the ports of the United Netherlands," and that they would "carefully and effectually" hinder the exporting of contraband goods out of the Dutch ports. Nieupoort replied that English practice permitted the vessels of combatants to enter English ports with their prizes, and even to dispose of those prizes there. As to contraband goods, they could bear him witness that he had long been striving to get a treaty which would settle that question. The peace of 1654 was exactly observed by the Dutch. The English had no reason to complain, whereas he was frequently compelled to protest against "the many and insufferable excesses committed" against the inhabitants of the United Netherlands.⁵ The Dutch saw their opportunity to put pressure upon the English, and on April 5, 1656, they sent exhaustive instructions to Nieupoort. He was to point out to the English that all matters complained of on either side could be settled amicably to the "reciprocal peace and satisfaction" of both countries by agreeing upon a marine treaty. They would do all they could on their side to make such a treaty palatable. If the English would declare themselves willing to come to an agreement upon the basis of the articles presented in December, 1654, the States would agree not to permit Dutch ships to be employed by the Spaniards,

¹ Secret Resolutions of the States General, 1654-1660, Feb. 5, 1656, fol. 164.

² Nieupoort to Ruysch, Mar. 3, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 105.

³ Nieupoort to the High and Mighty Lords, Mar. 10, 1656, id., piece 107, Rijksarchief.

⁴ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Mar. 17, 1656, Thurloe, IV, 588.

⁵ Same to same, *ibid.*, 588-589.

nor to suffer contraband articles to be shipped from the ports of the Netherlands. But they could not refuse to allow Spanish ships of war and privateers to enter Dutch ports with their prizes; they would, however, compel them to leave those ports in the same state in which they entered them, without selling their prizes, or breaking bulk, or disposing of any part of their cargoes.¹ In regard to the complaint that Dutch merchantmen carried Spanish goods, De Witt assured Nieupoort that the Dutch certainly would not yield their rights to carry goods belonging to Spaniards, since that would be to surrender the principle of free ships, free goods.²

The English now began to show more activity in the matter.³ Articles drawn on the 4th of April, 1656, were handed to Nieupoort on the 5th, but he did not forward them to the High and Mighty Lords, because they were so little in accord with what the States General desired.⁴ The principal differences in dispute were those of free ships, free goods, and the use of ships' passports to obviate search. The English commissioners again declared that passports could be easily counterfeited. Nieupoort said that Dutch passports were very difficult to counterfeit. All the English needed to do was to adopt Dutch methods.⁵ At a later conference the English suggested that instead of passports, a court of what they called conservators of commerce might be set up on both sides, whose business it should be to decide maritime cases summarily.⁶ This would avoid the abuses resulting from the delays and the excessive costs of cases tried in the admiralty courts. Thurloe assured Nieupoort that it was impossible for the English to admit the principle of free ships, free goods, or to allow that the production of passports and ship certificates should permit ships to pass without search. If they adopted these principles, the entire commerce of Spain during the war would be carried by Dutch merchantmen, in which case England could do no damage to Spanish commerce. Meanwhile its own commerce would be at the mercy of Spanish men-of-war and privateers, unless England, too, were willing to follow the example of Spain, and allow all its commerce to be carried under the Dutch flag. Then good-by to the English mercantile marine. The Dutch principles of free ships, free goods, and of the validity of passports, he asserted, were innovations, novelties,⁷ whereas the old rule of war justified search and the seizure of contraband and enemies' good on neutral

¹ Secret Resolutions of the States General, 1654-1660, Apr. 5, 1656, fol. 179 e. s.; see also *Secretie Resolutien van Holland en Westvriesland*, I, 297-298; also De Witt to Nieupoort, Mar. 31, 1656, *Brieven*, IV, 205-206.

² De Witt to Nieupoort, Mar. 31, 1656, *Brieven*, IV, 206-207.

³ Nieupoort to De Witt, Apr. 7, 1656, *Brieven*, IV, 213.

⁴ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Apr. 7, 1656, Thurloe, IV, 656.

⁵ Same to same, Apr. 14, 1656, *Rijksarchief, Secret Correspondence, England*, bundle 7329, piece 113.

⁶ Nieupoort to De Witt, Apr. 21, 1656, *Brieven*, IV, 219.

⁷ Same to same, May 12, 1657, *ibid.*, 226.

vessels. England must follow the old rule. Nieupoort called Thurloe's attention to the fact that England had admitted the principle of free ships, free goods, in its recent treaty with France, and that of the validity of passports to obviate search in its recent treaty with Portugal. Thurloe was irritated. He declared that there was an immense difference in respect to navigation and commerce between these southern States on the one hand, and the United Provinces and the Baltic States on the other. Portugal had not sufficient ships to carry her own commerce. Consequently she could not carry the commerce of Spain. Nor could France. So it was an easy matter to admit of these principles in treaties with them. But if England consented to such conditions in a treaty with the Provinces or with Sweden, she would be undone. We shall never do it while the war lasts, said Thurloe.¹ If we prohibit all dealing in contraband, asked Nieupoort later, will not that suffice? Can you not then afford to give up search in case passports are produced? No, said Thurloe, for if we yielded that to you, we should have to yield it to Denmark, Sweden, and the Hanse Towns.

On the 19th day of May the English presented to Nieupoort their amended articles for a marine treaty, being nine in number. Neither side was to give assistance to the enemies of the other, nor to allow ships or people to be used for the assistance of such enemies, nor to permit the transportation of contraband. Contraband wares were specified, and the specifications included all weapons, ships of war, provisions for war, and cordage, sails, masts, and ships' supplies. All ships carrying contraband goods were themselves to be good prize. Ships seized should have their cases decided summarily; that is, by conservators of commerce. Prizes brought by the enemies of one nation into the ports of the other should be restored, and so should the contents of wrecks. Some of these articles were welcome to the Dutch, as for instance, the sixth, which declared for summary process in case of detained ships, and the ninth, concerning wrecks. But the rest of the articles were objectionable in whole or in part, while neither of the two essential principles—that of free ships, free goods, and the validity of passports—was included in the concept.² On the 2d of June the States General took up this draft treaty, which had been sent over by Nieupoort.³ They declared that the proposal for conservators of commerce was inadmissible, because it would be an impracticable plan, considering the number of different courts of admiralty which existed in the Provinces, with different codes and different procedure. The difficulty, they declared, was not so much

¹ Nieupoort to Ruysch, May 5, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 116; same to same, May 12, 1656, *ibid.*, piece 117.

² Aitzema (folio edition), III, 1296, gives the articles.

³ Resolutions of the States-General, May 26, 1656, fol. 351; de Witt to Nieupoort, May 26, 1656, Brieven, IV, 230.

to secure good judges as good laws. They related the brutal abuses to which Dutch seamen had been subjected as a consequence of the exercise of the right of search, to prove that some agreement ought to be reached which would abolish the right altogether. Commissioners would be of no account in such cases, since they were to act only after search and seizure. Nieupoort must, therefore, use all his efforts to secure the insertion of clauses permitting the use of passports and acknowledging the principle of free ships, free goods. The High and Mighty Lords would not admit that the rule of free ships, free goods, was open to dispute, since it was absolutely essential to Dutch commerce, and, moreover, it was recognized by the fifteenth article of the treaty of 1655 between France and England. Since the States were, by the peace of 1654, to be included, if they wished, in all treaties made by the English, they claimed that the admission of the principle in the French treaty covered them also. Nieupoort must insist that no search should take place in cases of merchantmen under convoy. He must explain, too, that the Dutch had no intention of preventing their subjects from selling ships to the Spaniards, except in the case that those ships might be used for carrying on hostilities. The Government would not furnish the Spaniards with ships, however. He must also attempt to have ships' supplies excepted from the category of contraband. Money, too, unless it was clear that the money was intended to assist the enemy in carrying on hostilities. Ships seized carrying contraband goods were not themselves to be liable to confiscation. The enemies of England could not be denied the privilege of bringing their prizes into Dutch ports, but, as before declared, they must leave precisely in the same state as that in which they entered, taking their prizes with them intact.¹ In a word, the Dutch demands and the English concessions were leagues apart. There seemed no chance of the two nations agreeing. Nieupoort regretted the stiffness of the Dutch. In his opinion, it was better to accept conservators of commerce than to lose everything by insisting on passports. He thought it impossible that the English would allow ships' supplies to be excluded from the list of contraband during the war with Spain. The English had repeatedly declared that nothing could be more prejudicial to them. He believed that they might be persuaded to permit Dutch subjects to sell merchant vessels to Spaniards, but was sure that they would be obstinate in regard to the condition that ships carrying contraband goods should not themselves be liable to confiscation. As to the principles free ships, free goods, and the validity of ships' passports to obviate search, he had no hope in the world that the English

¹ Secret Resolutions of the States-General, 1654-1660, June 2, 1656, fol. 190, e. s.; de Witt to Nieupoort, May 26, 1656, Brieven, IV, 231; see, too, same instructions printed in *Secrete Resolutien van Holland en Westvriesland*, I, 315-320, under date of May 25, 1656.

would ever recognize them.¹ But his duty was clear; he must obey orders. He assured Thurloe that it was absolutely necessary for the Dutch that the treaty should recognize the maxim, free ships, free goods.² On the 16th of June he sent in a reasoned memorial to Cromwell, in which he repeated the arguments furnished him by his masters in respect to free ships, free goods, and the necessity of passports.³ A few days later, in an interview with Oliver, he reminded the Protector that His Highness had often said that his pleasure was that Dutch subjects should not be molested in their traffic so long as they did not assist the enemy, and that he had several times promised that he would give orders for the completion of the marine treaty. At last, said Nieupoort, matters had been brought so far that both the question of search and that of assisting the enemy could be easily settled. If only His Highness would agree on a formula for passports, and admit the maxim, free ships, free goods, as he had done with the French and the Portuguese, the business would be done. Nieupoort could assure him that in case these things were accepted, an order would be issued by the Dutch Government forbidding the transportation of contraband goods out of the Netherlands. Cromwell's answer was unexpected. He had told the council, he said, that he would like to see the treaty made; he was not particularly informed on the details of the questions in dispute, but in a general way he knew that the Spaniards were supplied from the Netherlands with all that was needful for the carrying on of the war, especially with naval supplies. He knew, too, that the Dutch merchant marine carried the entire commerce of Spain, and that such acts much reduced England's chances of beating the Spaniard.⁴ It was evident that Cromwell was irritated, that he had come to the conclusion that the Dutch were acting in an unfriendly manner toward England.

On July 20, 1656, the English commissioners handed to Nieupoort their answer to the Dutch objections. In this paper the English declared that the only remaining obstacles to the acceptance of the maritime treaty by them were the points of free ships, free goods, and passports. They had not been convinced that these ought to be included in the treaty, "judging it altogether unequal" to admit them while England was at war with Spain. The maxim of free ships, free goods, was so far from being a maxim of law that it was "utterly erroneous and entirely at variance with reason." To admit it would be to allow the enemy to carry on his trade without the least interference, simply by lading his goods in the ship of a neutral. Similarly in regard to passports and ships' certificates, all the world knew that these things were counterfeited, and were therefore no check on

¹ Nieupoort to de Witt, June 2, 1656, Brieven, IV, 236-237.

² Nieupoort to Ruysch, June 9, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 121.

³ Same to same, *ibid.*, piece 125, Bijlage I.

⁴ Same to same, June 20, 1656, *ibid.*, piece 122.

the carrying of enemies' goods or contraband. Bills of lading could not be depended upon to show the genuine character of the cargo. Only search could do that. They hoped that these reasons would satisfy Nieupoort that it would be "unjust, unfriendly, and inconvenient to introduce soe great a Noveltye into the present treaty." They trusted that the High and Mighty Lords would not "still insist that it shall be lawful for the King of Spayne, and his subjects, the declared enemyes of this commonwealth, to carry, and secure all their goods, and merchandizes, and manage their whole trade in the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces without molestacon, when in the meane tyme the goods, shippes, and merchandizes of the people of this State are dayly taken and destroyed by the Spanyard."¹

The Dutch recognized that this was a plain negative to their demands that free ships should make free goods, and that passports should be admitted. Perhaps, however, one of these points could still be saved by sacrificing the other. So the Dutch hastily cast away the essential principle of free ships, free goods, without a recognition of which they had so often declared they could not make any treaty, and bent all their energies to the securing of the recognition of the use of passports. They would guarantee that not only no contraband articles, but no enemies' goods whatever should be carried in Dutch ships, but in return Nieupoort must stand to the demand for passports, and consequent freedom from the right of search. Convoyed merchants must not be searched in any case. In regard to the English demand that ships' supplies should be contraband, and vessels carrying contraband should be liable to confiscation, Nieupoort was still to press the Dutch arguments, but was not to break off negotiations on these points.² In a word, the Dutch were willing to yield on almost all points except that of search. On September 1, Nieupoort presented the Dutch arguments to the English.³ A week later he had another conference, at which all the old arguments on both sides concerning passports were repeated ad nauseam, and it was finally agreed that he should present a formula for a passport.⁴ Nieupoort felt that now he had almost reached the goal. A few days later he notified Thurloe that he was ready with his formula for a passport, and that if reason and honesty had their way, all would soon be completed. Unfortunately for this roseate view, when his form of a passport was presented to the commissioners, all the old objections to the plan came up again. Not a step in advance

¹ Inclosure in Nieupoort's letter to Ruysch, July 21, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 125; see résumé in Aitzema (folio edition), III, 1296-1297.

² *Secrete Resolutien van Holland en Westvriesland*, Aug. 5, 1656, I, 339-342. The resolution of the States General was exactly the same, Aug. 10, 1656, Secret Resolutions, 1654-1660, fol. 206, e. s. See also de Witt to Nieupoort, Aug. 4, 1656, Brieven, IV, 253.

³ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Sept. 1, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 131.

⁴ Same to same, Sept. 8, 1656, Thurloe, V, 361.

had been made.¹ There was a long delay. Then the English came forward with a new set of articles on the 24th of November. Nieupoort sent over to the States General this draft with his emendations. He also related the substance of a long debate over the draft. The English still insisted on counting ships' supplies, specie, and ships of all sorts in the category of contraband, while the Dutch made the acceptance of ships' passes a *sine qua non* to any treaty.² On the 27th of November the English commissioners agreed that ships' passes should be adopted, though only for the space of three years, as an experiment. They also stipulated in the draft of a pass drawn by them that the treaty should not invalidate any rights which the English might have in the British seas; moreover, they were unwilling that the passes should be effective except upon the high seas. In ports the Dutch merchantmen were still to be subject to search.³ All these limitations were opposed by Nieupoort. The clause about the British seas was especially offensive, since its acceptance would involve a tacit acknowledgment of England's sovereignty over those seas. But the commissioners refused to withdraw the phrase, thus giving reason to suspect that it had been inserted in order to make it impossible for the Dutch to accept the English form of pass, in which case the English might declare themselves justified in refusing to accept the Dutch form.

Not until January 18, 1657, were the High and Mighty Lords ready with their answer to the English draft. The point which received particular attention was that of passports. A new form was drawn up, which would give to the Dutch all they desired. Nieupoort was to continue to argue for the other matters in the treaty, but the essential point was to secure a form of passport which would allow the Dutch to carry on their commerce with the minimum of annoyance from the English.⁴ They instructed Nieupoort to follow their directions of June 2 and August 10, 1656, as nearly as possible. On the 19th of January they sent specific instructions. They wished the omission of ships' supplies from the list of contraband, and the acknowledgment of the right of private individuals belonging to a neutral to sell ships to subjects of another state at war with England, but Nieupoort was not to break off negotiations if he could not secure these points. There was to be no search of convoyed ships, however, and the treaty was not to be limited to three years. Above all, the expression "especially the English in the British seas" must be omitted from the pass.⁵

¹ Same to same, Sept. 15, 1656, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 133.

² Same to same, Nov. 24, 1656, *ibid.*, piece 144.

³ See the articles in Thurlow, V, 658.

⁴ Secret Resolutions of the States General, 1654-1660, Jan. 18, 1657, fol. 235 e. s.

⁵ *Secrete Resolutien van Holland en Westvriesland*, I, 387. I have not found these instructions elsewhere. See also de Witt to Nieupoort, Jan. 19, 1657, Brieven, IV, 318-320.

Nieupoort said he would do his best. He pointed out that he had done much in persuading the English to accept the principle of passports, a thing hitherto impossible.¹ In February he wrote that the commissioners stuck to their passport, and wished no further discussion, though he might write out what he had to say and hand it to Thurloe.²

Then came a number of checks to further negotiations: First, Sindercombe's plot; then intense feeling was aroused against the Dutch as a consequence of the seizure of four English merchantmen on the coast of Guinea. The merchants addressed themselves to the Protector, said Nieupoort, "with extraordinary violence."³ Next came the Humble Petition and Advice, which took all the time of the Government. It was not until late in June that any hope was held out that negotiations would be resumed.⁴ Late in June Thurloe told Nieupoort that Parliament would sit only one week longer, and then the treaty would be taken up again.⁵ But the council did not meet and so July passed without any further debate.⁶ Nieupoort had an interview with the Protector on August 17, in which he congratulated Oliver on his new honors and asked that orders should be given for the resumption of negotiations on the marine treaty.⁷ Such orders were not given until two weeks later.⁸ But even then the conferences were delayed. The situation looked hopeless, and on the 21st of September the States General gave Nieupoort permission to return to Holland for a season, telling him, however, to make one more effort before he left England.⁹ Early in October Nieupoort had a long conference with Thurloe, but it was given up to a repetition of the old arguments about passports and the right of search. Thurloe said it was impossible to surrender the right of search in case of convoyed vessels as long as the Spanish war continued, and added that the commissioners were amending the English articles and would hand them to him in a few days.¹⁰ The English articles were sent to Nieupoort October 17.¹¹ Nieupoort saw at once that the new draft was unsatisfactory and asked for a conference.¹² This took place on October 31 and was entirely consumed in discussing the form of passports, the English sticking obstinately to their demand of a tacit recognition of their sovereignty over the narrow seas and the right of

¹ Nieupoort to de Witt, Jan. 26, 1657, Brieven, IV, 324.

² Nieupoort to Ruysch, Feb. 9, 1657, Thurloe, VI, 28.

³ Same to same, Mar. 9, 1657, *ibid.*, 82.

⁴ Same to same, June 22, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 172.

⁵ Same to same, June 29, 1657, Thurloe, VI, 360.

⁶ Same to same, July 13, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 175.

⁷ Same to same, Aug. 17, 1657, *ibid.*, piece 179.

⁸ Same to same, Sept. 7, 1657, *ibid.*, piece 183, Bijlage. Nieupoort says they were given on Aug. 27.

⁹ Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 21, 1657, fol. 625.

¹⁰ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Oct. 5, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 188.

¹¹ Same to same, Oct. 19, 1657, *ibid.*, piece 190, Bijlage; see the letter to Nieupoort in Thurloe, VI, 558.

¹² Same to same, Oct. 19, 1657, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 191.

search when Dutch vessels came into English ports.¹ A few days later a ship arrived to take Nieupoort home. He asked for another conference and got it. The English commissioners said that since time was lacking to complete the treaty, they would wait until he returned.² Nieupoort had a farewell audience with the Protector, at which he urged Oliver to order the completion of the treaty at once, so that he might take it with him to Holland. Cromwell said that he wished it might be so, and Nieupoort hereupon tried to get another conference with Thurloe, but the secretary could not see him and he had to depart with his work undone.³

So ended the one promising attempt to secure a marine treaty from Cromwell. Henceforth there was no hope for success. The two states had begun negotiations with entire confidence in each other's sincerity. On both sides, however, this confidence had gradually waned. The Dutch were incessantly irritated by the violence and injustice with which the English exercised the right of search, and also by the delays and costliness of English admiralty procedure and the unfairness of the English law as interpreted by the court of admiralty. Finally they were convinced that England and Sweden were coming to an agreement destructive to Dutch commerce in the Baltic. The English in their turn were angered by seizures of English ships, by the constant reports from Dutch sources that the Dutch were carrying on the trade of Spain and furnishing that country with all sorts of supplies, and by the support which the Netherlanders gave to Denmark in her war with Sweden. The turning point in the attitude of the English government came, however, in October, 1656, when the Dutch sent a fleet to blockade Lisbon. Now, Portugal was England's ally in the war with Spain, and this blockade of Lisbon was considered by the English the most serious blow they had received during the war. From that moment the hope of a marine treaty vanished. Writing on October 12, Thurloe says:

Some write from The Hague, that there is some intention to call back this fleet from Lisbon. If what I heare be true, they had need to doe it. I can assure you the marine treaty with the Dutch will goe on here heavilye. The Dutch will be able to procure none of those points they insist upon. They here say, that what is just shall be observed, but they will not have novelties put upon them.⁴

Nieupoort returned to England in August, 1658, but the English attitude was the same, excepting that now Nieupoort was no longer *persona grata*. "If you can underhand," writes Thurloe to Downing in April, 1658, "hinder Nieupoort's return hither; he hath said soe ill of His Highness' person, that it will be to noe purpose to send him

¹ Same to same, Nov. 2, 1657, *ibid.*, piece 193.

² Same to same, Nov. 9, 1657, *ibid.*, piece 194; see also their objections to Nieupoort's demands, Thurloe, VI, 601.

³ Same to same, Nov. 16, 1657, *Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7329, piece 196.*

⁴ Thurloe, VI, 546-547; Thurloe to H. Cromwell, Nov. 10-20, 1657, *ibid.*, 609.

hither."¹ In August Thurloe's attitude to Nieupoort was the same. The Dutch ambassador "comes," he says, "with very sweet words in his mouth, but I beleeve that His Highnesse nor the concerned merchants will be satisfied with words for their carriage in the East Indyes, where they make nothings of declaring enmity against our men, takinge their ships, and imprisoninge their persons; and if very good satisfaction be not given here for those things, it will very much shake the peace between the two States."² The two countries were on the verge of war, and Nieupoort had no opportunity to make a marine treaty. He still endeavored it, however. Even while Cromwell was dying he demanded conferences.³ In less than a week after Cromwell's death he applied to Thurloe again, insisting upon an audience with the new Protector. A week later he was still worrying Thurloe for an audience, but could get no answer. Then he applied to another member of the council. Hereupon the master of ceremonies came and told him that Richard was pleased at the High and Mighty Lords' promptness in recognizing him. But the truth was that his father still lay unburied, and he would be obliged if the Dutchman would wait another week before having audience.⁴ On the 8th of October Nieupoort secured an interview with the commissioners and urged the marine treaty. They said they would refer it to the council.⁵ The discouraged ambassador requested leave to return home, and though he did not go, the commissioners made his announcement of departure an excuse for deferring negotiations.⁶ He made further desperate efforts to get meetings with the commissioners, but could get no answer to his memorials.⁷ In January, 1659, he was still worrying the council of state to consent to a marine treaty.⁸ Thurloe promised him an interview,⁹ but never came. Nothing further was done while Richard was Protector. Under the later governments Nieupoort continued his efforts with exemplary persistency, but it was now too late to do anything of moment. The return of Charles II found matters in the same position as existed in 1654.

¹ Thurloe to Downing, Mar. 26-Apr. 5, 1658, Thurloe, VII, 32.

² Thurloe to H. Cromwell, July 27-Aug. 6, 1658, *ibid.*, 295.

³ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Sept. 6, 1658, Rijksarchief, Secret Corresp., England, bundle 7330, piece 200.

⁴ Same to same, Sept. 27, 1658, *ibid.*, piece 204.

⁵ Same to same, Oct. 11, 1658, *ibid.*, piece 205.

⁶ Letter of the commissioners, Oct. 28-Nov. 7, 1658, inclosed in Nieupoort to Ruysch, *ibid.*, piece 214.

⁷ Nieupoort to the High and Mighty Lords, Nov. 27, 1658, *ibid.*, piece 217.

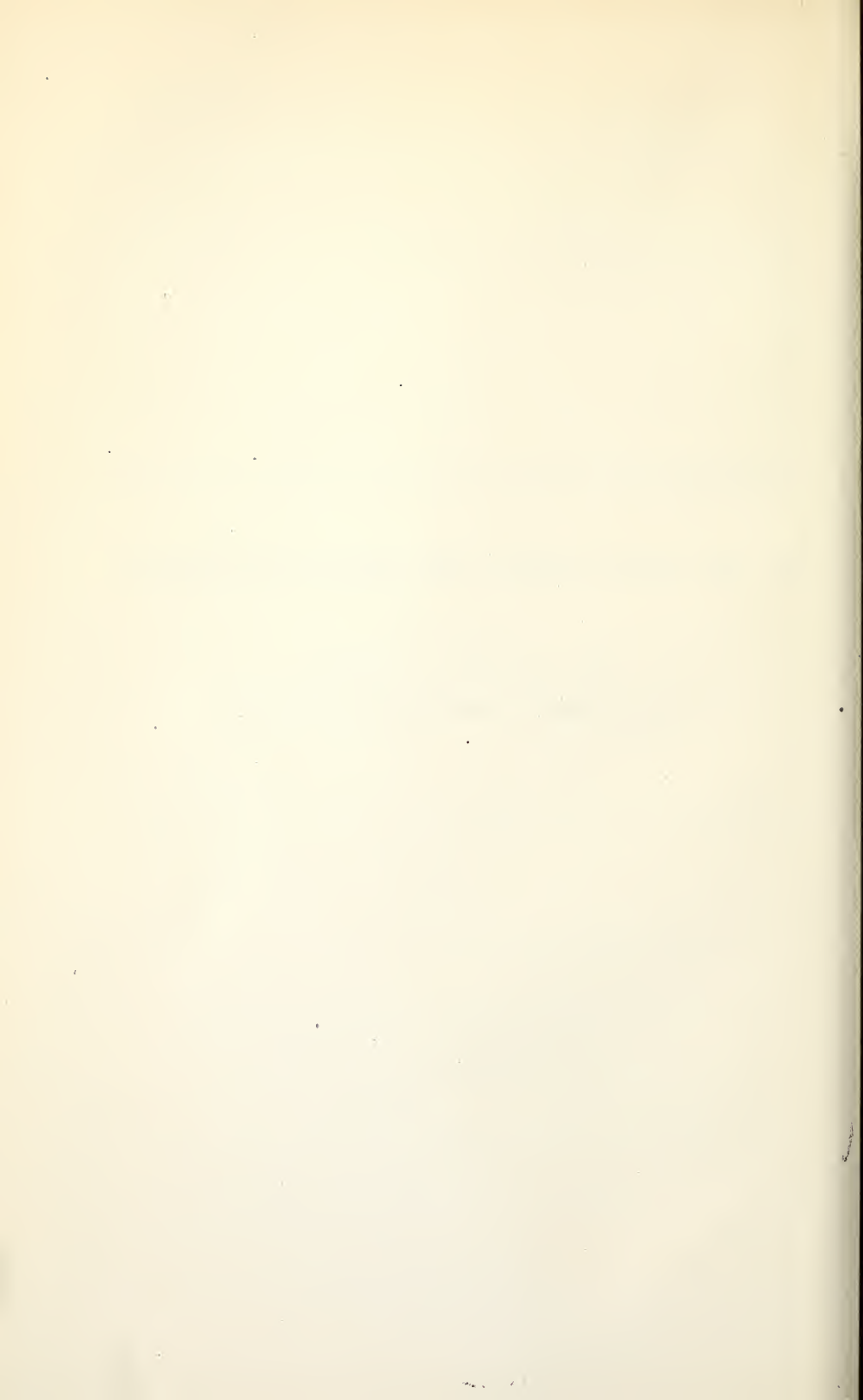
⁸ Nieupoort to Ruysch, Jan. 3, 1659, *ibid.*, piece 226.

⁹ Same to same, Jan. 17, 1659, *ibid.*, piece 231.



VII. SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON THE WORKS OF S. R. GARDINER.

By ROLAND G. USHER,
Assistant Professor of History in Washington University.



SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON THE WORKS OF S. R. GARDINER.

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For nearly two generations the unusual qualities of Dr. S. R. Gardiner's monumental 18 volumes covering the history of England from 1603 to 1656 have attracted so much attention that any notes of a critical character about the work in its entirety may be reasonably assumed to possess an interest for historical students. As his readers are well aware, Dr. Gardiner leaves them to infer his views of the characters and of the general development of the story from the brief remarks which he interjects from time to time in the narrative. An attempt to elaborate from these fragments a connected and clear conception of what Gardiner thought about Charles, Laud, Pym, Strafford, Cromwell, the English constitution, and kindred subjects is productive of rather surprising results. It lays bare certain inconsistencies of language and even of thought which no reasonable construction of his words can entirely obviate.

Concerning the idea of Charles expressed in the *Eikon Basiliké*, Gardiner declared in the ninth volume of the *History of England*, "What I am concerned to affirm is that Charles's real character and views are portrayed in the book."¹ What he thought the book showed Charles to be appears in the last volume of the "Great Civil War," where he says that the book was "a spiritual revelation of the inmost thoughts of the justest of sovereigns and the most self-denying of martyrs."² His earlier idea that this was Charles's real character he has now given up, for he goes on to say that the book "served to create an ideal image of Charles" and possessed "enough of dramatic veracity to convince all who were prepared to believe it that they had before them the real thoughts of the man." He then explains that this ideal view of the King secured its hold on men's imaginations because "it faithfully reproduced at least one side of Charles's character." Gardiner has thus said that Gauden's book shows us the real Charles, that it portrays an ideal Charles, so unlike the King that the image could impose only on those already

¹ "History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-42" (London, 1883-1884, 10 vols.), IX, 216 note. Cited hereafter as *History*.

² "History of the Great Civil War, 1642-9" (London, 1886-1892, 3 vols.; 2d ed., 1893, 4 vols.), IV, 325. Cited hereafter (ed. of 1893) as *Civil War*.

prejudiced, and that it is in part a faithful portrait. These two later views are to be found on the same page. Moreover, while he certainly had a right to change his opinion as his work progressed, certainly the earlier view might have been expunged from the final collected and revised editions. However they came there, the book as it stands maintains three views, of which only one can be correct.

When we pursue the inquiry further, the tangle only grows more perplexing. The cardinal fact upon which Gardiner lays most stress is that Charles persistently did things which angered his subjects. Where in particular lay the difficulty sundering king and people? When considering the causes of Charles's defeat in 1646 Gardiner says, "Charles's own character was most in fault. His entire want of sympathetic imagination had ruined him in the day of his power by rendering him incapable of understanding the nation which he claimed to govern."¹

This would seem to exonerate Charles from intentional sin. But the reason for his execution Gardiner thought consisted chiefly "in his absolute disregard of the conditions of the time and of the feelings and opinions of every class of his subjects with which he happened to disagree," and "his persistent determination to ignore all opinions divergent from his own and to treat all by whom they were entertained as knaves or fools."² Clearly this means that Charles might have understood but willfully declined to look into conditions. If Charles was incapable of understanding his people in 1646, when, where, and how had his eyes been opened in the succeeding three years so that in 1649 he saw? And, too, if he could not see in 1646 what he might have seen in 1649, how can he be blamed, as Gardiner does blame him, in regard to the Petition of Right, for refusing to see in 1628? Was Charles's blindness intermittent? There is no alteration of the fact that he does not understand his people; the alteration consists in the explanation offered.

There is yet a third idea put forward several times during the narrative between the years 1638 and 1641. "From whatever side Charles's conduct is approached, the result is the same. He failed because morally, intellectually, and politically he was isolated in the midst of his generation."³ Again, "Behind the question of sovereignty rose a twofold conception of life—religious, ecclesiastical, and political—which divided Charles from the Commons by a gulf which it was impossible to bridge over."⁴ Yet, again, "both sides (Charles and Pym), in short, were driven by their antecedents to misunderstand the fundamental conditions of government."⁵ This conception explains the clash between Charles and his people by the inevitable differences produced by national development. Neither

¹ Civil War, III, 80.

² *Id.*, IV, 326.

³ History, VIII, 299.

⁴ *Id.*, X, 145.

⁵ *Id.*, 40.

King nor people are lacking in good will nor in perception. The difficulty is too fundamental to be solved by the mere application of thought to evidence. Gardiner admits Charles's good faith: "If he had confidence in his own judgment, his confidence was not entirely without justification."¹ "He no less honestly believed that that existing order was good for England as well as for himself."² If, then, Charles had a right to confidence in his own judgment—if he honestly believed he was acting for the good of his people as well as for himself, why, then, should he be so frequently and harshly blamed for willfully closing his eyes to the facts? What condemns Charles in Gardiner's eyes was that this policy, so fair in appearance to the King, was distasteful to the nation. Yet on that very ground he exonerates Cromwell from blame: "The restrictions of the Instrument [of Government] need only to be mentioned to be condemned. It is only fair to remember that the statesmen of the Protectorate held no such theories. What they sought was to strengthen by the help of a larger body than the Council a system of government which in their eyes deserved to be maintained whether the nation approved of it or not."³ It is a pity that the mantle of charity was not sufficiently large to cover also the well-meant blundering of Charles.

The judgments passed on Laud are puzzling. Gardiner's first view was highly unfavorable to him: "His thorough belief in the unbounded efficacy of external forms and institutions combined with his complete ignorance of human nature would be sufficient to goad to madness any nation which might be subjected to his control."⁴ In 1633, he was "one of the worst rulers who could at this crisis have been imposed on the English Church."⁵

In volume two of the "Great Civil War" similar views are found: "Laud had sought to train up a generation in habits of thought which would have extinguished all desire for political liberty; Strafford's power was like a passing storm; Laud's, like a stormy torrent from the mountain flank on which no verdure can grow."⁶ Yet, eight pages further on, we read: Laud's "nobler aims were too much in accordance with the needs of his age to be altogether baffled. It is little that every parish church in the land still—two centuries and a half after the years in which he was at the height of power—presents a spectacle which realizes his hopes. It is far more that his refusal to submit his mind to the dogmatism of Puritanism and his appeal to the cultivated intelligence for the solution of religious

¹ *Id.*, VIII, 299.

² *Id.*, X, 133.

³ *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-56* (London, 1894-1901, 3 vols.), III, 173. Cited hereafter as *Protectorate*.

⁴ *History*, II, 126.

⁵ *Id.*, VII, 301.

⁶ *Civil War*, II, 100.

problems, has received an ever-increasing response, even in regions in which his memory is devoted to contemptuous obloquy."¹ Can it be possible that Laud was the worst ruler any church could have, fit "to goad a nation into madness," and be the man of whom it could be truthfully said that "his nobler aims were too much in accordance with the needs of his age to be altogether baffled"? In one paragraph we learn that Laud's system would extinguish all desire for liberty, if successful, but that fortunately it failed; eight pages further, that his system has been realized, and that his attitude toward religious problems has received an ever increasing response.

An even more incomprehensible tangle is presented by a comparison of the views expressed concerning Strafford. His real crime was, says Gardiner, this: "He was in the truest sense the most dangerous enemy of Parliaments. He attempted to maintain the Elizabethan constitution long after it was possible to maintain it."² Gardiner blames his conception of the constitution, but thinks the penalty he paid for his mistake too severe: "Monstrous as his conception of the constitution was, it was hardly one to be treated as punishable by death."³ Was the Elizabethan constitution then "monstrous"? Yet in this same volume we read with astonishment that Pym's work was to replace this Elizabethan constitution: "If Pym could not in the face of Charles call back into existence the whole of the Elizabethan constitution, he was at least standing up in defense of its nobler and better part."⁴ Were the policies and ideas of Pym and of Strafford then identical? Did both look upon the Elizabethan constitution as a model? And how, then, could their policies be so antagonistic, the one looking to the destruction of the new England and the other toward its making? How could Gardiner consistently declare, as he does a few lines below: "It was the voice of Pym and not the voice of Strafford which appealed to the memories of the great England of the past, and which reached across the gulf of time to do, as Eliot would have said, the work of posterity and to call into being the greater England of the future."⁵ But, if so, why was Strafford trying to maintain the Elizabethan constitution in existence at the same moment that Pym was trying to call it back into existence? What must be maintained, must have been attacked; that only can be replaced which has been already displaced. How could Pym earn the thanks of posterity by replacing the "monstrous conception" Strafford had entertained of an effete government? How could he successfully uphold what it was no longer possible to maintain? In the same volume these words are quoted from Charles's speech to Parliament: "All matters of religion and government shall be reduced to what they were in the purest times of Queen Elizabeth's days."⁶ Then

¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

² *History*, IX, 370.

³ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 267.

Charles himself offered all that Pym desired—the Elizabethan constitution!

Nor is this the whole tangle by any means. In the succeeding volume we learn that both Strafford and Pym are traitors to the constitution which the one was endeavoring to maintain and the other to replace in the same state. "There can be no doubt that if by the fundamental laws of England was meant that constitutional arrangement which had prevailed in the days of Elizabeth, they [Pym, Vane, etc.] were guilty of treason at least as much as Strafford had been guilty. If he had done his best to reduce Parliaments to a cipher, they had done their best to reduce the royal authority to a cipher. The true defense of both Strafford and Pym was that the old constitution had broken down."¹ And which of all these contradictory things shall we understand Gardiner to intend when we read that Cromwell was in truth "the heir and successor of Strafford"?² Was Cromwell's conception of the constitution monstrous? Was his work also the "negation of political liberty"? Was he, too, a traitor to the old constitution?

What Gardiner meant by the Elizabethan constitution is by no means clear, despite the frequency with which he mentions it. "The steady determination that a King who spoke for himself and acted for himself should not be permitted to reign was part of that mass of custom and opinion, which, varying in detail from age to age, but animated in every age by the same spirit is, for brevity's sake, called the English constitution. To the spirit of this constitution the Tudor princes had, even in their most arbitrary moods, sedulously conformed. No rulers have ever been so careful to watch the temper of the nation as were Henry VIII and Elizabeth. That the King was established by God himself to think and act in opposition to the thoughts and acts which the nation deliberately chose to think best, was a new thing in England."³ Yet Charles was determined to follow the latter policy, and in consequence, says Gardiner, "the representative monarchy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth would cease to be. . . . In its stead was to be raised the authority of a King ruling in accordance with his own inscrutable counsels."⁴ "No wonder men took alarm at so portentous a doctrine."⁵ "Charles and Laud had placed themselves outside the national conscience."⁶

In the volumes on the Civil War we are nevertheless told that "when he [Charles] spoke of monarchy he meant the monarchy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, not the monarchy of William III and Victoria. He was hankering after the restoration of the system

¹ *Id.*, X, 129.

² *Protectorate*, III, 253.

³ *History*, VI, 314-315.

⁴ *Id.*, VIII, 276.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁶ *Id.*, IX, 145.

which Laud had praised and which Strafford had supported.”¹ Gardiner says in one breath that Charles failed to retain the confidence of the nation because he willfully overthrew the Elizabethan constitution, and in the next that Charles’s ideal of monarchy was that same Elizabethan constitution. How, then, could it be properly described as revolutionary? “Whatever justification might be put forth, Charles’s assumption of power had been clearly revolutionary.”² It is, however, hard to reconcile this with the statement 30 pages earlier that “as a matter of fact no man then living [1628] could remember the time when the discretionary power which Charles claimed had not been exercised by the Crown.”³ “Charles, in short, could not be trusted with powers which had been conceded to Henry and Elizabeth.”⁴ Even if this were true, would it render Charles’s claim to exercise the hereditary power of the Crown revolutionary? Would his use of the very powers the Tudors had used subvert the Tudor constitution? It is thus extremely puzzling to learn that Charles and Strafford, Pym and Cromwell were all apparently agreed in policy, but were locked in a struggle which convulsed England and cost two of them their heads. Futile their efforts, for theirs was not the duty of maintaining the Tudor constitution. “The House of Commons was the heir of the Tudor monarchy, and would be the depository of those extraordinary powers which Charles had forfeited the right to exercise.”⁵

Nothing is more puzzling and ever mystifying than Gardiner’s use of the word “nation” and his conception of the English nation. In May, 1640, he tells us “the great national party with Pym at its head, now numbering the vast majority of educated Englishmen, raised its voice.”⁶ Yet how, then, could it be true that in September, only a few months later, “the echo of their debates had hardly reached the popular ear.” “What was needed now was to bring the House of Commons into living connection with the wave of feeling which tossed outside its walls. In the Short Parliament Pym had stood forth as the leader of the Commons. He was now to stand forth as the popular agitator as well.”⁷ But Gardiner has just told us that the work of the Short Parliament was to put the Commons into connection with the people, and through the Commons to put all parts of England into connection with each other. “It made England conscious of the universality of its displeasure. . . . The chorus of complaint sounded louder when it was echoed from Cornwall to Northumberland than when it seemed to be no more than a local outcry.”⁸ When and why was this union of Parliament and nation lost in the short space of three months? How could Pym be just standing forth apparently

¹ Civil War III 190.

² History, VI, 314.

³ Ibid., 285.

⁴ Ibid., 268.

⁵ Ibid., 284.

⁶ Id., IX, 127.

⁷ Ibid., 202.

⁸ Ibid., 118.

for the first time as popular leader in September when in the preceding May he was already the recognized head of the "great national party"? And how could it possibly be true that a year later, in May, 1641, "Pym's name was [not] as yet one to conjure with"? "Inside the House he was becoming better known every day. Outside he was scarcely more than one of a multitude."¹ Is this, then, the national leader of a year previous? Where has his prestige gone? What has happened to rob him of his place? Who has supplanted him? Gardiner has also said that in 1640 the House of Commons needed to be brought "into living connection" with the nation. Yet he said that in 1604 Parliament's power resulted from the fact that it was "the true representative of a united nation"; its unique position due "to the complete harmony in which it stood with the feelings and even with the prejudices of all classes of the people."² Why, then, in 1640, after all the undeniable progress of the intervening years, had the echo of the debates of the Commons scarcely reached the popular ear? What, too, had happened to alter by 1641 so radically the situation in 1604? "The House of Commons is with us itself the center of the national organization, to which the whole country instinctively rallies. In 1641 it was nothing of the kind. All the habits of men led them to look to the King for guidance. Parliaments were but bodies meeting at rare intervals, doing important work, and then vanishing away."³ This quotation by no means reflects the idea of a unified and energetic nation headed by the House of Commons. Yet this is written of a nation whose outraged conscience cast Charles from his throne because he had neglected to obey "the thoughts and acts which the nation deliberately chose to think best."⁴

When he came to write in later years of the nation during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Gardiner concluded that "the nation or even the intellectually active part of it had not been educated in political thought."⁵ Furthermore, Ireton's schemes of constitutional government were doomed to failure because he could not foresee "the absolute refusal of the English people for many a long year to take up the high position which he had marked out for it."⁶ In this manner Gardiner explains, and in a measure defends, the idea of Cromwell and of Milton that "an appeal to the free decision of the nation" was "beyond the pale of sane politics."⁷ But if the nation was not educated in political thought, and refused to participate in the government in 1650, it is hardly conceivable that it should have been so active in politics and so well fitted to act in 1604 and 1640. If it is Charles's greatest fault that he will not obey the national will, if he is for that reason the enemy of England, why, then, should Cromwell,

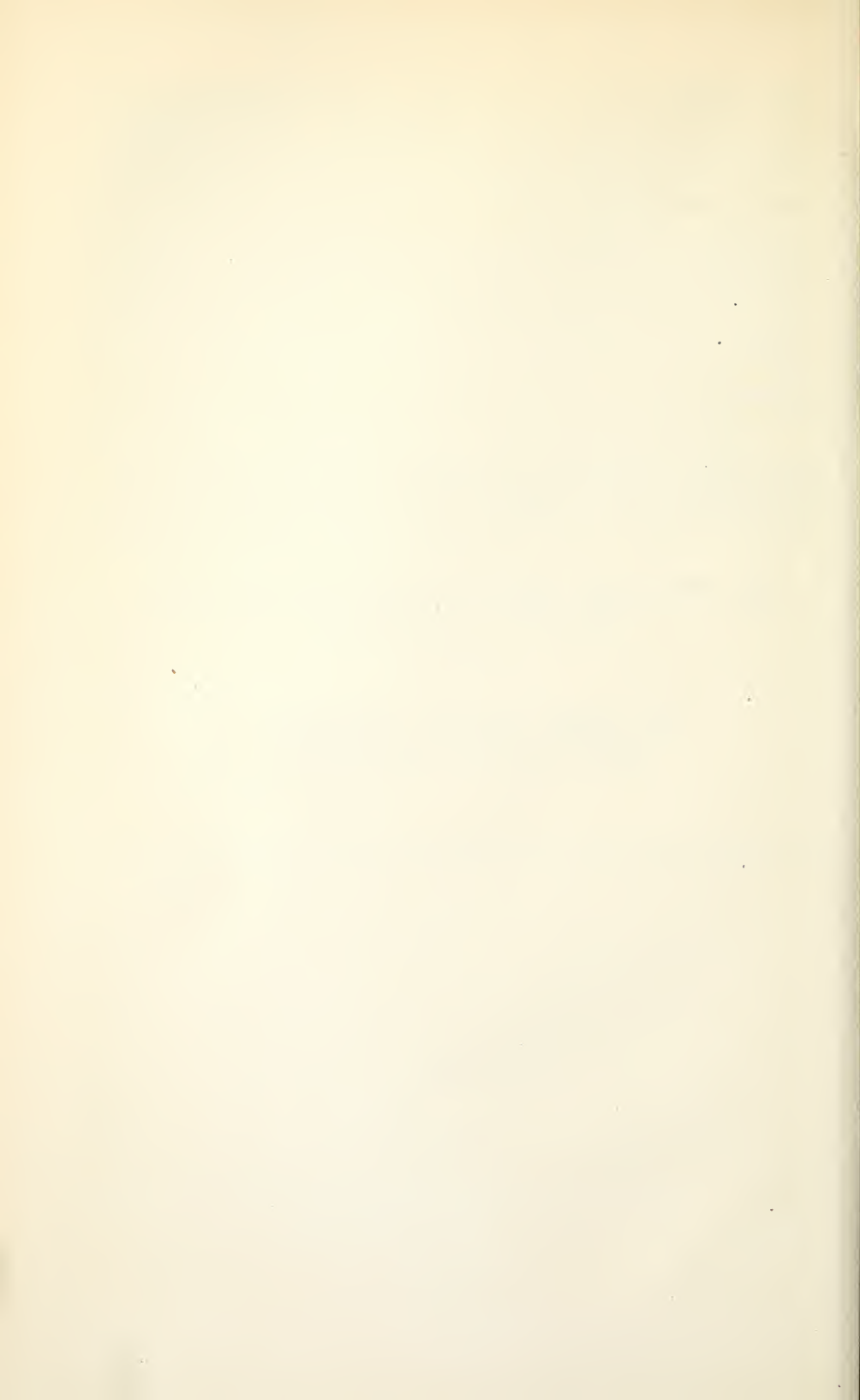
¹ *Ibid.*, 352.² *Id.*, I, 160.³ *Id.*, IX, 352.⁴ *Id.*, VI, 315.⁵ *Protectorate*, III, 193.⁶ *Civil War*, III, 296.⁷ *Protectorate*, III, 247.

who not only believed but acted upon the same idea, be treated as one of England's heroes? If an appeal to the true sense of the nation was beyond the pale of sane politics in 1653, why was it not equally preposterous in 1625? If Cromwell did right to maintain the protectorate in the face of Parliament and a majority of the nation, why was Charles so wrong in maintaining his system in the face of the same opposition? Above all, if the personal rule of Charles was so supremely distasteful to the nation, why did it bear the same rule from Oliver and the army? Why had many historians believed that Oliver could in a few more years have firmly fixed his dynasty upon the English throne? Nor is this question of what Gardiner meant by the "English nation" a meaningless quibble about words. It is fundamental. It underlies nearly every judgment on the issues between Charles and his people, and on it depends much of the case against Charles.

The application of these considerations, however, to that larger subject, the general critical value of Gardiner's work, is a broad and enormously difficult question which there is here no time to consider.

VIII. THE MEXICAN POLICY OF SOUTHERN LEADERS UNDER
BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

By JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN,
Professor of History, West Virginia University.



THE MEXICAN POLICY OF SOUTHERN LEADERS UNDER BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

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The manuscript archives of the Department of State at Washington contain the unpublished instructions and dispatches of three prominent and distinguished men of the South—Gadsden, Forsyth, and McLane—who, as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, conducted relations with Mexico during the interesting period of American history in which the shibboleth of “manifest destiny” was added to the Monroe doctrine of national security. The first of these in the Pierce administration acquired territory for a railroad route to the Pacific. The other two, in Buchanan’s administration, successively and unsuccessfully labored to obtain additional territory and various privileges which they thought would benefit Mexico as well as the United States.

The Mexican problem, which thrice had been adjusted by change of boundaries, still persisted after the Gadsden purchase. Complicated with southern interests and largely under the influence of southern statesmen, the remedy most persistently proposed for its solution, in connection with an American transit route across Mexico, was an additional reduction of Mexican territory by a new cession to the United States; or, if that should fail, the establishment of an American protectorate which was expected in time to result in new annexations to the stronger country. The problem, only partially solved by the Pierce administration, was inherited by the Buchanan administration which continued to negotiate; first, for the acquisition of additional Mexican territory and territorial concessions as long as there was any hope of success, and later for territorial concessions and direct intervention to enforce treaty stipulations until the secession of the Southern States precipitated the beginning of the American Civil War and thereby increased the possibility and probability of the long-predicted intervention of European powers in Mexico, and exposed Mexican territory to the possible designs of Confederate filibusters.

In looking for the principal motives which directed the incessant and persistent negotiations for more land one finds both sentiment and material interests—sentiment against apprehended European

intervention in the affairs of Mexico, whose Government needed money to pay various claims and debts and to consolidate and strengthen itself against internal disorder and foreign designs, and the material interests of the United States as interpreted by its Government and prominent southern leaders who were willing to pay money for a more logical boundary that would reduce the dangers of border irritation, and for transit and commercial privileges which seemed as useful to Mexico as they would be to the United States and to the men who had pecuniary interest in them. It was especially urged that the annexation of the "isolated and unproductive Provinces" of Mexico by the United States would "add to the security of Mexico."¹ Negotiations were also influenced and complicated by conflicting interests in Tehuantepec, resulting from the Mexican annulment in 1851 of a transit grant obtained from Santa Anna in 1842 by a Mexican named Garay, and the later (1853) grant of a franchise to A. G. Sloo of the Tehuantepec Company, who mortgaged it to Falconnet, a British subject, who, in 1856, made a cession of his privilege to Mr. Hargous, of New York, whose right the Mexican Government refused to recognize.²

The Gadsden treaty, obtained by merging a boundary dispute into negotiations for boundary alterations, and which secured for \$10,000,000 the strip of territory south of the Gila, the release of the United States from any responsibility for the acts of the Indians along the Mexican border, and a guarantee of a right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, was never regarded as a final adjustment of the territorial question with Mexico. Perhaps it is not generally known that the territory obtained was only a small part of what was desired at the time. Even before the negotiations were completed, at an opportune time in the critical state of Mexican affairs, and possibly influenced by the conditions in Sonora and Lower California which invited filibustering expeditions,³ the President hoped that the Mexican Government, in need of money, might make a liberal cession of territory if it could be done without public discussion. Accordingly additional "confidential" instructions authorizing the payment of \$50,000,000 for 125,000 square miles of territory, including the region beyond the Rio Grande to the watershed and to 32° on the Gulf of California, were sent to Gadsden by special messenger, Mr. C. L. Ward, who was directed not to carry his written instructions into Mexico.⁴ The attempt to secure so large

¹ 21 Despatches, Mexico (i. e., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Diplomatic Archives, Mexico, Despatches from American agents, vol. 21) No. 72, Apr. 3, 1853, and No. 73, Apr. 16, 1853.

² 17 Instructions, Mexico (i. e., Department of State, etc., Mexico, Instructions to American Agents, vol. 17), July 17, 1857.

³ 14 Despatches, Mexico, No. 3, Mar. 8, 1850; No. 7, Dec. 24, 1852; and Nos. 40 and 41 of May 19 and 24, 1853; New York Herald, July 27, 1854.

⁴ Secret Book 2, No. 20, Jan. 6, 1854; Department of State, Diplomatic Archives, Special Missions, vol. 3, p. 38, Oct. 22, and also p. 277.

an extent of territory probably excited the suspicions of Mexico and delayed the completion of the treaty.

Aware of the danger of arousing further the anticeSSION sentiment of Mexico, which had led to the expulsion of Santa Anna, and possibly influenced by the recent failures to secure Cuba and Hawaii, the Pierce administration hesitated to propose negotiations for more Mexican territory. After the negotiation of the Gadsden treaty, however, there were various sources of friction and irritation which, while they threatened to arrest the progress of American expansion in the southwest, also encouraged expectations of new territorial cessions to which no Mexican Government could ever have been induced to agree after the troubled experience of Santa Anna. Seeing no chance to effect an arrangement involving a pecuniary liquidation of claims, Gadsden wrote to Marcy in the spring of 1855 that, "if property, extension of territory, or other grants or commercial privileges are not acceptable as a means of settlement, resort must be had to the sword, which will end in the absorption of the whole Republic."¹ In his valedictory dispatch, complaining that his dispatches had been treated with indifference and attributing his recall to the energy with which he had watched and reported European designs which threatened to check the progress of America by the formation of an alliance of Spanish America against the United States, he exonerated himself from all responsibility for the impending loss of Mexico, Cuba, and the Gulf.²

Three months before Gadsden left his post, John Forsyth, of Alabama, received his commission as envoy to Mexico, with instructions to allay all suspicion that the United States had sinister designs on Mexico, but to urge trade reciprocity, a postal convention, and fair indemnities to adjust American claims.³ After viewing the conditions, he reported that there was little hope of stability for Mexico except through a proposed alliance with the United States by the infusion of Americans into the Mexican Army.⁴ On February 10, 1857, he negotiated treaties which he thought would strengthen the Mexican Government, and which also would have made important changes in the internal relations of the two nations. One, providing for a loan by the United States to Mexico and for the payment of the British convention debt, was not authorized by instructions. With this were combined a postal convention, a reciprocity treaty, and commercial arrangements to open Mexican markets to American manufactures. The President had weighty objections to some of these treaties and decided not to submit them to the Senate so near the close of his administration.⁵

¹ 19 Despatches, Mexico, No. 60, Apr. 3, 1855.

² 19 Despatches, Mexico, No. 97, Oct. 4, 1856.

³ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 2, Aug. 16, 1856.

⁴ 29 Despatches, Mexico, No. 5, Nov. 8; No. 14, Dec. 19, 1856.

⁵ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 11, Mar. 3; No. 12, Mar. 11, 1857.

The Buchanan administration, largely under the influence of Senator Judah P. Benjamin, who was the attorney for the new Louisiana Tehuantepec Co., resumed negotiations for territory. In July, 1857, two months before the time set for the termination of the extraordinary power of President Comonfort, of Mexico, the President sent to Forsyth new instructions—which were handed to him by Emile La Sère, president of the Louisiana Tehuantepec Co., who went to Mexico with Benjamin to secure a modification of the Sloo grant. These authorized him to conclude a treaty with Mexico for the acquisition of Lower California, nearly all of Sonora, and part of Chihuahua north of 30°, and the right of way or transit in perpetuity, under American guarantee of neutrality, on any route of commerce which should be constructed across Mexico from ocean to ocean. He was authorized to pay four or five million dollars for Lower California and eight or ten million for the Sonora and Chihuahua territory. At the same time he was instructed to aid Benjamin and La Sère, and was authorized, if expedient, to employ their services in obtaining the cession of territory.¹

Forsyth, whose previous dispatches had reported the impracticability of any attempt to negotiate a new boundary treaty with a Government which had strongly pledged itself not to alienate, cede, exchange, or hypothecate any part of the national territory, hesitated to undertake negotiations which contemplated the acquisition of so much territory at a price far below the exaggerated Mexican estimates of its value, and which offered no pecuniary compensation or equivalent for the franchises giving privileges of right of way across Tehuantepec in extension of the concessions of 1853.² Although he considered that any attempt to negotiate was hopeless from the beginning, he approached both the president and Lerdo de Tejada who declined to consider the subject. Meanwhile, he had declined to cooperate with Benjamin and La Sère, known in capital papers as the "American negotiators," whose presence he felt had tended to degrade the legation and who on September 7 concluded a private contract with Mexico to which Forsyth objected on the ground that it annulled the Sloo grant, put in jeopardy all American interests on the isthmus, gave the United States no benefit, and was not in conformity with the terms and conditions of Cass's instructions. He especially resented the pretensions of Benjamin, who he felt had been largely responsible for the failure of his treaties of February 10, who boasted that he carried the Buchanan administration in his pocket, and whose Mexican acquaintances—of the banking and capitalistic class—openly remarked that he had secret and

¹ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 27 and No. 28, July 17, 1857.

² 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 48, Sept. 15, 1857.

ample powers which placed the United States legation in temporary abeyance.¹

On their return to the United States, the smooth Benjamin and La Sère, in a note to President Buchanan, attacked Forsyth's integrity and honor as a gentleman, blaming him for his course regarding their transit negotiations which had caused them to lose a million dollars, and accusing him of favoring the cause of Soulé, the representative of the Sloo interests, who was in Mexico City at the same time to oppose the plans of Benjamin and La Sère. The inquisitive and dominating Benjamin evidently had kept a diary in which he had made full notes of all Forsyth's daily life and actions.²

The irate Forsyth in his defense said his instructions had not required him to subordinate to the interests of a company seeking lucrative railway privileges any of the public questions involved in his negotiations—including the proposition to transfer the sovereignty of an empire. At the same time he declared that by negotiations not complicated with attempts to get territory he could have obtained a satisfactory treaty which would have secured to the United States the virtual protectorate and military occupation of the Tehuantepec transit and a cession of a right of way for a railroad across the northern part of Mexico, almost on the line which the Buchanan administration had proposed as a new boundary, together with grants of alternate leagues of land which, in addition to use as a fund for the construction of the road, "would have fenced off and consecrated to American use and ultimately to American ownership the very territory" which he had been instructed to purchase.³ He desired authority to open negotiations for a treaty of transits and commerce on this basis for which he proposed to pay \$12,000,000; but his Government declined to contribute money to relieve Mexico "unless it could get a consideration equally valuable in return."⁴ Forsyth explained that he had been "anxious to make it clear that the purchase of commercial privileges was contemplated, and in fact desired, merely as a means to a political end—that end being to sustain Mexico and to keep her from falling to pieces, perhaps into the hands of foreign powers, until such time as we were ready to 'Americanize' her."⁵

Later while sustaining the declining Comonfort government by efforts to induce bankers to lend money to it and contemplating "some decisive step to meet the exigency of the situation," he earnestly requested authority at a critical moment to offer for territory a much larger price, which might prove an irresistible temptation to

¹ 21 Despatches, Mexico, Private, Jan. 14, 1858.

² 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 57, Nov. 24, 1857.

³ 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 52, Sept. 29; No. 51, Sept. 26, 1857.

⁴ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 33, Nov. 17, 1857.

⁵ 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 68, Feb. 13, 1858.

President Comonfort and the Mexican Congress and satisfy the expectation of the public mind; but he was informed that the maximum price already offered could not be extended. Still later, confident that he had had an opportunity to make a treaty if he could have made an immediate advance of \$500,000 in cash, he urged that \$1,500,000 should be placed at his disposal to be applied as part payment immediately on signing the cession at the next favorable opportunity.¹

At the fall of the Comonfort government he immediately felt the territorial pulse of the Zuloaga administration and reported that the symptoms were favorable.² Encouraged by the reports of his ecclesiastical agents who had sounded both Zuloaga and minister Cuevas, he formally on March 22, 1858, proposed negotiations for a change of boundary and for transits. On the proposition for cession of territory, his argument was the doctrine of "manifest destiny" supported by the inevitable, unchangeable, and inscrutable laws of the Creator. Cuevas politely declined and clearly stated his reasons.³ Attributing the rejection to timidity and "a paroxysm of political cowardice" Forsyth withdrew his proposition by a brief note stating that the generosity of the United States would be vindicated in the fullness of time, and emerged from the brief diplomatic contest with the firm conviction that Mexico needed another government.⁴ Deploring the lack of American foreign policy since the Mexican war, he urged that the plain and obvious duty of the United States was to resort to the argument of compulsion to induce Mexico to meet her obligations, and incidentally to enable the United States to secure territory. "You want Sonora?" said he. "The American blood spilled near its line would justify you in seizing it. * * * You want other territory? Send me power to make an ultimate demand for the several millions Mexico owes our people. * * * You want the Tehuantepec transits? Say to Mexico, 'Nature has placed that shortest highway between the two oceans, so necessary to the commerce of the world. * * * Give us what we ask for in return for the manifest benefits we propose to confer on you for it, or we will take it.'" Such language he said would result in good to both countries.⁵

Considering the possible decision of the American Government to accept a protectorate for Mexico, he urged that the selection of a worthy head of the new Mexican Government should be an essential condition. He doubted the wisdom of selecting Juárez and he pro-

¹ 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 56, Nov. 18; No. 58, Nov. 25; No. 62, Dec. 17, 1857; Private, Jan. 14, 1858.

² 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 66, Jan. 29; No. 67, Jan. 30; No. 68, Feb. 13; No. 69, Mar. 1; No. 71, Mar. 18, 1858.

³ 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 72, Apr. 3, 1858; *Diario de Avisos*, Apr. 29, 1859.

⁴ 21 Despatches, Mexico, No. 73, Apr. 8, 1858.

⁵ 21 Despatches, Mexico, Private, Apr. 15, 1858.

posed to eliminate Comonfort. He especially commended the clever Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, who had lost all hope in his country and was thoroughly converted to the "doctrine that an American protectorate was the only recourse." He also favorably mentioned Osollo, to whom he suggested a conference with Lerdo, whom he regarded as the real Liberal leader. "If these two men choose," said he, "I believe they will have the power to change the Government in 24 hours."¹

As the fury of civil war increased, he ruffled the composure of the palace by presenting cases for consideration and by the belligerent stand which he took in protesting against forced loans and contributions, to which he advised foreigners not to yield unless confronted by armed force. He was finally summoned to a private interview by Zuloaga, who stated that as a last resort he had decided to make the sacrifice of territory for the good of his country and for his own salvation, but the rising hopes thus produced were suddenly lowered again by the vacillation of Zuloaga two days later.²

Assured that the Buchanan administration was satisfied with the manner in which he had performed his negotiations,³ and receiving no further special instructions during the remainder of his stay, Forsyth assumed an attitude of active opposition to the Zuloaga Government—and especially of antagonism to Cuevas, who had, he learned, requested his recall. He confidently reported that the Government would either be overthrown or forced to negotiate with him a treaty of cession. At the close of an undignified and undiplomatic correspondence in June, he suspended diplomatic relations until he could learn the pleasure of his Government.⁴ While awaiting a reply from Washington he kept in close touch with the enemies of the Zuloaga Government and informed his own Government that he saw the signs and preparations of an almost matured revolution under the leadership of Lerdo, who, after several recent changes of domicile to avoid arrest, had become a guest under the roof of the American legation, and had confided his plans to the American minister. Learning that the Mexican authorities had discovered Lerdo's retreat and might attempt to take him by force, he prepared arms and ammunition and 30 Americans to defend his "castle."⁵ In August, when he received instructions sanctioning his suspension of relations and directing him to take the steamer which had been sent to Vera Cruz to carry him home, he replied that his private interests would not permit such precipitate haste, and remained two

¹ 21 Despatches, Mexico, Private, Apr. 15, 1858.

² 22 Despatches, Mexico, No. 77, June 1; No. 78, June 17, 1858.

³ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 46, May 19, 1858.

⁴ 22 Despatches, Mexico, No. 79, June 19; No. 80, June 25. Forsyth reported that M. de Gabriac, the French Minister to Mexico, was at the bottom of a movement against the American legation.

⁵ 22 Despatches, Mexico, No. 81, July 1, 1858.

months longer to vex the Mexican Government, whose downfall he hoped personally to witness.¹ Finally, the discontented minister, who had so often held out straws of hope to encourage his Government at Washington, pronounced Mexico a hopeless wreck ready for the wreckers, sent a caustic parting note to the new minister of foreign relations, and departed on October 20 for Vera Cruz, from whence he soon reached Mobile.² Summoned to Washington by the President, he resigned on February 7, to take effect on March 2, 1859. In May he published in the Washington Constitution extracts of his correspondence—justifying himself on grounds of self-defense against various newspaper attacks.³ In June, assuming undivided responsibility as editor of the Mobile Daily Register, and devoting himself to the work of “recovering rights in the Union lost by southern supineness—or, in default of that, of preparing the southern mind for that serious alternative which the South may be forced to adopt for self preservation,” he said that his personal differences with President Buchanan would in no wise influence his course of duty to the Democratic Party. “Let bygones be bygones.”⁴

Late in December, with a view to opening diplomatic relations with the Juárez Government in case it should prove able to adjust questions at issue between the two Republics, Buchanan sent to Mexico a special confidential agent, William M. Churchill. Two months later he received from this agent a confidential report inclosing a memorandum signed by Juárez indicating a willingness to negotiate various treaties, including a cession of Lower California and perpetual rights of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec and over other transit routes from the Rio Grande to Mazatlan and Guaymas, on the Gulf of California.⁵ Although the much-desired territories of Sonora and Chihuahua were not included in the basis for negotiations, the President decided to send a minister to Vera Cruz.

On March 7, Robert M. McLane, of Maryland, was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, with authority to recognize the Juárez Government and to offer \$10,000,000 for the cession of Lower California and the grants of transit, \$2,000,000 of which was to be retained to pay the claims of American citizens against Mexico.⁶ His conclusion to recognize the constitutional Government was largely determined by “the very large interests already involved in the rights of way over Tehuantepec” and the American interests in Sonora which were threatened by a contest

¹ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 49, July 15; 22 Despatches, Mexico, No. 88, Aug. 31, 1858.

² 22 Despatches, Mexico, No. 90, Sept. 18; Private, Oct. 1; No. 98, Nov. 22, 1858.

³ Mobile Daily Register, May 18 and 24, 1859.

⁴ Id., June 12, 1859.

⁵ 17 Instructions, Mexico, Dec. 27, 1858; 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 1, Apr. 7; Secret and Special Service Despatches, vol. 1, p. 778, et seq.

⁶ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 2, Mar. 7, 1859.

with the central Government in regard to its public domain in that State.¹ His negotiations were doubtless rendered more difficult by the protest of the central Government at Mexico City, which, although promptly notified that the American Government would maintain a neutral policy, declared that the United States had recognized the Juárez Government in order to despoil Mexico of her national territory, and proceeded to pronounce void all treaties and agreements between the two countries.² In the negotiations which followed, the chief obstacle was the proposition for the cession of Lower California, which was especially opposed by Lerdo, the minister of finance, and which other members of the Juárez Government believed would be repudiated by the northern and central States of Mexico.³ Ocampo was "reluctant to engage himself to any actual cession of territory," but being held to his implied obligation to give it if the United States desired it, he avowed the readiness of Juárez to cede it.⁴ Doubting, however, whether the congress which was to be elected in October could be induced to ratify such a provision, he proposed that it should be placed in a separate treaty. In reply to the suggestion that there should be two separate treaties and a distinct division of the \$10,000,000 between territory and transits, President Buchanan adhered to the belief that both should be included in the same treaty, which he thought would be more likely to be ratified.⁵

On the question of protection of transits the two countries could not agree. Ocampo declined to agree to the right of the United States to protect the transit across Tehuantepec, although he was inclined to be more liberal in regard to the concession of transit from Guaymas to Tucson by which McLane thought that the adjacent State of Sonora was likely to be Americanized even before Arizona could be admitted as a State. He recognized the obligation of Mexico to protect the routes, but he agreed that, if Mexico should fail, the United States, with previous consent of the former, might employ armed forces, but should submit them to the laws and authorities of Mexico in all things not relating to the internal government of the troops, and should exercise no act of jurisdiction over the inhabitants or passengers except to suppress crime in the act of being committed. Cass could not accept this article unless it could be modified so as to make previous consent of Mexico necessary "except in cases of sudden emergency."⁶

¹ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 1, Apr. 7, 1859.

² 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 10, Apr. 30; No. 12, May 7, 1859.

³ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 20, June 22, 1859.

⁴ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 1, Apr. 7, 1859.

⁵ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 5, Apr. 21; 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 9, May 24, 1859.

⁶ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 5, Apr. 21; No. 20, June 22; No. 23, July 10; 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 16, July 30, 1859.

At the same time a combination of conditions and events—the pecuniary distress of the Juárez Government, the discontent in the party that supported it, the atrocities committed in territory over which it had no control, and the apprehension of European intervention at Vera Cruz—suggested the idea of an Americo-Mexican alliance which would give protection and order to Mexico and enable the United States to protect the lives and property of American citizens in Mexico, “by chastising any power there which should presume to violate sacred treaty obligations and the common law of humanity.”¹ In June—a month after McLane recommended the immediate occupation of San Juan de Ulua by the United States (with consent of the Juárez Government) to prevent its seizure by England or France—Ocampo submitted a project of a treaty of alliance providing for protection and security to rights of way granted to citizens of the United States, and making it “obligatory on either of the two Republics to aid in maintaining order and security in the territory of the other” upon request of a legitimate and acknowledged government obeyed by the majority of the nation and democratic in tendency. This McLane declined to consider, basing his objections largely on traditional grounds, which were approved by Secretary Cass.² At the same time, although he was opposed both to Lerdo’s proposed guarantee of territorial integrity³ and Ocampo’s more general proposition for the support of republican institutions, he always agreed that, after a satisfactory treaty relating to transits and the cession of Lower California, the United States could be expected to enter into some arrangement which would give steadiness and security to the mutual interests thus established, and which “could be extended with propriety to the maintenance of law and order in the entire Republic.” Although he could not agree to obligate the United States by treaty to intervene at the call of the Mexican Government, he suggested to Cass that an article authorizing the United States to exert its military power to enforce the stipulations embraced in the general treaty, and to chastise and punish if necessary, would secure the ascendancy of American influence and American commerce in Mexico and establish a government of constitutional freedom there.⁴

The administration was finally forced to abandon its instructions for negotiations on a basis of acquisition of territory. From the beginning McLane confessed that he saw the impracticability of negotiating for the acquisition of Lower California unless the ratification and the purchase money could be promptly secured, enabling the

¹ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 8, Apr. 2; No. 12, May 7, 1859.

² 17 Instructions, Mexico, p. 242, No. 14, July 8.

³ McLane said that Lerdo, who was much opposed to the cession of territory unless at an exorbitant compensation and at a future day, and who had differences with the cabinet on domestic questions which threatened the dissolution of the Government, introduced this proposition because he was unwilling to agree to any arrangement at the time. 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 23, July 10, 1859.

⁴ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 23, July 10; No. 22, July 10, 1859.

Government to distribute a share of the money to the States which sustained the treaty. At one critical time he encouraged his Government by the announcement that Lerdo, who in the cabinet had strenuously opposed any cession except at the exorbitant price of \$30,000,000, had unexpectedly modified his views enough to favor a reconsideration on the basis of \$15,000,000; but with little hope of success he suggested that his Government should thereafter leave the territorial question to his discretion.¹ At least, he thought that the proposed maximum price should be increased from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000. Doubting the wisdom of negotiating for a transfer of territory at a time when two opposing Governments were in conflict for possession of the empire, he hoped President Buchanan would authorize him to sign a treaty without reference to Lower California, and to pay \$2,000,000 or \$3,000,000 in consideration of the other stipulations.² While the President was extremely unwilling to sanction any convention in which the cession was not embraced, he finally authorized as a last resort the acceptance of transits and other rights at a stipulated payment of \$4,000,000, of which the sum of \$2,000,000 was to be reserved for the claims of American citizens.³

In the later negotiations conducted with Fuente, the new minister of relations, who adhered closely to the defense of Ocampo's project, McLane was unable to overcome the objections to the discretionary power of military force by the United States for the protection of the transits. The Juarez Government, urging that it must maintain its sovereignty over the transit routes, proposed for the protection of the transits an agreement to keep a fixed military force in commission which would obviate the possible contingency of any sudden emergency which might render necessary the military force of the United States without previous consent of Mexico. There was still another obstacle which had already been suggested by both Ocampo and Lerdo. Fuente urged the necessity of an immediate payment of the pecuniary consideration and declared that his Government, unless it could receive money at once to increase its power, could neither make the concession relating to Lower California nor that relating to the discretionary power of the United States to protect the transits without danger of exciting an opposition which would lead to

¹ 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 23, July 10; No. 26, July 12. Lerdo went to the United States at this time on a mission to raise money on confiscated church property. "If he should succeed," wrote McLane, "there is no probability of acquiring Lower California. If he fail, I think he will advocate the cession." 23 Despatches, Mexico, No. 26, July 12. Two months later Consul Black wrote McLane that it was currently reported that Lerdo had completely succeeded in his negotiations at Washington and that Sonora and Lower California had been sold to the United States for \$30,000,000. The report, however, was incorrect. 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 38, Sept. 24. Lerdo failed to negotiate a loan. 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 49, Nov. 6, 1859.

² 23 Despatches, Mexico, Unofficial, June 25, 1859.

³ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 16, July 30, 1859.

the overthrow of the Government before ratifications could be exchanged.¹

After closing negotiations McLane suggested that the weak Juárez Government, which still adhered to Ocampo's project of alliance, might be induced to accept a matured proposition from the United States.² In an unofficial dispatch of October 31 he proposed to sustain the weak Juárez Government by some sort of a military alliance which his Government regarded as a wide departure from previous American policy and disapproved because it was intended, not for a temporary emergency, but as a part of a general treaty, and also because it endangered the acceptance of any treaty with which it might be connected.³ Two months earlier he recommended that the President should "ask Congress the power to enter Mexico with the military forces of the United States, at the call of its authorities, in order to protect the citizens and treaty rights of the United States."⁴ This the President proceeded to do in his annual message of December, 1859. He considered this a wise precaution to prevent the future necessity of interference for the maintenance of the established American policy against intervention of European nations in American political affairs.

Returning to Vera Cruz in November, after a vacation of two months, McLane found the conditions more favorable for negotiating a treaty of transits and of commerce and intervention.⁵ Unable to secure the loan which Lerdo had been sent to negotiate in the United States, and too weak to maintain order and enforce treaty stipulations, the Juárez Government accepted the only alternative—to conclude the negotiations for a treaty on the basis of McLane's later instructions. Fuente, again refusing to accept any modifications of Ocampo's project, promptly retired from the Government. Ocampo, who resumed the post of minister of relations, was assured by McLane that he had no desire to press the views of his Government nor to resume negotiations except on the American basis previously proposed. He promptly and fully conceded the views of President Buchanan in regard to the protection of transits and agreed to modify other articles to suit the views of the American Government. The most difficult task was to induce the constitutional Government to recognize its obligation to seek the aid of the United States whenever it should be unable effectually to perform its proper functions as a government in the enforcement of treaty stipulations and the maintenance of order. This was finally accomplished by emphasizing the fact that sooner or later the United States would

¹ 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 30, Aug. 27; No. 33, Aug. 31, 1859.

² 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 31, Aug. 28.

³ 24 Despatches, Mexico, Unofficial, Oct. 31; 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 21, Nov. 4, 1859.

⁴ 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 31, Aug. 28, 1859.

⁵ 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 56, Dec. 9, 1859.

act without reference to the constitutional Government or any other government or authority in defense of treaty rights and to protect its citizens. While emphasizing the fixed policy of his Government to avoid all interference in the domestic administration of Mexico, McLane "insisted that it was the recognized duty of the United States to interfere when its own security, or what is due itself in the abstract or in virtue of treaty stipulations, required such intervention."¹

The resumption of negotiations promptly resulted in a treaty of transits and commerce, conceding valuable privileges for which the United States agreed to pay \$4,000,000. Of this amount, \$2,000,000 were payable on the exchange of ratifications and \$2,000,000 were to be retained by the United States for the payment of claims of American citizens against Mexico. The privileges included the rights of way under the sovereignty of Mexico across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and also from the lower Rio Grande via Monterey to Mazatlan and from Rancho de Nogales to Guaymas by any kind of road, together with a port of deposit at each terminus of the route and free and unrestricted passage of merchandise and of mail in closed bags across Tehuantepec. The United States also was given the right to transport troops, military stores, and munitions of war over the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and from Guaymas to some suitable place on the boundary in the vicinity of Rancho de Nogales.

The treaty provided that both the United States and Mexico should protect the transits and guarantee their neutrality. It stipulated that Mexico should use her military forces if necessary to protect persons and property passing over any of the routes; but that, upon her failure to act, the American Government, with the request and consent of the Mexican Government, or of the Mexican minister at Washington, or of the competent and legally appointed local authorities, might employ military force for the same purpose (but for no other). In case of imminent danger to the lives and property of American citizens the American Government was authorized to act with military force for their protection without obtaining previous consent of Mexico.

Remarkable convention articles to enforce treaty stipulations departed radically from the traditional policy of the United States in their provision for direct intervention under certain conditions. The provisions of Article 1 were as follows: "If any of the stipulations of existing treaties between Mexico and the United States are violated, or the safety and security of the citizens of either Republic are endangered within the territory of the other, and the legitimate and acknowledged Government thereof may be unable from any cause to enforce such stipulations or to provide for such safety and security, it shall be obligatory on that Government to seek the aid of the other in

¹ 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 57, Dec. 15, 1859.

maintaining their due execution, as well as order and security, in the territory of that Republic where such violation and discord occur; and in every such special case the expense shall be paid by the treasury of the nation within whose territory such intervention may become necessary; and if discord shall occur on the frontier of the two Republics the authorities of the two Republics nearest the place where the disorder exists shall act in concert and cooperation for the arrest and punishment of criminals who have disturbed the public order and security of either Republic, and for this purpose the parties guilty of these offenses may be arrested within either Republic and delivered over to the authorities of that Republic within which the crime may have been committed; the nature and character of such intervention, as well as the expense thereof, and the manner of arresting and subjecting to punishment the said criminals, shall be determined and regulated by an agreement between the executive branches of the two Governments."

The extraordinary nature of the convention was recognized, and it was justified only as a measure which might prevent serious international complications. Consul Black, hoping it would "turn out best in the end," wrote: "Our country has a solemn duty to perform—to itself, to the world, to the cause of humanity and to that of freedom and human rights—from which it will never shirk."¹ The convention was regarded as the only hope left to the constitutional Government. In urging the ratification by the Senate, McLane said that if the United States should decline the responsibility of the convention, the continuation of anarchy in Mexico would result in direct intervention from some quarter and perhaps expose the United States to the "responsibility of a general war and a conquest that few would desire to undertake or consummate."² If the President could secure ratification and authority to use the naval and military power of the Government in the Gulf and the Pacific to establish the constitutional Government in Mexico and enforce treaty stipulations, he expected the prompt submission of the Miramon Government, which in spite of his assurance of continued neutrality had published a vigorous and offensive protest.³ "When it is ratified," said he, "I can easily dictate terms to the Miramon Government, obtain redress, and pacify this country. If it is rejected, anarchy will be the order of the day, and American influence will cease here."⁴ A month later, desiring to anticipate any possible action of Miramon which might embarrass the situation, he urgently requested authority to adopt a decisive policy and to act as though the treaties had already been ratified. "Let us take the constitutional Govern-

¹ 24 Despatches, Mexico, Dec. 9; and No. 65, Dec. 30, 1859.

² 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 57, Dec. 15, 1859.

³ 24 Despatches, Mexico, No. 63, Dec. 22, 1859.

⁴ 25 Despatches, Mexico, No. 66, Jan. 7, 1860.

ment firmly by the hand," said he.¹ On March 30, impatient with the slowness at Washington and apprehensive of European intervention, he advised withdrawal from all active responsibility and diplomatic intercourse with Mexico in case Congress should fail to sustain the Mexican policy of the administration.² The President, deferring all consideration of withdrawal, was as much disappointed as McLane with the failure of the Senate to approve the treaty and the refusal of Congress to give him power to use military force in Mexico, by which he said "European Governments would have been deprived of all pretext to interfere in the territorial and domestic concerns" of that country and the United States relieved from the obligation of resisting European attempts to deprive a neighboring Republic of portions of her territory.³

Near the close of the summer, in a conference with Cass at Washington, McLane requested authority to make to the European ministers in Mexico some reliable statement of policy which would limit their operations in Mexico and at the same time encourage the Juárez Government and increase the influence of the United States there. Embarrassed by the effect which the failure of the treaty might have on his subsequent influence in Mexico, at a time when England, France, and Spain had given notice of their determination to intervene to restore peace and enforce demands for redress, he suggested that he should confer with the English, French, and Spanish ministers at his own discretion and opportunity in order to advise them that he would use his best offices to facilitate all efforts for the restoration of peace on a fundamental basis of the right of the people of Mexico to establish and regulate their own Government and political destiny, and that the enforcement of demands for redress of wrongs subject to international reparation must not be exercised capriciously as a pretext to change and control the political destiny and institutions of the country.⁴ Secretary Cass, although he saw no necessity for a formal declaration of policy, asserted that any European attempt to extort assent to a new government in Mexico and establish European ascendancy would be met by the United States with armed action—in case Congress should adhere to the policy so long avowed and publicly proclaimed. Assuring McLane that there would be no abandonment of watchfulness of American interests in Mexico, he directed him to return to Vera Cruz without delay, to establish friendly relations with the Juárez Government, to ascertain the objects contemplated by the foreign powers, to give them to

¹ 25 Despatches, Mexico, Private and Confidential, Jan. 21; and No. 68, Jan. 21, 1860. The treaty was submitted to the Senate on Jan. 4, and through some leak it appeared in the *National Intelligencer* of Feb. 18, 1860.

² 25 Despatches, Mexico, No. 72, Mar. 30.

³ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 32, Apr. 28, 1860.

⁴ 26 Despatches, Mexico, Sept. 1, 1860.

understand that the United States would adhere firmly to its policy against foreign intervention, and to be guided by circumstances as they should occur.¹ In the following November McLane reported that the Spanish minister had confirmed previous disavowals of any desire or intention to hold possession of any part of the country or to control its destinies. At the same time stating that President Juárez had steadily resisted all suggestions for signing a supplemental article for extending the time for exchanging ratifications of the treaty, he resigned and recommended the withdrawal of the mission. The President accepted his resignation and approved his course, but continued the mission by the appointment of a successor in the person of John B. Weller, of California.² Before his return, declining an invitation to cooperate with the European powers in favor of mediation, McLane sent Mr. La Reintrie as a special agent on a mission to the interior to deny the allegations that the United States desired a continuance of the Civil War, and to declare both to the Liberals and to foreign representatives the policy of the United States in regard to foreign intervention. In his special communication to the ministers of all foreign powers in Mexico, sent from San Angel (near Mexico City) on December 20, a week before the capture of the capital by the forces of Juárez, La Reintrie made a statement of American policy in which he declared that in case the European powers should interfere with the political independence of the Republic of Mexico, the United States would "to the extent of its power defend the nationality and independence of said Republic"—a declaration to which Seward was unwilling to commit his Government eight months later.³

In the meantime events in the United States rendered improbable any reconsideration of the McLane treaty by the Senate. The secession of South Carolina started a movement which turned public attention to new questions and soon took from the Senate almost all the members who had voted for the treaty.

The sequel to the story of persistent negotiations which terminated in an unratified treaty may be found in the Confederate policy to form an alliance with Mexico or to absorb it, the French policy of intervention in Mexico, and the American policy under Seward to prevent the execution of both Confederate and French policies and to preserve the integrity and independence of Mexico. A month after the formation of the Confederate government at Montgomery, Zarco, the Mexican minister of relations, complained to Weller that there were reasons to suspect that parties were leaving the United States with a purpose of invading either Lower California or Sonora. The

¹ 17 Instructions, Mexico, pp. 306-338, Sept. 20, 1860.

² 26 Despatches, Mexico, Nos. 104 of Nov. 5, and 106 of Nov. 12; 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 42, Nov. 20, 1860.

³ 26 Despatches, Mexico, No. 113, Dec. 21, 1860; House Exec. Doc. 100, 37th Cong., 2d sess., Apr. 14, 1862.

Mexican minister at Washington also complained of the designs of southern filibusters and slavery propagandists.¹ The earlier Mexican policy of the Confederate government is seen in the instructions given to Pickett to sound the Government of Juárez on the subject of alliance, in the filibustering spirit of Pickett's dispatches, and in the mission of Quintero to the governor of the northern Provinces, which were in a state of revolution. Seward, in his instructions to Corwin, as minister to Mexico, declared (Apr. 6) that the new administration had no sympathy with the schemes or designs recently conceived by the southern secessionists to establish a protectorate or other control over part or all of Mexico, and would take proper care to preserve neutrality and to prevent any apprehended attempts at invasion of Mexican territory.² Although he was opposed to the dismemberment of Mexico, he would have been willing to pay a good price for Lower California in order to prevent the Confederates from obtaining it as a base for extending their conquests.³ Seeing that European powers, taking advantage of the efforts of the secessionists to divide the United States, and the inability of Mexico to reorganize herself and pay her debts, might increase American responsibilities by attempting their long threatened intervention in Mexico, Seward doubtless would have been willing (as a preventive measure) to assume the payment of the interest due foreigners on the Mexican funded debt—taking as security a mortgage or pledge upon the public lands of Lower California, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Sinaloa; but many Senators, fearing it might result in annexation, opposed a loan on pledge of territory.⁴

¹ 27 Despatches, Mexico, No. 3, Mar. 18, 1861; Department of State, etc., Notes to Department from Mexican Legation, vol. 9, Apr. 1 and May 4, 1861.

² 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 2, Apr. 6.

³ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 8; 27 Despatches, Mexico, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of May 29, June 29, and July 29, 1861.

⁴ 17 Instructions, Mexico, No. 2; 27 Despatches, Mexico, Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of Aug. and Sep., et seq; 17 Instructions, Mexico, Nos. 49 and 50 of June 7 and 24, 1861.



IX. THE DECISION OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

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By CARL RUSSELL FISH,
Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin.



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In determining the cleavage on questions of dispute which have arisen within the United States, two great factors have been State boundaries and physiographic sections. The first has seldom been without importance; it influenced the division of 1861 all along the line, and nowhere more than in the Ohio Valley. Yet such artificial boundaries could seldom effectually sever communities united by natural bonds, or unite those naturally divided. Fifty years ago they broke forever in West Virginia, and for a time in Kentucky and Missouri. The Civil War might accurately be termed a war between the sections, but not a war between the States.

The sections into which the United States may be divided are without number. The history of every State and every county can be illuminated by a study of the differing characteristics of their several parts, but for a larger view it is necessary to bind these minor atoms into larger units, just so large in fact as the forces of cohesion within, and of repulsion without, can keep separate, distinguishable, and united. The Mississippi Valley obviously is not such a unit; and it is my purpose to set forth that for many purposes the utility of history is best served, not by dividing it into north and south, but by treating the Ohio Valley, excluding for the purposes of this paper the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee, as a section with a life of its own, and the capacity and necessity for making its own decision in the great conflict.

In the basin of the Ohio there lived in 1860 a population with a considerable degree of homogeneity. Throughout the valley, in every State or segment of a State it included, over 90 per cent of the population was of native American stock.¹ The total foreign-born population amounted to only about 350,000, and almost exactly a third of it was concentrated in the two cities of Cincinnati and Louisville.² Everywhere by far the greater number of the inhabitants were born in the State in which they resided, while a great number

¹ Owing to the artificial character of county lines, it is impossible to be precise in thus giving figures for a geographical region, but these are within and close to the truth.

² "Now Kentucky appeals to her great sister States of the West for help. Especially does she appeal to the thousands of her own sons scattered throughout the West in the hour of her peril."—Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Sept. 8, 1861.

² The foreign population of Hamilton County (in which Cincinnati is situated) was 88,917, or 45.71 per cent; of Louisville, 26,120, or 33.73 per cent.

more were born in the valley. About 25,000 residents of Kentucky were born in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; Kentucky had contributed 143,000 to those States, and over 300,000 Ohio born lived in Indiana and Illinois.¹ But the factor of homogeneity rested on more than American and local birth. The great mass of the inhabitants were descended from that composite of Americans, Scotch-Irish, English, and Germans, who congregated in the mountains and the southern piedmont during the middle of the eighteenth century, and who, during the last decades of that century and the early part of the nineteenth, lured by adventure and new lands and pressed forward by the advance of the plantation system, issued from the passes of the Ohio for the conquest of the Middle West. Welded into a decided unity among themselves by the difficulties of their adventure, they were distinguished from the people of the lake region by origin, from those of the South by their dislike of slavery; they were bound to the North by love of free labor, to the South by kinship and tradition.²

There was, moreover, in all this region a certain similarity of condition, involving community of interests. Life was essentially rural. Of towns of over 5,000 there were but 15; of real cities only Cincinnati and Louisville, unless we add Pittsburgh at the river's head.³ Except in the blue-grass region of Kentucky and the Scioto Valley in Ohio, where large estates for grazing purposes were numerous, the great bulk of the population lived on farms of much less than 100 acres,⁴ and the owners lived mostly by the sweat of their own brows. Throughout the whole region the principal products were the same—fat cattle, swine, wheat, corn, oats, and sheep.⁵ In the lowlands on both banks tobacco was an important crop.⁶

¹ The figures for West Virginia would be interesting, but the censuses of both 1860 and 1870 give the figures for both the Virginias.

² F. J. Turner, "Rise of the New West," 67-83, 89-90; L. K. Mathews, "Expansion of New England," 236, map.

³ Seven in Ohio, 4 in Kentucky, 3 in Indiana, and 1 in West Virginia. Louisville had 68,033, Cincinnati 161,044, but with the latter might very well be included Covington and Newport, which, although in Kentucky, were practically its suburbs, making the total 187,561. Only one other town, Dayton, Ohio, had as many as 20,000 (20,081).

⁴ In 1860 the farms in Kentucky of 50 acres or under were 34,187; of 51 to 100 acres, 24,095; over 100, 35,336; in Ohio, 65,737, 66,350, and 41,296, respectively; in Indiana, 61,847, 42,076, and 22,975; in Illinois the proportion was much the same as in Kentucky. Nearly 70 per cent of the large farms (over 500 acres) in Kentucky were in the blue-grass region, and about half of those in Ohio lay in the Scioto Valley. Edgar and Vermilion Counties, in Illinois, belonged to the same class.

⁵ In the production of wheat, corn, oats, sheep, and fat cattle Kentucky ranked with the States north of the Ohio, and the census of 1860 recognized this fact by classing it with them. In the case of swine, Tennessee and Georgia had about equal numbers, but not of the other products, and they were classed with the Southwestern States.

⁶ Most Kentucky tobacco was produced in the western portion of the State, the greater portion in the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee, but also a large amount in that of the Green. Only 2 counties outside of this area produced as much as 2,000,000 pounds. This tobacco area was that in which the secession movement was strongest, 8 out of 13 counties producing over 2,000,000 pounds voting for secession candidates for Congress in 1861, there being only 15 counties so voting.

The main Ohio tobacco district was in the eastern portion of the State, opposite Wheeling.⁶ This district produced almost as much as northern Kentucky. In all, Kentucky produced 55,501,196 pounds; Ohio, 10,454,449; Illinois, 1,044,620; Indiana, 841,394.

The only significant manufactures were milling, tanning, leather, pork packing, distilling, and agricultural machinery, all essentially supplementary to the farm, and these were carried on quite evenly throughout the valley, except for some concentration at Cincinnati, its center.¹ Accumulated capital was everywhere slight, but nearly everywhere existed.²

Two factors disturbed this unity. On the north bank, about Marietta, were the descendants of a compact colony of easterners, with a strong New England element, and middle Ohio and central Indiana were infiltrated with the same strain.³ On the south bank slavery was legal. Of these dividing influences the first may be dismissed for the purposes of this paper, but the second demands discussion.

In the Ohio Valley region of Virginia slavery was scarcely a factor. The slaves numbered less than 10,000,⁴ and the long and bitter political struggle with the eastern section had frayed this tie between the two to the breaking point.⁵ The mountain barrier which Washington had wished to level remained almost intact, and business led westward.

In Kentucky slavery was a more vital factor, there being over 225,000 slaves. They were not, however, evenly diffused. Thirty-two counties out of 109 contained 69 per cent of the total, having an average of almost 5,000. Twenty-eight counties had less than 500 each. The heavily slaveholding counties were divided into two groups. Ten in the southwest were devoted to tobacco culture, and lay for the most part in the valleys of the Tennessee and Cumberland.⁶ The remainder, all but one being contiguous, occupied the Blue Grass. Here, indeed, was a section apart. The richness and peculiar characteristics of the soil made boundaries visible to the eye.⁷

The population was drawn in a great degree from the plantation areas of Virginia, and its civilization was as strongly based on slavery as that of any section of the country. Subtle ties of sentiment and

¹ The number of hands employed in Illinois was 22,968; in Indiana, 20,755; in Kentucky, 21,258; in Ohio, 75,602, of whom 30,268 were in Hamilton County, the proportion to the population, excluding Hamilton County, being, Illinois, 1.53; Indiana, 1.34; Kentucky, 1.93; Ohio, 2.08. There was lumbering very evenly distributed through the region, some production of iron and hemp products in Kentucky, of clothing and beer in Ohio and Kentucky, but for the most part almost every county furnished its share of the total in the case of the main products.

² Kentucky led decidedly in banking capital deposits and loans, the latter item being greater than in the other three States combined. This was undoubtedly an additional force uniting the valley, as Kentucky money was sought and held on the north bank.

³ Mathews, "Expansion of New England," 236, map.

⁴ The number in the Ohio Valley was 9,380.

⁵ C. H. Ambler, "The Cleavage between eastern and western Virginia," in *Am. Hist. Review*, XV, 762-780.

⁶ See note 6, page 156.

⁷ *Cinn. Daily Commercial*, Sept. 23, 1861; *History of Fayette County*, (Chicago, 1882), 19-36; N. S. Shaler, *Kentucky*, 232. He does not, however, go far enough in analyzing the relation of geology to politics.

social custom drew its affections and its sympathies outside the valley. It was not, however, master of its own destinies. To the west and north and east lay Indiana and Ohio. South of the river to the west lay a broad belt where slaves were few, while to the south and east was a mountain country, resembling West Virginia, where slavery scarcely existed.¹ In Kentucky there had been no such long continuing struggle to alienate the two regions as in Virginia, but here, as elsewhere, the mountaineers had little to bind them to their fellow citizens of the State; their loyalty was to the Union, their views those of Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson, and they were less in touch with the gentry of the northern portion than were the Ohio grazers across the river. The Blue Grass could influence the decision of the valley, but it could not decide differently.

While the Blue Grass did not share with the rest of the valley in the common characteristics of stock and social condition, it did share to the full in the third element making for unity—its common life. The limits of this paper do not admit of a discussion of common efforts to utilize the National Government for the local advantage—and other common political life it did not have—but such common activities as remained formed perhaps the determining factor in its fate.

In a community at the economic stage of development which the Ohio Valley had reached in 1860, there is not that complex interdependence, each part supplying the deficiencies of another, which one finds in the same region at the present time. The common interest of all was in finding outside the valley a market for their surplus products and in receiving from the outside those things not produced within. Its common life was therefore commercial.

From this point of view, to a remarkable degree, the interests of each were the interests of all. It is certainly more reasonable to expect that a river will form a bond of union between those living on its banks than a frontier, and especially a river like the Ohio, fed by such navigable tributaries as the Great and Little Kanawha, the Guyandotte, the Sandy and Big Sandy, the Licking, the Kentucky, the Salt, and the Green on one side, and the Muskingum, the Hocking, the Scioto, the Great and Little Miami, and the Wabash and Little Wabash on the other. The greater portion of the whole region was within a day's wagon drive of navigable water.² These tributaries, moreover, were supplemented by railroads running back to the south from Paducah, Henderson, Hawesville, Louisville, Covington, and Ashland, and on the other bank by railroads from Cairo and Mound City, Evansville, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Madison, Lawrenceburg, Cincinnati, Portsmouth, Ironton, Bellaire, Steuben-

¹ On the southwest the Blue Grass was separated from the tobacco region by from 50 to 100 miles.

² History of Union County, Ky. (Evansville, Ind., 1886), 429, etc.

ville, Wellsville, and Rochester,¹ and by canals on the Wabash, the Miami, the Scioto, the Hocking, and the Muskingum.² The first step for nearly every farmer was to get his crops to a port on the great river.³ This process was not so concentrated as in the modern great agricultural communities of Argentina and Australia; there were more local centers, but they were all on or near the Ohio.

To get the goods once collected near the river to market was the next step, and had always been the leading problem of the valley.⁴ At first there had seemed to its inhabitants no doubting of the hand of Providence. As John Jay told Gardoqui in 1780, "The Americans, almost to a man, believed that God Almighty had made that river a highway for the people of the upper country to go to the sea by."⁵ After the completion of the Erie Canal the design seemed less inevitable, and feeble waterways were extended northward to put the valley in touch with the lakes and their new outlet. By 1860 cargoes could thus be shipped by way of the Wabash, the Miami, the Scioto, the Hocking, and the Muskingum.⁶ By that date, however, the railroads had come in, and were rather supplanting than supplementing the canals.⁷ Such routes, multiplied by the heavier network of cross lines in the lake valley, ran from Cairo and Mound City, Evansville, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Madison, Lawrenceburg, Cincinnati, Bellaire, and Wellsville, to Chicago, Michigan City, Toledo, Sandusky, and Cleveland.⁸ In addition to these all-water, or rail and water routes, there had been developed also all-rail routes to the East and Northeast, over the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio.⁹

Three ways, therefore, lay open for the forwarding of the Ohio surplus—southward by the Mississippi, northward to the lakes, and eastward over the mountains. As far as competition of route was concerned the Mississippi was in 1860 almost vanquished.¹⁰ Only tobacco was shipped in any quantities to New Orleans for export. The non-competitive trade of the Mississippi, however, the conveying

¹ Official records of the War of the Rebellion, war atlas, plates CXXXV and CXL.

² Message and reports to the General Assembly and governor of Ohio, 1860, 369-507 (board of public works). Reports of the officers of the State of Indiana, 1861, 374-398 (report of the board of trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal).

³ To avoid this shift was an object much desired. On the proposed restoration of certain locks in Cincinnati, the Ohio board of public works, in 1862, reported: "Among the reasons urged why that part of the canal should be opened to public use, it is stated that coal, coke, and iron (pig and wrought), designed for the interior towns, would be transferred directly from the river to canal boats, on both sides of the Ohio, and a large amount of the fine white wheat of Kentucky would be freighted on the Kentucky side in canal boats and pass directly up the canal." (Ohio ex. docs., 1862, II, 541).

⁴ The river news reported in the newspapers gives a vivid picture of this process.

⁵ F. Wharton, "Diplomatic Correspondence," IV, 135.

⁶ See note 2, above.

⁷ Reports of the officers of the State of Indiana, 1861; Ohio Executive documents, 1860, 439, showing that the bulk of canal traffic was local, and 378 ff.; Ohio Executive documents, 1861, I, 409, showing decline of canal receipts from \$846,788.51 (1851) to \$120,287.23 (1861).

⁸ See note 1, above.

⁹ E. D. Fite, "Social and Economic Conditions during the Civil War," 54-66, 103. Report of the auditor general of Pennsylvania upon railroads (1860).

¹⁰ Census, 1860, agriculture, pp. cliv-clvi.

of Ohio products to southern markets for local consumption was every year increasing.¹ One railroad, the Louisville and Nashville, the only one leaving the valley to the South, prosperously supplemented it. Pork, corn, whisky, cattle, and horses found ready sale, and thus furnished the farmer an increasing amount of his profits.²

To the North and East went products destined for the European and northern markets; the bulk of the wheat, a larger part of the cattle, both live and packed, less of the whisky, and some tobacco. The increase here had been for some years more rapid than in the other direction, and especially the European market was improving.³

On the other side of the farmers' budget stood those goods he must import from the outside. Here the share of the Mississippi was much less important. Coffee seems to have been the only important foreign product to arrive chiefly by way of New Orleans,⁴ while sugar and molasses were the only southern articles in extensive use.⁵ The great bulk came in over the northern railroads or down the Ohio from the factories of old and New England, and the mines and foundries of Pennsylvania, and were dispersed from central points, particularly from Cincinnati,⁶ which with its Kentucky suburbs was the most populous community west of the mountains,⁷ and was becoming more and more the mart for imported goods throughout the valley.

Another commercial factor, infinitely less important, but worth consideration, was that the valley was to a certain extent a highway used by the surrounding sections in making their exchanges, and took its profit therefrom. The railroad connecting St. Louis with the East counted in this connection but less than the exchanges made by means of the river. Over this thoroughfare came the coal and iron produced in the upper valley and in Pennsylvania for the South,⁸ and cotton from the South for the northern mills. In the seasons when the river was best navigable Memphis shipped more cotton to

¹ Cincinnati Daily Gazette, June 27, 1861. The great bulk of the fine tobacco, packed in bags, bales, and kegs, was shipped to New Orleans; about seven times as much as went to Cincinnati, or apparently most of that from western Kentucky. That in bales went, for the most part, to Cincinnati.

² Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, and Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, *passim*; Census, 1860, agriculture, p. clvii; Memphis Weekly Avalanche, *passim*. There was a regular packet line between Memphis and Cincinnati, and products from the north bank regularly found their way via Evansville and New Albany to the Louisville and Nashville, and thence farther south.

R. Deering, Louisville (1859), 92, on the Louisville and Nashville R. R.

³ Census, 1860, agriculture, pp. cxli-cxlviii; Ohio Executive documents, 1861, 509; Cincinnati Daily Commercial, June 21, Sept. 14, 1861, and *passim*.

⁴ Cincinnati Daily Gazette, June 11, June 27, July 18, July 30, 1861, and weekly trade reports show that the closing of the Mississippi caused the coffee imports by rail of Cincinnati to increase and of St. Louis to more than double.

⁵ Weekly trade reports of Cincinnati Daily Commercial, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, *passim*.

⁶ Cist, "Sketch and statistics of Cincinnati" (1859), 346; G. H. Thurston, "Pittsburgh as it is" (1857) 145; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, July 22, 1861, and *passim*.

⁷ The population of New Orleans was 168,000; of Cincinnati with Covington and Newport, 187,561.

⁸ S. H. Thurston, "Pittsburgh as it is," 145.

the Ohio Valley, to Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, mainly for transshipment north, than to New Orleans.¹

No division of the country could fail to injure the valley and cause a trying readjustment of its life. Owing to the overextensive railroad building of the fifties, practically the whole of its produce could have been carried off to the North,² but the North could not take the place of the southern market. The Mississippi might, in a pinch, have carried it off to the South, but that invoked the loss of the still greater northern market, and New Orleans with the long and irregular river trip and its climate was a poor export point for food stuffs. In either case the transit trade vanished. No section, except New England, had its livelihood so closely bound up in the preservation of the Union entire;³ and here the fact that in case of division it would occupy the exposed position of the frontier was an added argument of tremendous weight.⁴

That in case of division it would adhere to the North was scarcely less obvious. The larger population was on the north bank, the northern market was the larger, and outside supplies came chiefly from the North. It was a simple thing to send the coffee ships to New York instead of New Orleans, and one could survive more comfortably without sugar and molasses than without clothes. No statesman, however, could have foreseen how favorably the adjustment was to be made,⁵ the northern army taking and paying for a

¹ Memphis Weekly Avalanche, April to August, 1860, passim; Cincinnati Enquirer, May 30, 1861, giving rates on cotton to Pittsburgh; Thurston, "Pittsburgh as it is," 138; cotton was also brought north by the Louisville & Nashville; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, July 6, 1861; Report of chief of bureau of statistics, 1884, p. xlv; apparently sugar and molasses were not shipped through in any quantities; Ohio Executive documents, 1860, 446 ff, showing that they were shipped into the interior from Cleveland.

² Census, 1860, agriculture, pp. cxliv-cxlix.

³ Cincinnati Daily Gazette, June 21, 1861. Editorial on the Mississippi Valley: "It is enough to say that the Valley of the Mississippi must be under one Government, cost what it may." "There is no alternative but to bring the whole Mississippi under the National Government and make the law of commerce throughout the whole valley equal and uniform."

Allen Johnson, "Douglas," 481, Douglas at Bellaire: "If we recognize the right of secession in one case we give our assent to it in all cases, and if the few States upon the Gulf are now to separate themselves from us and erect a barrier across the mouth of that great river of which the Ohio is a tributary how long will it be before New York may come to the conclusion that she may set up for herself and levy taxes upon every dollar's worth of goods imported and consumed in the Northwest, taxes upon every bushel of wheat, and every pound of pork, or beef, or other production that may be sent from the Northwest to the Atlantic in search of a market?" Also, id., 434. Douglas at Springfield: "Hence if a war does come it is a war of self-defense upon our part . . . in defense of those great rights of freedom of trade, commerce, transit, and intercourse from the center to the circumference of our great continent."

Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, Aug. 18, 1862. Report of Democratic mass meeting at Philadelphia.

⁴ Cincinnati Daily Gazette, June 13, 1861, Douglas's speech at Chicago; this was widely quoted. Also, id., July 6, speech of J. T. Boyle, in Jessamine County, Ky., on June 17, 1861. Joseph Holt "To the people of Kentucky," July 13, 1861; introductory letter to J. F. Speed, dated May 31, 1861.

⁵ Already on June 22, 1861, the Cincinnati Daily Gazette remarked: "The fact is, trade is being adapted to the new order of things, and the current of business is beginning to flow in the new channels that the necessities of commerce are cutting for it." As a matter of fact, the southern market for provisions was not completely cut off until Sept., 1861, being carried on by way of Columbus, Ky., and Memphis, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, July 17, Sept. 18; from Evansville up the Kentucky River, id., Sept. 14; and over the Louisville & Nashville, id., May 30, June 3, 4, 14, July 5, 6, Aug. 19, etc. Communication was not cut off

large part of the valley produce,¹ while a succession of poor European crops gave rise to a demand equal to that of the lost southern market.²

That the whole valley would follow these fundamental interests seems never to have been open to reasonable doubt. In the election of 1860 a majority voted for the compromise candidates, Bell and Douglas.³ Their followers, predominant in the Kentucky and Illinois sections, and very evenly dividing the rest of the valley, wanted union and they wanted peace, and were unwilling to confront the possibility that the two were incompatible. Of their opponents, the Republicans carried eastern Ohio and middle Indiana, where the New England element was strong, and subsequent events proved that while insistent on a program, they were equally insistent on the Union. Breckinridge carried West Virginia, but the secession of Virginia out of the Union and the secession of West Virginia out of Virginia into the Union were practically simultaneous. It is plain that the voters had not supported Breckinridge as a secessionist candidate, but as the regular Democratic nominee in succession to Jackson, and for local reasons, and were as decidedly unionist as the supporters of Douglas and perhaps more so than those of Bell. Neither can the Kentucky vote for Breckinridge be taken as synonymous with a vote for secession. His party in that State was composed of three elements, and his support lay in three regions.

In the west, in the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee, and the region where tobacco growing was most important, his supporters were in a large majority. Here there was practically no hesitation after division actually declared itself. Sentiment was decidedly in favor of the South, the population wished not neutrality but secession, and in the September elections for Congress 8 of the 12 counties that voted for Breckinridge voted for secession, together with 2 Bell counties. The total vote for secessionist candidates was considerably greater than that for Breckinridge.⁴

entirely until later, *id.*, Sept 28, 1861. This trade was in spite of the Federal embargo, *id.*, May 30, June 12, 14, 19, 26, July 2, 5, 6, and was apparently more active than was usual at that season, *id.*, June 19. The southern embargo on cotton seemed to have been better enforced, *id.*, July 2. Louisville is referred to, *ibid.*, as the "provident housewife of the bogus Confederacy." Tobacco began to find its way north more than before, *id.*, June 1, 11, 14, 27, July 2, Aug. 20, etc.; but the growers evidently did not expect that the new course of trade would be satisfactory, as the planting was much reduced, *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 5, 1861. Whisky became a drug on the market, *id.*, June 29, 1861. The anticipatory southern demands for provisions seem to have caused the temporary blocking of the Baltimore & Ohio to have been less felt than might have been the case, *id.*, June 20, 26, Aug. 1, 1861, and the check to the westward movement of merchandise, owing to the uncertainties of the situation, operated in the same direction, *id.*, Aug. 1, 1861.

¹ Already in July the demands of the army began to make up for the southern market for Cincinnati's great clothing industry, *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 17, 1861.

² *Id.*, June 6, 1861; Fite, "Social and Economic Conditions during the Civil War," 17-21.

³ In Kentucky they had almost 40,000 majority; in Illinois Douglas carried the Ohio region by an overwhelming vote; in the Ohio districts of Indiana, Ohio, and Virginia the vote was close, the radical parties winning, *Tribune Almanac*.

⁴ This sentiment crossed the river into southern Illinois, *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 7, 1861, and many other references. The Kentucky western tobacco region was almost precisely that occupied by the Confederates, *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, September 20, 27, 1861.

In the extreme east, he had carried by far the greater portion of the mountain region, receiving majorities in 21 contiguous counties and 2 others. The Breckinridge Democrats here, however, were as little secessionists as those of West Virginia, and there should have been little doubt of their following the action of that district. This whole region had in fact in 1859 voted for the congressional candidates supposed best to embody union principles,¹ and their vote for Breckinridge should certainly not now have been taken to indicate a change of heart on that question. It may have been, however, that the secessionist leaders at Frankfort continued to hope that in the absence of such disruptive local animosities as in West Virginia they might manipulate this population, always rather inarticulate, until in the elections of August and September it expressed its attitude in its wonted medium, action, and voted overwhelmingly for union, the secessionist candidates for Congress carrying only 1 of Breckinridge's 23 counties, and that probably for some local or personal reason.²

In the Blue Grass, Breckinridge carried 14 counties, and here there was the greatest amount of debate and actual hesitation. No region, not even the bay district of Maryland, was so torn within itself, for, on the one hand, love for the Constitution and the traditions of the Union were stronger than there, while, on the other, until east Kentucky had spoken, the physical possibility of secession seemed greater. On one side stood its sympathy with southern institutions; on the other, its fear, strongest in the greater slave owners, of the dangers of a frontier position.³ Here the Breckinridge supporters undoubtedly wished for secession, but the force of argument and the stress of circumstances were against them. By the time of the summer elections the balance had swung to union, and the secession candidates for Congress carried only 4 of Breckinridge's 14 counties.

While, therefore, there was a majority in the valley for peace, there was an even larger majority for union, and when the action of other sections made peace and union impossible, it was inevitable that the decision should be for union at the expense of war, rather than for peace at the expense of separation.

It was at this time that the influence of State lines became a factor. The north bank was probably hurried to its decision by the lake region, which divided and for the time dominated each State, though it could not, of course, have been coerced. Kentucky, with its secessionist west and with its richest and most intellectually fruitful though

¹ Figures from *Tribune Almanac*.

² See Shaler, "Kentucky," 252-258.

³ Joseph Holt, "To the people of Kentucky," July 13, 1861, and letter to J. F. Speed, May 31, 1861, *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, May 31, 1861.

not politically dominant section in the throes of making its decision between inclination and manifest destiny, logically halted for a time in the intermediate position of neutrality.¹ I find my judgment, that this was a stage of progress and not of dubiety, however, confirmed by the fact that the Cincinnati discount rate on Kentucky bank notes, while those of Wisconsin fell 60 points, never went below $2\frac{1}{2}$, and rose steadily after May 1. standing at times even better than that on New England banks.²

Of the causes which have rendered the Ohio somewhat more of a dividing line since the war than it was before, in spite of the harmonizing of its institutions by the abolition of slavery, I can not treat. What I have aimed at is to prove the utility of considering the valley at the opening of the war as a unit, and to suggest that for the whole period before the war the Ohio Valley is a pregnant term with which to conjure.

¹ A study of the actual working of Kentucky neutrality would prove extremely interesting.

² May 29 and 30, 1861, Kentucky currency went down to $2-2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent discount, but it rapidly improved, and in July stood at three-fourths per cent; in August it improved to almost par, but in the critical days of early September it went down to one-half per cent, rising to one-fourth per cent on Sept. 26, Cincinnati Daily Commercial.

X. NORTH CAROLINA ON THE EVE OF SECESSION.

By WILLIAM K. BOYD,
Professor of History in Trinity College, Durham, N. C.



NORTH CAROLINA ON THE EVE OF SECESSION.

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In the great drama of 1860-61 North Carolina had no leading part like that of South Carolina or the far South. The last State except one to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1789, it was also the last except one to join the Confederacy. But a study of conditions within its borders on the eve of secession has a value far greater than this relative place in the movement might suggest. In fact, North Carolina illustrates some phases of southern life too often lost sight of in discussions of sectional issues. To what extent these conditions existed elsewhere and their place in the history of secession are worthy of inquiry, for southern society before 1860 did not conform to one type of thought or action. Secession itself was the result of years of conflict on the hustings, in the press, and in economic development.

The first of the forces which shaped the attitude of North Carolina toward secession was its social structure. In early days the colony was a refuge for men of small means who sought to improve their fortunes, and in 1860 the small planter was still the chief factor in industrial life.

There was also a distinct lack of unity in feeling or action among the people; rarely indeed did they rally as one man in any common cause. This was due in part to diversity of racial origins, but much more to sectional influences. River courses and natural elevations of the land produced geographical divisions so distinct that intercourse between them was exceedingly difficult, and the cities of South Carolina and Virginia were for years more important commercial centers for North Carolina than the towns within the State. This sectionalism of nature had also a political character. Up to 1835 the counties east of Raleigh, by virtue of their number, held the balance of power in the legislature, while those to the west had greater resources and grew more rapidly in population. Long after reforms in representation were made the sectional feeling continued and was a potent influence in politics.

Interacting with sectionalism was the industrial organization. The slave system and its attendant products were never extensively

developed except in a group of middle eastern counties. In fact, less than 28 per cent of the families in 1860 held slaves, while the average number of slaves held was 9.6. In strong contrast to the slave-owning class were the nonslaveholders. Their industries included, besides agriculture, two classes of manufacturing: One, factories in which North Carolina ranked next to Virginia and Georgia; the other, domestic arts and hand trades. These latter industries were important because they enabled each plantation or community to be in a large degree economically self-sufficient. The story of the vast number of nonslaveholding whites in the South, their origin, occupations, opinions, and influence, is as yet unwritten. In North Carolina they always had a considerable influence, and by 1860 their protest against certain inequalities produced by the slave system was well under way. Their attitude toward secession has been well stated in the words of Senator Vance: "Seven-tenths of our people owned no slaves at all, and to say the least of it, felt no great and enduring enthusiasm for its [slavery's] preservation, especially when it seemed to them that it was in no danger."¹

These underlying social conditions—the prevalence of men of moderate means, sectional influences, and the existence of a large nonslaveholding class—were the basis for certain well-defined political characteristics. There was a variety of opinion on every public question, and conservatism was usually nothing more than a failure to unite on one common opinion or program of progress. There was also a prejudice against ideas or movements of alien origin, which along with isolation gave rise to provincialism.

The attitude toward Federal relations was accordingly strongly particularistic. Expediency rather than patriotism or a national ideal caused the ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1789, and strong States-rights views predominated among all parties and leaders of the early days. Federalism itself was very conservative toward the growth of national powers. Its leaders looked to Madison rather than to Hamilton in organizing the machinery of the central Government. Dissatisfied with the proposed assumption of State debts by the Federal Government, the lower house of the legislature, in 1790, refused to take the oath to support the Constitution which had been prescribed by Congress. In the same year the State court of equity refused to obey a writ of certiorari, calling a case before the Supreme Court of the United States, and the legislature passed a vote of thanks to the judges.² Also, the first States-rights opinion emanating from the Supreme Court was that of Iredell, a North Carolina Federalist, in the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia*. But

¹ Quoted from J. A. Sloan, "North Carolina in the war between the States," 105.

² See H. M. Wagstaff, "State rights and political parties in North Carolina" (Johns Hopkins Studies, Series XXIV), 32-33.

at the crisis raised by the alien and sedition laws, a fear that the Union was in danger and a desire for conciliation prevailed over any manifestations of political theories.¹

The nature of the union was not seriously in question again until the controversy over the tariff and nullification. In 1827 the legislature resolved that any increase in the tariff was inexpedient and that "whenever a system is adopted by the General Government which does not equally conserve the interests of all, then the right rests with any State or States to question whether the benefits of the union are not more than counterbalanced by its evils." This manifesto against the tariff was of course ineffectual, and by 1830 it was evident that South Carolina would attempt nullification. The people at large were unprepared to indorse such a radical measure and censured it in many public meetings. But in the legislature of 1830 a strong States-rights faction dominated the senate and rejected resolutions condemning nullification which had passed the house. Two years later, in 1832, as a compromise, both the tariff and nullification were formally censured by the legislature as unconstitutional.² This action on nullification is significant for two reasons: First, Nathaniel Macon, for years the leader of the old Jeffersonian Democracy, in a letter to a friend definitely expressed his belief in the right of secession. "I have never believed a State could nullify and stay in the Union," he said, "but have always believed that a State might secede when she pleased, provided she would pay her proportion of the public debt; and this right I have considered the best safeguard to public liberty and to public justice that could be desired."³ The nullification debates are also interesting because those who sympathized with South Carolina in 1832 and lived until 1860 favored secession.

In strong contrast to the particularistic spirit of the early days were the policies of the Whig party, which controlled the State administration from 1836 to 1850. Nowhere did the old-line Whigs of the South leave a finer record than in North Carolina. Broad, constructive ideas and cooperation with the ideals of other sections of the country characterized their leaders. Public schools and State aid to railways at home, the recharter of the second bank of the United States, internal improvements, and a protective tariff by the Federal Government were typical measures advocated by the party. While there were strong States-rights elements in its membership, its most influential leaders regarded the Federal Constitution as something more than a compact among States—rather as the charter of an indestructible union, by which the American people were to be guided through all time. The rise of this new

¹ Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, 36-37.

² Wagstaff, *op. cit.*, 49-54.

³ W. E. Dodd, "Life of Macon," 385.

party coincided with local sectional conditions. In contrast to the cotton States the Whigs were most popular in the counties where slavery and its industries did not predominate; these included the western part of the State, a portion of the central region, and the marshy swamp country along the coast. The reason for this popularity was the Whig program of progress, these sections needing internal improvements by State aid. The strength of the Democrats, on the other hand, lay in those counties where slavery, cotton, and tobacco produced a settled, unchanging economic system. It was therefore good policy for each party to choose its candidates in State campaigns from the section in which it was numerically the weaker. Thus an eastern Whig was often nominated for governor to oppose a western Democrat. The custom passed over to the slavery debates, the proslavery leadership in the legislature being frequently given to a western Democrat.

Such were the underlying social and political conditions in North Carolina when the national controversy over slavery extension was revived, after the Mexican war. Just at that time the supremacy of the Whigs began to wane. In that decline the slavery issue was an important factor, for it caused a serious division of opinion. In the legislature of 1848-49 W. L. Steele, a Whig from the South Carolina line, introduced resolutions in the lower house to the effect that the Territories belonged to the States; that the General Government as the agent of the States could make no laws destructive of the equal rights of the States in the Territories; and that to deprive a citizen of his right to emigrate with his slaves would be unconstitutional. These were almost identical with resolutions which Calhoun had introduced in the Senate of the United States.¹ They at once aroused much discussion, which extended beyond legislative halls. Mr. Badger, the ablest constitutional lawyer among the Whigs, had previously declared that Congress had full jurisdiction over slavery in the Territories. Mr. Clingman, Whig Congressman from the mountain district, was now appealed to by members of the legislature and replied that the Wilmot proviso was a violation of the Constitution which would justify resistance by all means in the power of the South.² In the end the conservative influence was strong enough to force through substitute resolutions, which admitted the main contention, but suggested that the Missouri compromise line be extended into the Territories acquired from Mexico to settle existing controversies, and deprecated any attempt to dissolve the Union.³

¹ House Journal (North Carolina), Nov. 27; Raleigh Standard, Nov. 27, 1848.

² Raleigh Register, Feb. 3, 1849. See also Clingman's letter to Foote, *Speeches and Writings of T. L. Clingman*, p. 231.

³ *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49*, p. 237.

Thus in 1848-49 a cleavage was begun among the Whigs on the subject of slavery. The next year the Democrats carried the State elections on the issue of manhood suffrage in the choice of State senators. On the Democracy lay the duty of shaping the State's policy toward the slavery problem. The compromise of 1850 had just been passed when the legislature met in November. The abolitionists of the North were lifting their voices against the fugitive-slave law, while the radicals at the South proposed to repudiate the entire compromise even at the cost of secession. A joint committee on slavery was appointed. Its report advised acquiescence in the compromise of 1850, but retaliation in the future if slavery in the District of Columbia or the interstate slave trade were restricted, the fugitive-slave law changed, or a slave State refused admission to the Union, and recommended an ad valorem tax on merchandise imported from the nonslaveholding States to offset the agitation against the fugitive-slave law. The minority of the committee recommended a manifesto defending the right of secession, to be added to these resolutions.¹ The center of debate on these reports was the senate, for there the margin between the Whigs and Democrats was very small. In the end resolves of the minority, looking toward secession, were rejected and those of the majority were considerably revised in the interest of conservatism.² This was due to a division among the Democrats, a sane, sensible group joining with the Whigs to adopt the revised resolutions.³ As radicalism was checked in the senate the fight in the house was dropped. Thus early was the Democracy, as well as Whiggery, divided into radical and conservative factions.

The right of secession, rejected in the legislature, was presented to the people in the congressional campaigns of 1851. In the third district George W. Caldwell, Democrat, elaborated and defended the right of withdrawal from the Union, while his Whig opponent, Alfred Dockery, went so far as to declare that if South Carolina or even North Carolina should attempt secession he would vote for an appropriation to keep the offending State within the Union.⁴ Likewise, in the eighth district, Edward Stanley took a similar position while opposing Thomas Ruffin, a secession Democrat.⁵ In the mountain district Clingman, a Whig with a secession bias, was opposed by B. S. Gaither, a Union Whig, and made conciliatory explanations of his previous radical speeches. The result was that

¹ House Docs. 54 and 55 in North Carolina legislature. Doc. of 1850-51.

² Standard, Jan. 15, proceedings of the legislature, and Senate doc. 95 in North Carolina Leg. Docs. of 1850-51.

³ It is interesting to note that the leader of the conservative Democrats was W. N. Edwards, speaker of the senate, and, in 1861, president of the secession convention.

⁴ Standard, June 28 and July 5, 1851.

⁵ Standard, July 16, 1851.

the Whigs, although they had lost the State elections of the previous year, carried five of the nine congressional districts.¹

Thus secession as a remedy for the South was repudiated in the legislature and rebuked by the people. But a strong, active State-rights minority had appeared during the controversy. Its leaders were ready to insist at all times on the full southern position in regard to slavery and to recommend secession as a right, if not a practical remedy. The story of secession in North Carolina is really the process by which this minority kept its idea before the public and by which the logic of events reenforced argument until an inevitable choice between the Union or the Confederacy was forced upon the people in 1861.

The radical spirit next asserted itself during the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Equal rights in the Union or independence out of it was the ultimatum of the Raleigh Standard, the leading Democratic journal; but radical resolutions in the legislature of 1854 were defeated.² In the campaign of 1856, however, the extremists made considerable headway in popular agitation. The Standard declared that the Union could not survive the election of Fremont, and Clingman, who had left the Whig Party in 1852, advised resistance in the case of a Republican victory.³ To what extent public feeling was aroused is well illustrated by the case of Prof. Benjamin Hedrick, of the State University. A North Carolinian, a graduate of the university, he had studied at Harvard, and had returned to his alma mater as professor of chemistry. His early impressions of the evils of slavery were strengthened by his residence in the North. During the presidential campaign he stated, in reply to a direct question, that he expected to vote for Fremont. This information spread from the college community to the newspapers. The Raleigh Standard declared that the schools of the State should be purged of black Republicans. Against advice, Prof. Hedrick published a statement of his antislavery views. Thereupon the students burned him in effigy, the faculty passed resolutions repudiating the heresy among them, and the executive committee of the trustees met and declared his power of service at an end. As Mr. Hedrick did not resign, and the attacks in the newspapers continued, the executive committee in a second meeting declared his chair vacant. A few days later Prof. Hedrick visited Salisbury to attend an educational convention. His presence became known; a mob collected, burned his effigy before his eyes, and forced him to leave town.⁴

¹ The districts carried were the second, third, fourth, eighth, and ninth.

² Standard, Nov. 15, 1854; House Journal, 1853-54, pp. 59, 290.

³ Standard, Oct. 4; Fayetteville Observer, Oct. 18, 1856.

⁴ For a biographical sketch of Mr. Hedrick see J. S. Bassett, "Antislavery leaders of North Carolina." (Johns Hopkins Studies, Ser. XVI, no. 6). The documents bearing on his relations with the university may be found in the James Sprunt Historical Publication for January, 1911.

While the excitement over Prof. Hedrick was at its height, another event attracted the attention of the public. This was the visit of Gov. Wise, of Virginia, and Gov. Adams, of South Carolina, to Raleigh on October 13. Gov. Jenkins, of Georgia, was expected but did not come. The aim of this meeting of governors was officially announced to be a visit to the State fair; but the gentlemen left Raleigh before the fair opened. According to well-established tradition they were invited to North Carolina to consult with Gov. Bragg about plans for action in case Fremont was elected. What agreement, if any, was reached is not known. The irony of history is that Fremont, the persona non grata in all this excitement, had been mentioned as a presidential possibility for the Democracy in 1855 by F. P. Blair, who suggested that a Fremont boom be launched in North Carolina.¹

Three years later the radical spirit made still greater headway among the people. The John Brown raid at Harpers Ferry aroused a feeling of resistance. The existing military organizations offered their services to Gov. Wise, of Virginia, and new ones were formed. The council of state, the advisory body of the governor, adopted resolutions which threatened secession unless slave property was better protected. The radical spirit was active for months after the death of Brown in the arrest of suspected abolitionists, and the inspection of the mails to detect antislavery literature. The use of Helper's "Impending Crisis" in the campaign of 1860 made the book ubiquitous in North Carolina and to own a copy was virtually a political crime.²

But slavery and State rights were not the only questions before the Democratic Party from 1850 to 1860, and no discussion of secession would be complete without mention of two issues, primarily domestic, which diverted attention from the national slavery controversy. First of these was that of public lands in the West. In 1852 Henry Bennett, of New York, introduced into Congress a bill which proposed to distribute the remaining public lands among the States to be used for internal improvements and other local needs. This was a Whig measure, but it appealed to the southern Democrats for two reasons: First, it allowed the slave States to profit by the western expansion of the nation; and second, the proceeds from the lands might be used to reduce the State debts incurred by the construction of railways and other works of progress. Consequently, in the congressional election of 1853 the distribution issue was raised in North Carolina by three Democrats who bolted party lines. In the third district Duncan McRae, who announced himself as an independent candidate favoring the measure, was eliminated by an appointment as consul to Paris. Immediately his place was taken by W. F. Leak, who opposed William S. Ashe, the regular Democratic nominee. In

¹ Letter of Blair to Bedford Brown, of North Carolina. Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Ser. VI, p. 86.

² Standard, passim.

the second district W. C. Loftin adopted distribution and opposed Thomas Ruffin, regular Democrat. In both these districts the regular candidates were elected, but in the seventh district, where a large Whig constituency existed, the division of Democrats (A. W. Venable favoring and A. M. Lewis opposing distribution), enabled the Whigs to elect Sion H. Rogers.¹ Later, in 1858, distribution became a State-wide problem. Mr. McRae, who had returned from Paris, announced himself as independent candidate for governor on the issue. The Whigs, who had abandoned their party organization in 1856, made no nomination, and the Raleigh Register, their principal organ, advised all Whigs to support McRae in preference to Ellis, the Democratic candidate. Mr. McRae, however, failed to swing the Whig vote, and in his debates with Mr. Ellis he was outgeneraled, and so he was defeated by a large vote.²

No sooner was distribution of public lands disposed of than another question threatened the supremacy of the Democratic party. This was the inequality in the revenue system. By the constitution of 1835 slaves were taxed as polls only, with the exemption of all under 12 and over 50. The unit of the poll tax was the land tax on 300 acres. Two inequalities resulted: First, a discrimination against the landholders, for the landed property in 1859 was valued at less than the slave property, but yielded a larger revenue. Thus the men of small means were not encouraged to buy land or increase their real estate. The second discrimination was against the mechanics. Their tools and implements were taxed \$10 per thousand, while on the mature slave, worth at least \$1,000, the poll tax was only 50 cents. Here was an issue which might arraign the nonslaveholding class against the slave owners. It was raised in 1858 by Moses A. Bledsoe, of Raleigh, who introduced a resolution in the State senate looking to the ad valorem taxation of all property, including land and slaves. The resolution was followed by bills for an amendment to the constitution, but they failed. Defeated in the legislature, Mr. Bledsoe turned to agitation. He organized the Raleigh Workingmen's Association, the aim of which was to secure revenue reform. As the strength of the Democracy lay in the large slaveholding counties, there was no hope for ad valorem in the dominant party. But the counties where slavery was not the exclusive basis of industry had always been Whig by tradition. So in 1860 the Whigs revived

¹ For details of the campaign see the Raleigh Standard for July and August, 1853. Two newspapers supported the independent Democrats. These were the Democratic Free Press, of Wilmington, and the North Carolina Statesman, of Raleigh. Edward Cantwell was the editor of the latter, and was perhaps connected with the Wilmington paper. I have not been able to find any copies of either paper.

² In the 1858 campaign W. F. Leake announced himself an independent candidate for governor, but withdrew in favor of McRae, Wilmington Journal, Jan. 22, 1858. McRae's letter announcing his candidacy is given in the Standard, Feb. 3, 1858. During the campaign McRae and Ellis had a personal encounter at Beaufort. An interesting phase of the distribution movement was the argument that it was more important than the slavery issue, Standard, Jan. 27, 1858.

their party organization, adopted the ad valorem issue, and nominated a candidate for governor. The campaign was a vigorous one. The friends of ad valorem had the better of the argument, but two influences defeated them. One was their failure to provide for the exemption of any property, so that the Democrats claimed that tin cups, crockery, and household goods would be taxed in detail, and thus ridiculed the ad valorem issue; the other influence against the Whigs was the strength which the national campaign gave the Democracy. Democratic defeat, it was claimed, would weaken the unity of the South at the time of greatest peril. But the majority of Ellis, the Democratic candidate, in August, 1860, was 10,000 less than in 1858, though the vote polled was unusually large. History should not be made the basis of prophecy of what might have been; nevertheless one can not but see in the ad valorem campaign the beginning of a revolt against slavery as a political and an economic influence, a movement among the people which was contemporary with the radicalism of Helper's "Impending Crisis."¹

While the issues of public lands and ad valorem were agitating the Democracy, a serious factional cleavage developed. The most effective leader in the party was William W. Holden, editor of the Raleigh Standard. To him more than any other one man was due the supremacy over the Whigs. But he was a man of the people and had little in common with the more aristocratic leaders of his party. In 1858 he was candidate for the nomination for governor. Undoubtedly he was the choice of the rank and file, but in the party convention he was defeated by John W. Ellis, a representative of the slaveholding aristocracy. Mr. Holden accepted his defeat gracefully. But soon he became a candidate for the United States Senate. Again he was defeated. The bitterness of this personal rivalry spread to the rank and file, and there were intimations of the organization of a new party. The rupture between Mr. Holden and the other leaders had a direct bearing on the secession movement. His rivals were men of extreme States' rights views. He himself had openly defended the doctrine of secession. But from 1858 to 1860 his radicalism became less pronounced, and after the Charleston convention he allied himself with the conservative members of his party and resisted with all his might the tide of secession.²

Thus, on the eve of the presidential election of 1860, the supremacy of the Democratic Party, which had dominated North Carolina for 10 years, was threatened by factionalism, by the rise of new issues,, and by the revival of the Whig organization. The presidential campaign emphasized another serious danger to the party's unity namely, the division between the radical States'-rights Democrats,

¹ See "Ad valorem slave taxation in North Carolina" (Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, series V) and Wagstaff, "State rights and political parties in North Carolina," 109-113.)

² See "The Democratic convention of 1858," in Charlotte Observer, May 3, 1908.

who were in sympathy with the influences which led to secession, and the Union Democrats, who believed in the constitutional right of secession, but opposed its application.

The first event which revealed this phase of party crisis was the Democratic convention at Charleston. The North Carolina delegation, in which the Union Democrats had a majority, was one of the determining influences in that historic meeting. It was the hope of Mr. Yancey and his followers to win the border States to their program. They therefore gave the chairmanship of the committee on platform to W. W. Avery, a radical States'-Rights Democrat of North Carolina. But the Union delegates refused to take any part officially in any of the caucuses held by the cotton States leaders. When the debate on the platform was held the delegation as a whole was in sympathy with neither the northern Democrats nor those of the far South, but favored simply the reaffirmation of the Cincinnati platform of 1856. When it was evident that the minority platform would be adopted, the protest of two North Carolina delegates caused the rejection of a clause referring the question of slavery in Territories to the Supreme Court. When the report as a whole was finally passed, the North Carolinians refused to follow the cotton States in withdrawing from the convention. This action preserved the party organization, for, if North Carolina had withdrawn, Virginia, Tennessee, and the border States would have followed, and the Democratic party would have disintegrated.¹

One result of the Charleston convention was to strengthen the feeling in favor of Douglas in North Carolina. Four of the ten electors expressed themselves favorable to his nomination between the Charleston and the Baltimore conventions, while the Standard was outspoken for him.² Mr. Douglas also had personal ties with leading Democrats of the State.³ But the events at Baltimore checked the Douglas sentiment. All of the North Carolina delegates except three withdrew from the convention, and only one of these took any part in its further work. Still, there was some hope for Douglas. Two of the electors resigned from the Breckinridge ticket and accepted similar positions on the Douglas ticket. There was also a demand, evidently by the friends of Douglas, that a party convention be called in the State to decide for whom the electors should vote.⁴ The State executive committee met to consider this demand, but decided not to call the convention.⁵ Thereupon the Standard proposed that the electors vote for either Breckinridge or Douglas, according to the

¹ Standard, May 9, 1860; for experiences of Mr. Holden at Charleston, see also "Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society," series III, pp. 59-62.

² These electors were A. M. Scales, J. R. McLean, Thomas W. Keen, and Ed. G. Haywood. Standard, June 13, 1860 (account of meeting in Rockingham County).

³ Mr. Douglas's wife by his first marriage was Miss Martin, a member of a North Carolina family very prominent in State politics.

⁴ Thomas W. Keen and Henry Miller were the electors who resigned, Standard, *passim*.

⁵ Standard, July 11, 1860.

chances of either to defeat Lincoln.¹ But as time passed the feeling grew that Breckinridge was the stronger of the two Democratic candidates. Thereupon a group of Douglas men called a State convention at Raleigh, put up electors, and started a campaign newspaper.² Forced to decide between Douglas and Breckinridge, the Standard turned to the latter. The Douglas campaign was ineffective, his vote in the State less than 3,000.

In contrast to the division and uncertainty among the Democrats was the sense of patriotism among the Whigs. The appeal to the Union and the Constitution struck a responsive chord among the people, and the large Whig vote in the State elections was an encouragement to all genuine lovers of the Union. The principal feature of the Whig campaign was a series of mass meetings in October. The greatest of these was held in Salisbury. It was attended by delegates from all sections of the State. The number of people in the mammoth procession was 3,600, while the total attendance was estimated at 6,000 or 8,000. The chief address was by Zebulon B. Vance, who held the audience spellbound by his oratory for two hours during a cold, dismal rain.³ The prevailing sentiment was to rebuke the seceders of the South and the abolitionists of the North, and to rally in one great effort to save the Union and the Constitution.

As the election approached the motives which shaped the cast of ballots were conflicting. The Whig appeal to the Union and the Constitution found a response in the conservatism of the people and was in line with the trend away from sectional issues to domestic problems. On the other hand, to defeat Lincoln seemed imperative to preserve the dignity, if not the rights, of the South; and for this duty Breckinridge was undoubtedly the most promising candidate. The results showed a Democratic majority very similar to that in the State election; but the majority of Breckinridge over both Bell and Douglas was only 848.⁴ Since many Union Democrats cast their votes for Breckinridge as the only hope of defeating Lincoln, his small majority was really a rebuke to the radical State-rights influences which had nominated him. That rebuke to radicalism was repeated in February, 1861, when in an election for a convention on Federal relations, the people chose a majority of Union delegates and also voted that the convention should not meet. Not until President Lincoln's requisition on the State for troops after the firing on Fort Sumter did secession triumph in North Carolina; and then because the only alternative was that of fighting against the South.

¹ Standard, July 18, 1860.

² Robert P. Dick was the leader of this movement. The meeting was held on August 30. The campaign paper was called *The National Democrat*. Its editor was Quenten Busbee.

³ Raleigh Register, Oct. 17, 1860.

⁴ Breckinridge, 48,539; Bell, 44,990; Douglas, 2,701.



XI. THE INCEPTION OF THE MONTGOMERY CONVENTION.

By ARMAND J. GERSON.



THE INCEPTION OF THE MONTGOMERY CONVENTION.

By ARMAND J. GERSON.

Although from the very first the two ideas of secession and southern confederation were almost inseparable in the minds of the leading statesmen of the South, in their actual carrying out the two movements were by no means simultaneous. Secession was an accomplished fact in six States—South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana—before the convention which was to establish a southern confederacy held its first meeting. Nor is the reason for this sequence of events far to seek. In the overcharged atmosphere of the days immediately following the election of 1860 secession was regarded, throughout a large part of the South at least, as a necessary and unavoidable reaction against unbearable oppression, an immediate remedy which it lay in the power of each separate State acting in its sovereign capacity to apply. This first. Confederation would follow naturally and inevitably.

The formulation of a plan for a convention of the Southern States to establish a common government, and the arrangements for the meeting of this convention at Montgomery, Ala., on February 4, 1861, constitute the topic of my paper. The discussion will fall into three main parts. In the first place, attention will be called to the great significance attaching to the activities of the interstate commissioners between the various slave States in the weeks between the election of Lincoln and the meeting of the Montgomery convention, activities whose bearing upon the prompt and effective cooperation of the seceding States it would be difficult to overestimate. We shall, in the next place, attempt to trace in outline the actual steps in the development of the Montgomery idea and briefly consider the share of the various States in the determination of the time, the place, and the plan of representation. Finally, we shall make reference to a curious but rather widespread misstatement of fact having a direct bearing on the question under consideration.

The interstate commissioners who played so important a part in securing cooperation and united action among the various seceding States were to all intents and purposes the accredited ambassadors of their respective Commonwealths. They constituted the official avenues of communication between the States. Besides this purely diplomatic function, however, they were often charged with a still

more important kind of activity, namely, to do what they could to bring about radical action—that is, immediate secession—in the States to which they were sent. If in those States conventions were in session, the commissioners were to urge them by every means in their power to join the cause of the South. In States where a convention had not been called by action of the State legislature, the legislature itself must be appealed to and brought to see the urgent necessity of calling immediately a State convention to take action in the common cause. And if, finally, the legislature were not in session and had adjourned without making such provision, then the commissioners were to try to induce the governor to take the first step by calling the legislature into special session for the express purpose of passing a convention act.¹

All the slave States were not equally active in the sending out of commissioners, nor were all equally vigorous and radical in their instructions to these agents. Mississippi and Alabama easily take precedence over all the other States in point of time as well as in the number of commissioners appointed, although, as we are to see in a moment, the activities of the agents of these States hardly compare in importance with those of the commissioners from South Carolina. In the case of Mississippi and Alabama² commissioners were accredited to every slave State in the Union. South Carolina sent commissioners to 7 States only,³ Georgia to 10,⁴ Louisiana to Texas alone.⁵ The 7 States to which South Carolina sent her agents were Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, and Arkansas. The 10 States to which Georgia commissioners were appointed were Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Delaware, and North Carolina—that is, all the slave States which at the time these agents were sent out (Jan. 28, 1861,) were still in the Union.

The mode of appointment of the interstate commissioners was not exactly similar in the various States. In Mississippi the movement was inaugurated by the State legislature which on November 30, the day after the passage of its convention act, passed a resolution requesting the governor of the State to appoint as many commissioners as in his judgment might be necessary, to visit each of the slaveholding States.⁶ Accordingly in the early part of December the governor of Mississippi made the appointments, his choice later receiving the confirmation of the State convention.⁷ In Alabama no such action was taken by the legislature before its adjournment. The

¹ Laws of Mississippi, November, 1860, chap. XI.

² Smith, "Debates in the Alabama Convention," 35.

³ South Carolina Convention Journal, 159-163.

⁴ Georgia Convention Journal, 54, 77, 91, 118.

⁵ Louisiana Convention Journal, 31.

⁶ Laws of Mississippi, November, 1860, chap. XI.

⁷ Mississippi Convention Journal, 37.

governor of that State, however, on his own responsibility, during the month of December, 1860, appointed commissioners to all the States where the institution of slavery existed. When the Alabama convention met on January 7, the governor in a communication explained his action ¹ and received the prompt indorsement of the convention. In South Carolina and Georgia the commissioners that were sent out were chosen by the conventions themselves and not until after the adoption of the respective ordinances of secession of those States.² In South Carolina the commissions were issued by the governor, in Georgia by the president of the State convention.³ In Louisiana the State convention by a special resolution authorized its president to appoint a commissioner to the State of Texas,⁴ a resolution providing for the appointment of commissioners to those other slave States which at the time had not yet passed ordinances of secession, failing to receive a majority vote.⁵

Incomplete and temporary as it was, the system of interstate commissioners admirably answered the purpose for which it was devised. The work of the commissioners was effective, possibly indispensable to any cooperative action. In a very true sense the system may be said to have constituted the machinery of southern cooperation.

The South Carolina convention met on December 17, 1860, almost three weeks before that of any of the other Southern States. Three days later she passed her ordinance of secession. Before the close of the month she had formulated a plan for a general convention of the Southern States, a plan which, as we shall see, was to be accepted in detail by the other States of the South. As early as December 19 resolutions were offered in the South Carolina convention looking toward some plan of confederation.⁶ These were referred to a special committee on "relations with the slaveholding States of North America" which, as its title shows, had southern confederation as the purpose of its activities.⁷ On Christmas Day, 1860, five days after the passage of the secession ordinance, this committee submitted to the convention its recommendations in the form of a report, to which were appended four resolutions.⁸ The resolutions provided for the appointment of commissioners to invite the cooperation of the other slaveholding States in the formation of a southern confederacy. They further submitted the Constitution of the United States as the working basis for a provisional government. They authorized the commissioners to extend an invitation to any States

¹ Smith, "Debates in the Alabama Convention," 35.

² South Carolina Convention Journal, 159 et seq.; Georgia Convention Journal, 54, 77, 91, 118.

³ South Carolina Convention Journal, 160; Georgia Convention Journal, 54.

⁴ Louisiana Convention Journal, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁶ South Carolina Convention Journal, 34, 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 37. The report and resolutions are printed in the appendix, 349-353.

which might secede to meet South Carolina in general convention "at such time and place as may be agreed upon" for the purpose of putting in motion a provisional confederate government. Finally they recommended that the convention of South Carolina should proceed to elect eight delegates to this southern convention and that it should recommend to each of the other seceding States that they likewise should send to such convention a number of delegates equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which they had been entitled in the United States Congress; it was to be provided, however, that in the southern convention each State should have one vote. The report and resolutions of the committee on "relations with the slaveholding States of North America" were finally adopted by the convention of South Carolina on December 31.¹

In accordance with the first resolution the South Carolina convention proceeded to ballot for the commissioners to be sent to the other States. This work was completed on January 2,² just one day previous to the assembling of the first of that series of southern State conventions whose radical action throughout the month of January joined the States of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana in the common cause of secession, to be followed in the month of February by the State of Texas and not many months later by Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. The South Carolina commissioners before departing to their respective destinations held a meeting in Charleston for the purpose of coming to some agreement as to the details of their mission.³ As a result of their conference it was decided that they would suggest for the date of the southern convention the first Monday in February. In the course of debate in the convention other dates had been suggested, but there is every reason to believe that the actual fixing of the time was accomplished at the informal meeting of the South Carolina commissioners before their departure from Charleston.

The place of meeting for the southern convention probably also received consideration in this same conference of the commissioners, but no definite agreement was reached on this point. Montgomery had been spoken of in this connection at least as early as December 26 in one of the South Carolina convention debates.⁴ Again, on January 5, 1861, resolutions adopted by a meeting of Southern Senators in favor of a southern convention had definitely recommended Montgomery for this purpose.⁵ The final selection, however, seems to have been largely the result of a speech made in the Alabama convention by the South Carolina commissioner to Alabama on January

¹ South Carolina Convention Journal, 151.

² *Ibid.*, 159 et seq.

³ Smith, "Debates in the Alabama Convention," 33.

⁴ South Carolina Convention Journal, 99 et seq.

⁵ Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," I, 204.

8, the second day of the convention. In that speech Mr. Calhoun, after presenting a copy of the South Carolina ordinance of secession, and of the South Carolina resolutions of December 31, formally extended to the State of Alabama an invitation to meet South Carolina in convention. He stated that the commissioners from his State had agreed to suggest the first Monday in February as the time of meeting, but that he was not authorized to designate any place. He went on to say, however, that he had heard Montgomery mentioned.¹ It is a significant fact that two days later, when the Alabama ordinance of secession was presented, it included a resolution formally inviting the other slave States to meet the people of Alabama by their delegates, in convention, on the 4th day of February, 1861, at the city of Montgomery.² Next day, January 11, the ordinance and the accompanying resolutions were adopted. The Alabama commissioners, moreover, were directed to present the ordinance to the conventions in the other States and "to request their consideration of and concurrence in the first resolution."³

That the invitation of Alabama to the other States was in direct response to the suggestion of the commissioner from South Carolina is evidenced by another resolution presented in the Alabama convention on January 16. In this resolution we find the following sentence: "In fixing the time and place this convention but concurred in the suggestions of the honorable gentleman representing the people of South Carolina before this body."⁴ The South Carolina resolutions of December 31, indorsed as they thus were by the Alabama invitation, are therefore to be credited with the formulation of the plan for the southern convention at Montgomery. The suggestion was practical and timely, and the States concerned accepted it and acted upon it.⁵

In some of the States, as, for example, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, resolutions of indorsement were adopted.⁶ The indorsement of the Mississippi convention is especially significant in the light of the incorrect emphasis which some authorities have placed upon the activities of that State in this connection. It may, moreover, fairly be considered as typical of the general acknowledgment of South Carolina's leadership. On January 9 the Mississippi convention resolved "that this convention, sympathizing with South Carolina in her present condition, accept her invitation to meet with the seceding States for the purpose of forming a southern confederacy."⁷

¹ Smith, "Debates in the Alabama Convention," 33.

² *Ibid.*, 77.

³ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵ Cf. reports of the South Carolina commissioners to Florida and Louisiana, *South Carolina Convention Journal*, 209, 210.

⁶ *Georgia Convention Journal*, 56; *Louisiana Convention Journal*, 19.

⁷ *Mississippi Convention Journal*, 39.

Three days later the Mississippi indorsement took still more definite form in the adoption of a series of six resolutions arranging for the election of seven delegates in accordance with the South Carolina plan. The second of this series of resolutions says "That this convention receives and adopts the suggestion that the [general] convention hereby contemplated shall meet and hold its sessions in this city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, and that the time for said meeting shall be the 1st Monday and the 4th day of February, 1861."¹ The South Carolina plan of representation and mode of voting were also explicitly indorsed. On February 4 delegates from all six States, which by that date had seceded, equal in number to the members of Congress to which those States had been entitled, met at Montgomery and proceeded to organize a government for the Confederate States of America.

The work of South Carolina in inaugurating the Montgomery convention, and the significance of the indorsement of the activity of that State by the Alabama invitation being so patent, it is curious that there should be a wide-spread tendency to overlook this fact and give the credit of the event to the State of Mississippi. Let us quote from a few works of note. Nicolay and Hay in their *Life of Lincoln* make this statement: "The meeting at Montgomery had its immediate origin in the resolutions of a committee of the Mississippi Legislature, adopted January 29 [*sic*], and it is another evidence of the secret and swift concert of secession leaders that in six days [*sic*] thereafter the delegates of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida were assembled for conference."² A still more recent work, Chadwick's "Causes of the Civil War," in the *American Nation Series*, says,³ "The date for the meeting had been advanced from February 15, on a resolution of the Mississippi Legislature of January 29," and goes on to quote part of the above statement of Nicolay and Hay. The editor of a well arranged and widely used collection of sources of American history in his introduction to the *Confederate Constitution* says,⁴ "A resolution of the Legislature of Mississippi, January 19, in favor of a congress of representatives from the seceded States, to form a provisional government, was indorsed by the other States, and February 8 a congress at Montgomery, Ala., adopted a provisional constitution." The cumulative effect of reiterations of this sort by writers of note would almost lead us to doubt the evidence of the secession journals themselves were it not that the strangely persistent error seems traceable to a contemporary misstatement of the same tenor. In *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1861 the as-

¹ The resolutions are given in full in *Mississippi Convention Journal*, 132-134.

² Nicolay and Hay, "*Life of Lincoln*," III, 197.

³ Chadwick, "*Causes of the Civil War*," 252.

⁴ Macdonald, "*Select Documents of United States History*," 446.

sersion is definitely made¹ that "a committee in the Legislature of Mississippi, on January 19, reported resolutions to provide for a southern confederacy, and establish a provisional government. Florida, Alabama, and Georgia at once approved of this general design, and delegates were appointed to a congress to be held at Montgomery." Whatever the source of the current misstatement, examination of the documentary evidence on the point seems to give to the State of South Carolina full responsibility for the proposing and planning of the Montgomery convention.

¹ Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1861, 154, under "Congress, Confederate."



XII. THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS TOWARD THE PACIFIC RAILWAY,
1856-1862. *

By ALLEN MARSHALL KLINE,
Professor in the University of the Pacific.



THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS TOWARD THE PACIFIC RAILWAY, 1856-1862.

By ALLEN MARSHALL KLINE.

Among the great industrial enterprises of the nineteenth century to which the Government of the United States lent its encouragement and active support the Pacific Railway was, without doubt, the most important. Although the National Government has supported numerous projects of internal improvement on a liberal, even lavish, scale, no other is comparable in importance and magnitude to this. The matter of railway transportation had scarcely emerged from the field of experiment before the proposal of a railway to the Pacific was brought to the attention of Congress, and, in one form or another, the matter was before Congress for nearly two decades before it ripened into definite action. Probably no project of internal improvement has ever been so thoroughly discussed by that body, yet the measure proved to be defective in many particulars, and the connection of the Government with the railway was a source of continual embarrassment to the former and of doubtful restraint to the latter. An examination of the attitude of Congress toward this enterprise with particular reference to the prevailing views as to the evils most generally apprehended and the manner of guarding against them will be of interest as a study in the early regulation of corporate wealth.

As to the desirability of railway communication with the Pacific there was little difference of opinion, though there were not wanting some bold spirits who openly declared their opposition to any project of the kind. It was also generally agreed that because of the magnitude of the undertaking and the fact that it would not be commercially profitable for some time it was necessary that the project should receive some measure of assistance from the Government. As to the extent of this assistance there were, on one hand, those who wished to have it reduced to a minimum or who even, in some cases, opposed any assistance on the ground that the patronage of the Government was neither necessary nor desirable to the success of a Pacific railway. Representative of this point of view was Senator Brown, who stated in a speech in the Senate December 14, 1858, that he expected to see the railway built "and I expect to see it built as other roads have been and are being built, by individual enterprise, with such legitimate aid as the Government can give to it. I never expect to see this Government take the first step toward the con-

struction of such a work as this; * * *. Leave your Pacific railroad alone, leave it to individual enterprise; let capital * * * commence the road where it pleases to commence it, and construct it in its own way; and noiselessly, and much more rapidly than by your interference, it will go on, and go on to completion.”¹

At the opposite extreme were those who upheld the proposition that the Government should construct and own the railway. Such views received but scant attention, though the statement of Brown in the Senate in 1858 that “The most ardent friends and wildest enthusiast in favor of a Pacific railroad do not propose or press its construction by the Government,”² and that of Latham three years later that “There is not a Senator on this floor who believes that the work ought to be undertaken by the Government alone, and it is needless to combat a proposition which, after the experience we have had in Government works, is not seriously entertained by any member of either House,”³ are both overstatements of fact. Simmons, of Rhode Island, in a speech in the Senate in 1859, pointed to certain advantages of Government construction, stating that, since the railway would have to be built with borrowed capital anyway, it might better be done by the Government directly, it being able to secure the required capital at one-third the rate of interest which private individuals would have to pay. The Government could also dispose of the lands to better advantage, and could give better title than if they passed through the hands of a private corporation.⁴ The principle of Government construction and ownership was also defended by Senator Baker, of Oregon, two years later. “I am an old Whig,” said he. “I am not afraid of extending the power of this Government, * * * and if I had my choice, my way, I would build the road with the power of the Government, with the money of the Government, for the benefit of the people.”⁵

These views, naturally, received little attention in either body, the leaders of the project generally passing them by without notice or refutation. Indeed, there were few things which the legislative body viewed with such apprehension as the possibility of the road falling into the hands of the Government because of its being an undertaking of too great magnitude for private parties, or its proving to be unprofitable financially, or, possibly, by reason of a deliberate intention on the part of speculative promoters, and nearly every bill was full of ingenious provisions to prevent a consummation so little to be desired.

The overwhelming majority of those who favored the railway were in favor of the Government extending its aid to a private corporation,

¹ Congressional Globe, 35 Cong., 2 sess., p. 74.

² Globe, 35 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1582.

³ Globe, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 256.

⁴ Globe, 35 Cong., 2 sess., p. 379.

⁵ Globe, 36 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 261-262.

but, while they were agreed upon the general principle, they were by no means agreed upon the manner of carrying it out. The chief divergence was regarding these two main questions: To whom should this aid be given, to a company chartered for that specific purpose or to a company or companies already in existence? And, secondly, what should be the manner and extent of the Government aid? There were two diverging opinions as to the parties who should receive the aid. One element favored the plan of a company incorporated by Congress for the purpose of building the railway; another preferred that Congress should merely receive proposals from parties who were willing to undertake the project, or advertise for bids and let the contract to the one offering the most favorable terms. The former was the more systematic and businesslike method of attacking the problem and appealed to the staunch advocates of the railway, who appreciated the fact that there was little chance of anything being done until the Government had determined upon the nature and the extent of the assistance it was willing to give; the latter was favored, as a rule, by those who were more undecided in their attitude and therefore desired to know more as to what various parties were willing to do.¹

Attractive as the plan of congressional incorporation seemed in theory, it encountered one great obstacle: The advocates of States' rights viewed with extreme disfavor the proposition that Congress should incorporate, or even aid by land grants made directly to it a railway within the limits of a State. Typical of this view is the statement of Pugh, of Ohio (the opposition on this ground was by no means confined to the South), in a speech in support of an amendment which he offered to the pending bill, to the effect that its provisions should apply to a road to the eastern boundary of California instead of to San Francisco: "I do not think the Government of the United States can justify itself for building a railroad in a State. It was very good Democratic doctrine in the days of Jackson and Madison that we could not do so. I am willing to aid in building this road through the Territories, but I will no more vote to build it in the State of California than I will in the State of Missouri."²

The extent and intensity of the States'-rights sentiment in Congress at this period gave considerable force to this objection. To endeavor to meet it by limiting the activities of the corporation exclusively to the Territories would hardly be a feasible solution of the problem, since there would be no assurance of immediate con-

¹ Gwin on one occasion championed a bill based upon this principle. Although perhaps the most persistent advocate of a railway, he can scarcely be said to have any definite policy, being ready at all times to support any measure that seemed to have promise of success.

² *Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., p. 420.

nection with the Pacific coast and the existing systems of the Middle West. The secession of the Southern States assisted in the solution of the problem; and, furthermore, by this time the railway development of California, Kansas, and Iowa had reached such a stage that Congress felt justified in authorizing the construction of the eastern and western extremities by existing companies, and incorporating a company for the Territories.

The second problem arising from the connection of the Government with the railway was that of the nature and extent of the aid to be given. The traditional method was by granting to the railway a portion of the lands through which it passed. Said Latham, of California, "We are, fortunately, in many respects richer than any European Government, and able to afford much substantial aid without increasing the charges of our Government or the burdens of the people. We have a vast domain whose value depends entirely on the use which we make of it, and of which we may dispose, with reasonable care and prudence, for the benefit of the whole country."¹

It was evident, however, that land grants alone would not suffice to build this railway, owing to the exceptional difficulties of the project. It was a well-known fact that a considerable portion of the lands through which the railway was to pass were, and always would be, practically worthless. Therefore most of the plans provided for some additional financial assistance in the shape of Government bonds which were to be loaned to the company, and on security of which money could be borrowed on favorable terms. Practically all the bills and amendments contained provisions for these two forms of assistance, the proportion varying according to the personal opinion and judgment of the proposer. There was a general tendency, however, toward a reduction of the amount of the land grant and an increase in the amount of bonds. This was due to some extent to the growing appreciation of the difficulties of construction as more extensive and accurate knowledge of the country became available.² The growing influence of the Republican Party was also influential in promoting this tendency. Judah, the eastern agent of the railway, stated regarding the pending legislation in 1859-60: "It will be observed that the amount of land donated to the road is small, the reason for which is found in the fact that the Republican Party have adopted the policy indicated in the homestead bill, and are generally opposed to the granting of lands in large bodies to any company for any purpose whatever. * * * They were willing, however, that in lieu thereof an increased amount of Government

¹ Globe, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 256.

² The debate in the Senate on Jan. 14, 1859, is suggestive on this point. See Globe, 35 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 378-379.

bonds should be given, and aid of this kind was considered more desirable than a large donation of land.”¹

The bonds so advanced were considered in the nature of a loan from the Government, which was to be repaid as the bonds should mature. There were, from time to time, open expressions of opinion to the effect that Government reimbursement was not to be expected. Senator Mason, of Virginia, when criticized for using the term “appropriation” instead of “loan,” replied that the amount of bonds given to the railway was a “direct appropriation of \$25,000,000 from the Treasury, upon a stipulation that under certain circumstances it shall be paid back. * * * I do not believe a penny will.”² Representative White was even bolder, and declared in the House “that not a cent of the advance will ever be repaid, nor do I think it desirable that it should be repaid.”³ The great majority of Congress proceeded upon the principle that the Government not only ought to be fully reimbursed for its advances, but that the loan should be upon such terms as would give the Government the most ample security. This feeling generally expressed itself in the provision that the Government should be secured by a first mortgage upon the road, and reached the high-water mark in the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress when the Senate amended the House bill in the Committee of the Whole by denying to the company the right to issue any other bonds or securities,⁴ a provision designed not only to secure the Government but also to reduce to a minimum the possibility of speculation.⁵ Wilson, of Massachusetts, who offered the amendment, supported it as follows: “We lend the credit of this Government to a large amount to this company; we give them lands, and we want the persons that go into this road to pay their money into it, and not to incur debts and get up stock speculations and issue bonds, then fail, and throw the whole thing back on the Government.”⁶ This fear of the railway falling into the hands of speculators was an ever-present one in the minds of the legislators, and in every measure there was a general insistence upon such precautions as would guard against it, and numerous allusions were made to the reckless manner in which the aid extended to internal improvements in the past had been used, as a justification of this attitude.

¹ “Report of Theodore Judah upon his Operations in the Atlantic States,” 1860, p. 11. Later there was a slight reaction in favor of more liberal land grants and the amendment of 1864 doubled the amount granted by the bill of 1862.

² *Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1601.

³ *Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1891.

⁴ This provision was modified, though not removed, when afterwards reported to the Senate. *Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 638.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Another problem to which the advocates of the railway project devoted much thought was the manner by which its completion might be insured. What was desired was not a railway merely, but a railway through to the Pacific, and, in view of the greater difficulties in the central portion, there was general apprehension that the work might be abandoned when this point was reached. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a criticism of the bill before the Senate on January 11, 1859, pointed out the possibilities which it afforded to speculative promoters. All that was necessary on their part was to raise the \$500,000 required as a guaranty and enough more to construct the first 500 miles through a fine country, where the land was fertile and construction easy. They would then receive lands and other grants worth from fifteen to twenty-five million dollars, which they could pocket, abandon the project, and throw the road back on the Government.¹ To prevent such a result, he proposed an amendment providing that for the first 500 miles of the eastern section, where the land was fertile and the country level, only lands should be granted in aid of the railway, and the amount of bonds which was saved in this section should be added to the amount granted for the mountainous section as an extra inducement for the completion of that portion.² Bigler had, a few days previous, made a somewhat similar proposal, to the effect that the road should be divided into three sections, and that the amount of bonds for the central section be increased to \$25,000 per mile, besides retaining one-fourth of the lands of the other two sections till the middle one was completed. After a short debate, the best features of each proposal were embodied in a compromise amendment, by which it was provided that one-half of the lands granted in aid of the eastern and western sections should be withheld till the completion of the central portion, and that the amount of bonds should vary as follows: \$10,000 for the eastern section, \$15,000 for the western, and \$40,000 (later changed to \$25,000) for the central.³ This principle seemed to offer the most feasible solution of the problem of securing the completion of the more difficult section, and, although Seward pointed out that there was danger of overdoing the matter and of offering too much inducement for the central section,⁴ it constituted, with the added provision for a retention of a portion of the bonds also, one of the features of most of the subsequent bills, including the one finally passed.

Since Congress was creating a corporation for the building of the railway, aiding it by grants of land and loans of credit, and bestowing upon it extensive powers, the question naturally arises, To what

¹ *Globe*, 35th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 308-309.

² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-379.

extent should the Government retain a control over it? Such a control might be exercised in two ways: In the first place, the Government might insist upon some measure of control as an additional security for the advances made to it; and, secondly, it might exercise such supervision as would be necessary for the general public welfare. The former motive was the more prevalent, though the latter found expression from time to time. On April 30, 1862, Representative White, of Indiana, offered an amendment providing for Government representation on the board of directors, supporting it with the argument that "the Government ought to be considered as having an interest in the road, and should have a voice in the management of its affairs."¹ Sargent, who was engineering the pending bill, attacked the provision as unnecessary, since the Government was already amply secured for its advances. White's amendment was carried and incorporated in the final bill.

White, at the same time, expressed the opinion that "we ought to take care that the rates provided shall be moderate," and, although the idea of any Government regulation of the rates attracted little attention, a modified form of the proposition giving the Government the right to regulate rates after the receipts should exceed 10 per cent upon its cost was one of the features of the law of 1862.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the control which the Government sought to retain over the corporation was, to a considerable degree, ineffectual, and it even found considerable difficulty in enforcing its lien. This was not due to overhasty legislation or carelessness. The railway bills were prominent on the legislative program of half a dozen Congresses. They were amended times without number, and their most minute provisions were debated at wearisome length. But in its endeavors to legislate for both the security of the Government and the welfare of the Nation, Congress was governed by such wisdom as could be drawn from the experience of the past few decades. With reference to this problem, that period was characterized by railways moderate in length, primarily local in importance, often poorly constructed and insufficiently equipped, and frequently controlled by companies on the verge of bankruptcy, if not already actually bankrupt. The problem of the Government regarding such a railway was to insure that the aid extended to it should be used for the purpose of constructing a railway and constructing it well. This being done, the Government had little further interest in the matter.

But the Nation was moving away from the period of small industries of moderate capital and local importance into the new industrial era, characterized by large-scale production and the organization of

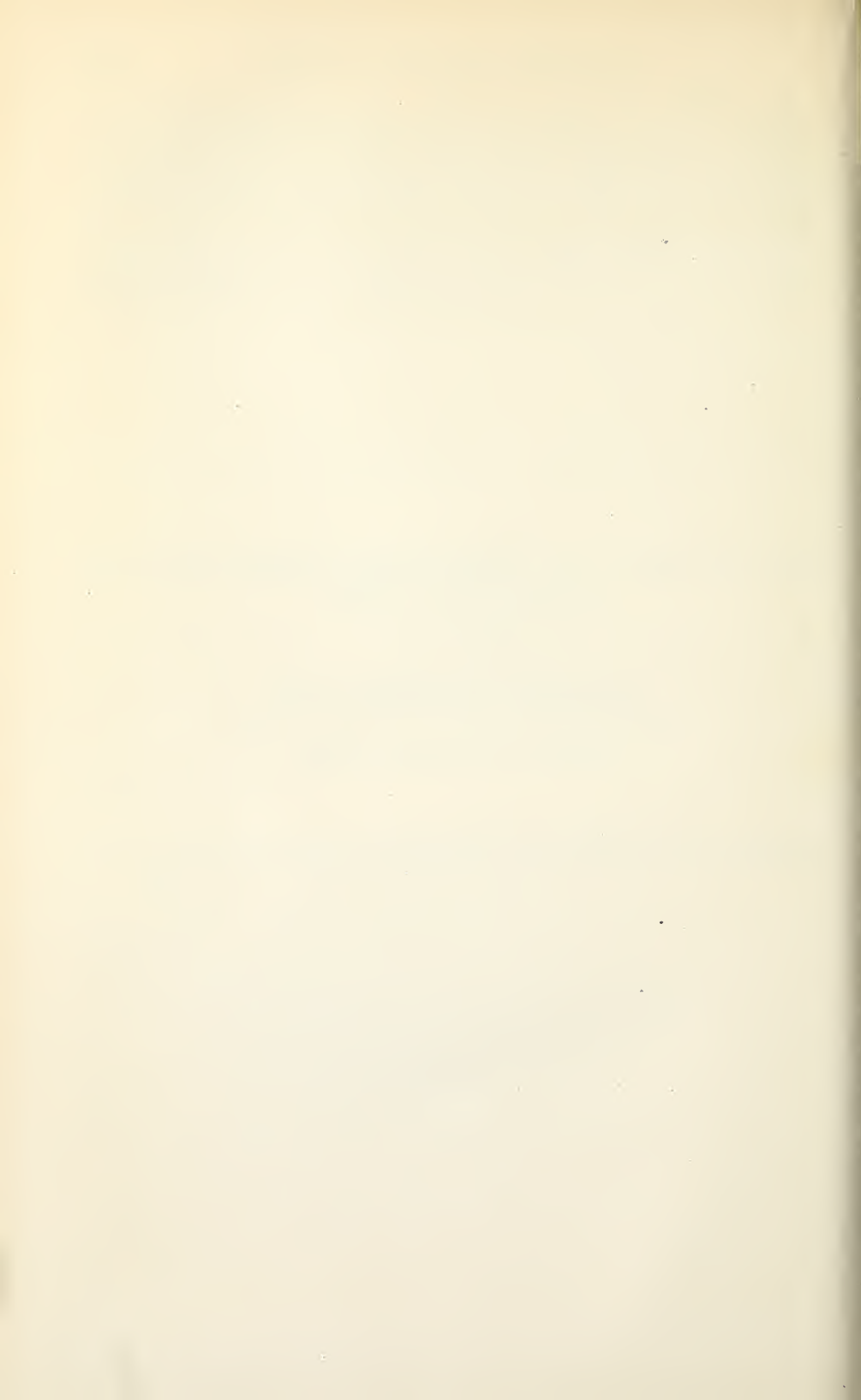
¹ Globe, 37th Cong., 2d sess., p. 1,891.

industry on a national scale. Of this era, the Pacific railway companies, with their thousands of miles of roadbed, their vast capital, their princely domains of land, their perfect organization, and controlled by strong, masterful men who knew what they wanted and how to get it, constitute an excellent type. These presented problems widely different from those of the earlier railways, and such means of regulation as had grown up in the previous epoch were largely ineffectual when applied to them.

XIII. THE WORK OF THE WESTERN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS
ILLUSTRATED BY NEVADA.

BY JEANNE ELIZABETH WIER,

*Secretary of the Nevada Historical Society and Professor
of History in the University of Nevada.*



THE WORK OF THE WESTERN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS ILLUSTRATED BY NEVADA.

By JEANNE ELIZABETH WIER.

The history of Nevada abounds in materials for historical investigation and interpretation. Its conception as a Territory in that miraculous union of the East and the West which followed the discovery of gold in California in the days of '49; its premature birth into statehood through the throes of civil war; its struggle as a weakling through the years of depression and reconstruction; the maturing of its life with its rebirth a few years since—these are topics of more than local interest. They are fraught with significance to the Nation, and as yet are but vaguely understood. In her sociological life Nevada has too often been the butt of criticism and denunciation rather than an object of study and a growing comprehension of the deep-lying causes which have thus expressed themselves in her life.

It is, therefore, not because of paucity of historical materials that I have chosen to use this opportunity to invite your attention to a problem the solution of which it would seem lies at the heart of all future prosperity in the historical work of the Pacific coast.

In defining the scope of this paper, let us notice first that the question is not one of anatomy but of physiology. While the western historical society may differ from its eastern sister to some extent in its mechanism, still here, as in other institutions, the vital question is not of form but of function. This is the more important in comparing two widely different sections of our country, since an eastern institution when transplanted to Nevada, for instance, is beyond doubt modified in its action by local conditions. In the second place, the word "western" is here employed in a different sense from the ordinary understanding of the term as currently used in New England and New York, or for, instance, in the classification of universities, as meaning everything this side of the Alleghenies. Any classification of American historical societies like that of the universities falls naturally into three groups: First, those east of the Alleghenies, supported for the most part by large private endowments and gifts; second, those of the Mississippi Valley, State-supported in sentiment and money alike; third, those of the Pacific slope, seeking State support, but for the most part not as yet on very solid ground.

Since "west" is usually in the broader sense associated with pioneer conditions, the societies of the third class alone would seem rightfully to belong to the western group. Comparisons will be made, then, between this distinctly western group and the other two divisions.

The Nevada institution is not considered as a type in the sense of being an average representative. It is chosen because of the writer's familiarity with its work and because, since in Nevada western conditions are exaggerated, the difficulties of western historical work are here most clearly to be seen and appreciated. Sometimes I have fancied that as the life of this desert State originated in a grand sacrifice, so throughout her history mayhap she is destined to perform her mission to the Union through the lessons inculcated by her adversities. Out of her problems of quartz mining grew the present United States mining laws; out of her barrenness has come an appreciation of the need of national irrigation projects; out of her struggles in an historical way may perchance come a more united effort for the conservation of historical forces.

All local and State historical organizations are alike in having for their chief function the collecting and preserving of historical data. All alike seek to investigate topics pertaining to the history of the State or locality, and, as far as may be, to publish the results in permanent form. All alike have had to overcome many obstacles in their first years, for all alike have been regarded at first as a luxury rather than a necessity. Here the similarity ends.

I shall seek now to outline the differences of the three geographical sections: First, as to the materials for historical research; second, as to equipment for handling those materials.

The question of data is one of quantity, one of quality, and one of location. With respect to quantity, it is at once apparent to the careful observer that our materials are scant as compared with those of the eastern and central regions. Not only is the West as a whole newer in historic life than is the East, but the migratory habits of its people have tended to destroy even that which once existed of historical data. The extreme of this condition is to be found in Nevada, where the typical mining camp is the victim of fires at such frequent intervals as almost to preclude the possibility of securing a complete file of any local records. Again, when not destroyed by fire, such camps are oftentimes abandoned, or, more frequently still, moved to the site of a new bonanza, and this as readily as is the Indian campoodie or village near by. In such a removal only those things which are of utilitarian value are saved. The little printing press follows, as it always has done, the line of progress and discovery, but leaves too often its past achievement behind. I have sometimes thought that I should like to write the history of one of these printing presses of the desert which, like its owner, has been identified with

the life of so many of our most prominent camps. Even the county courthouse is not a fixture, but moves around for the accommodation of the bonanzas. What missing links are here, and we only marvel that the gaps are not greater when we recall the inadequate means of transportation which until recently obtained in the desert country.

In the next place, the materials are scant because much of the history of the smaller camps has never been recorded in writing. To many the printing press has never come. Ever and anon out of such isolated hamlets has come a hand-written sheet done by some miner in the evening hours by the light of a miner's candle, reflecting but dimly the corporate life of the community. Of such a nature was the famous Scorpion issued from the old log cabin at Mormon Station in Carson County in the early fifties. Sad to relate, not a copy of it exists to-day, but the Nevada Historical Society has later products of the same editorial impulse now within its archives. And then again there is the camp where not even the manuscript record exists, where no written record is ever made, save in the occasional letter penned to some friend on the outside, or the wildcatting article sent by a promoter to an outside newspaper in the vain hope of attracting others to the lonely spot. And even in those more populous camps where papers spring up like mushrooms in the night, two or three at a time, even here the spirit of gain so overshadows the life of the community that its real history is seldom written or preserved.

Of formal history in such a State as Nevada there is little or ever has been, and that little has been produced as one of the many wildcat schemes to drag from the successful miner a goodly portion of his hoard of gold in return for a page of type and a full-page portrait of himself. A 3-foot shelf would hold all such works many times over.

As to quality, the newspaper is a proverbially unreliable source of historical knowledge, albeit a valuable adjunct even in the Eastern States; yet how totally dependent are we in the West upon the newspaper and the book of travels written by the casual tourist. In the larger centers of western life is found the more stable literature of the magazine, but in States like Nevada mining pays better than literature, and every attempt at magazine publication has thus far ended in failure. It is true that the "battle-born" State has had its journalists of note; its J. T. Goodman, its C. C. Goodwin, its H. R. Mighels, its Dan De Quille, its Samuel Clemens. For it was on the Territorial Enterprise at Virginia City that Mark Twain won his spurs, and of a truth, his "Roughing It" is the best history of the State which has thus far been penned. But then as now, in chronicling events, jest was mixed with earnest, and woe to the

person who with historical scalpel would seek to separate truth from error.

The quality of our western history is again impaired, as I have already intimated, by the fact that much of it has been written to sell. True, the same thing has been done in the eastern and central regions, especially as regards county history; but there such collections are local ones and only supplementary to the history of the State. Here they tend to displace all other history. Being in the nature of an appeal to the individual pocketbook, they are necessarily biographical in character. No mere process of addition will ever be able to convert those biographies into history. It is true that in the West more than elsewhere the individual has counted for much, as is the tendency in every pioneer country, and here better than elsewhere can we study the evolution of the individual. But in America, unlike Europe, the historical interest is in the masses, in that great sea of humanity in which the individuals appear only as types. To this ideal our western history must approximate or fail of its chief purpose; that is, the defining of our types of character. Let us not seek to prolong our heroic age beyond its natural termination.

And then as to the location of our historical materials. The East has passed into the era of domestication. Its historical food is close at hand. Its task is merely to absorb. The West is still in the hunting stage. It must run down its game before it can feast. What the result of its hunt may be is of great significance to the East as well.

In the East are States several of which could be set down side by side within one of our great western counties. In those States there is always at least one nucleus where for long years historical materials have been collected. In many cases there are several such places in one State. Each locality has a collection of its own and the student has no very difficult task before him when he seeks to utilize such records. In the central States such collections are now being made. Here in California much similar work has been done. But in States like Nevada the materials are still scattered far afield.

Sometimes as I have gone around on collecting tours under burning desert sun and midst winter snow, finding few of the comforts of civilized life, yet often the treasures for which I sought in manuscript or in the memory of the pioneer, I have found consolation in the thought of those explorers of old who in the days of the Italian renaissance spared neither trouble nor expense, for whom "no severity of winter cold, no snow, no length of journey, no roughness of roads," were a bar in the search for the things of antiquity. The East has passed through the first stage of her renaissance, that of passionate desire; through the second one, that of collection and

arrangement and the foundation of libraries; she is now in the third age of American humanism, the age of the critical use of her materials, and of the establishment, not of academies, but of societies for critical study. Here in the West we are but just coming into the first stage of the renaissance.

We grant that California, with her splendid universities, her organizations of native sons and native daughters, her pioneer societies, her greater industrial development, has kept better pace with the Eastern States. In her Bancroft Library she has a store of materials over which a modern Petrarch might well rejoice, but even her work of collection is not completed, and how shall she think to write her history while the side lights from the remainder of the Mexican cession and the Oregon Territory remain so dim? She may flatter herself that within that Bancroft Library repose the documents of the vast Pacific slope, but as a Nevadan I can testify that but a very small iota of the history of that Commonwealth is to be found in the collections of the Bancroft Library. What became of the manuscripts so carefully collected by Mr. Bancroft's agents in Nevada we may perchance never know. But we do know that it behooves us to seek to supply that deficiency by more vigorous work in re-duplicating the materials which have been thus lost. And we do know that it behooves California, whose history is so bound up with that of the Washoe country, to be interested also in the recovery of the sources.

I come now to the consideration of the second great difference between the East and the West—the equipment for the handling of historical materials, which includes equipment for gathering, housing, cataloguing, and making available the data and at the same time creating a sentiment for their critical use. The difference here is all the difference between the compactness of the East and the vast expanse of the West, the difference between an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing population on the one hand, and that migratory one of the “diggings” and the camp on the other. As the tide of population has rolled over these vast western regions, it has left here and there an isolated settlement. Under such conditions public institutions are but slowly established, social consciousness is but tardily matured. In a State where each individual man, woman, and child has from 1 to 1½ square miles to himself, how are you to evolve a common consciousness for the support of institutions for the common good? An insane asylum? Yes; and a prison, for the classes which are thus cared for are alike dangerous to society. An orphan asylum? Yes; for the miner's heart is proverbially large when it is a question of the protection of the weak. A university? Yes; for has not the Federal Government offered us an inducement to create an institution which shall bear the name

of university and draw the Federal moneys? An historical society? No; for what practical purpose may it serve, and the future is too far distant. Let the future take care of itself.

In the East the historical society also had its day of adversity, but there in those settled peaceful communities the pioneer remained where he had lived his life; there perhaps he bequeathed his property to the maintenance of historical work; there also the universities and colleges of the cultural type added the weight of their influence; there the newness of the West made the East seem old and revered by way of contrast; there a distinctly literary and leisure class furnished leadership in the enterprise. The Middle West caught the spirit and again there was an era of struggle while social consciousness was forming, and then the era of triumph in States like Wisconsin, where a six hundred thousand dollar building is now thought none too good for the State historical society.

Here in the West we are still in the era of struggle. In States like Nevada many of our pioneers have departed with their wealth; others are so widely scattered that no effective organization is possible. Our younger population, busy with the charge of practical work ever exceeding its power of accomplishment, seeks in its hours of relaxation not instruction but amusement. As a community, therefore, we have not reached a stage where we conceive of historical work as a natural and necessary activity, either of the State or of the locality. Unlike the East, we have no prospect of large private endowments; unlike the central region, we have no certain support from the State. The Nevada society, though a State institution, has during the past two years been left to private charity, and this partly through indifference and false economy, partly through blunders on the part of clerks. The aid of individuals has kept alive our work, but at what a sacrifice of historical data only those at the wheel may guess. This situation has been duplicated in other Western States at other times, nor is there assurance that in some one of our Western States it may not occur again.

As provision for the equipment for the work in the West is more precarious than in the East, so, also, is the need for that equipment the more urgent. The work of investigation and publication may wait, but to pause in the collection is to fail in our most important purpose. This work must be done now or never.

It would seem, therefore, to be a most important feature of the work of the western historical society to seek to create a historical consciousness. In order to develop a true interest in the past, we must interest individual citizens in the things of the present; we must seek to break up the feeling that the State is an artificial creation; we must make it a real organic thing in the eyes of the people, a something whose past history is precious because it has led to the present. We must make the historical society so minister to present

needs that it shall make the citizens of to-day more capable of understanding the events of the present. They must be made to feel that because of its existence the present generation will have greater wisdom of decision and greater sanity of action.

And while it is thus seeking to serve it must be cautious lest its acts be misinterpreted. It must seek to maintain a balance between its ideal of work and that which present conditions make possible—the old question of opportunism or principle. It must prove that it is not a mere scheme for the exploitation of State revenues. It must create confidence and trust through wise leadership, and it must transform what seems like private or personal interests into public policies. It must guard against the appearance of the demagogue. Its appeal must be to the people and not to the mob. It must keep out of politics, yet remain dependent upon politicians. Its connection with the State is of the very essence of its life, or, as President Pritchett has said of our State university, its danger and its opportunity. Thus, while it seeks to gain equipment for further work over an extensive and costly field, it must, without regular funds, cover that field and show by example what may be accomplished in the future. State legislatures, it would seem, act on the time-old principle that “to him that hath shall be given.”

As the field is larger and the work more expensive in the West, so the problem is the greater. “What!” said a Nevada statesman to me the other day, “You ask for 1 per cent of the income of the State for your annual support?” “Yes,” I replied; “and how large a per cent of that State income is being devoted to scientific research year by year and you never question the usefulness of the expenditure?” And another intelligent man not long ago queried whether in the course of a few years the work would not be completed and the expense stopped. How difficult, then, is this problem of the creation of historical consciousness which shall demand that present history shall be recorded as well as the past recovered.

The Western States are in all stages of progress with respect to such a consciousness. Some have gone far out on the skirmish line and are bravely holding their own against all enemies. Some, as California, have a tower of strength in the support of large universities. In other sections the universities are poor and feel unable to divide their attention and resources between scientific and historical research, or, while fostering that part of history which concerns the natural, the physical, and the applied sciences, they are forgetful of that residuum which remains and which has not yet been absorbed into the domain of political science, economics, and sociology.

But all the Western States have alike a great future work to perform in these first and second stages of our renaissance—in the creating of historical consciousness, in the collecting and preserving of historical data. Should we not seek to aid one another in this work?

Mr. Himes last year in his inspiring address on the unity of the Pacific coast dwelt upon that unity in the past. I to-day would emphasize the need of unity for the future. I do not mean that the branch any more than the national association should make large collections. I do not believe in any one general depository. Each State is an entity in itself, and this for geographical as well as for political reasons. Each State has expressed its life in a little different form from any other State. Therefore it has a history of its own and is entitled to its own collection.

But what we may and should have in common is a united purpose to use our mutual influence to aid in lessening the difficulties of our individual work. And then, when the State collections have been made and interpreted by the historical workers in the States, should it not be the function of the Pacific Coast Branch to distil, from the alembic of the parts, a something in the way of history which shall characterize the development of the whole coast, and to interpret that product to the Nation at large and to the world? For, next to its work of aiding the parts of its organization, it would seem to me to be the function of this branch to interpret the West to the East; to contribute to the East not merely the finished product of our research, but to convey to that East as well some sense of the difficulties of our field and of its richness alike. To be in New York at the annual meeting last winter was to realize how small is that comprehension to-day. As eastern capital, seeking extraordinary dividends, invests in western industrial enterprises, so perchance some day may eastern historical capital; thus perchance may the Nation at large. What the Morrill Act has done for scientific research, that may some future legislative act do for history.

As for Nevada, mayhap I have painted you a dark picture. But for Nevada there is hope. Her people are not less gritty and strong and resourceful than the sagebrush which covers her plains and her mountains. Her progress has been against fearful physiographical odds. We marvel that she has come so far as she has. The decline of her prison population and the lack of increase in her orphan asylum would seem to point to more stable conditions. The political progress she has made with respect to antigambling laws, primary election, referendum and recall, etc., would indicate that social consciousness is rapidly being developed in spite of isolation. As she seeks to establish more permanent industries in connection with her mines, she gives promise of less transient population. She is still a missionary field in certain respects. But the time may yet come when like England of old which was christianized from the continent, and which in its turn converted Germany, so Nevada may yet send her apostles to enrich other fields as in times past she has sent her bullion to build San Franciscos and New Yorks.

XIV. THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN,
University of Chicago.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Harvard University.

JAMES H. ROBINSON,
Columbia University.

JAMES SULLIVAN,
Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.



THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE¹.

This committee was appointed by the council of the American Historical Association at the Madison meeting in 1907. As originally constituted the committee included, besides the four members signing this report, Mr. Charles W. Mann, professor of history in Lewis Institute, Chicago. Mr. Mann died in the spring of 1909. He had been much interested in the work of the committee, and as a practical schoolman had paid careful attention to the problems to be solved. We take this opportunity to express our sorrow for the loss of a wise and successful teacher and our appreciation of the value of his counsel.

I. RELATION OF THIS COMMITTEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN.

Although two of the members of this committee were also members of the committee of seven, we make no pretense of representing the earlier committee or of attempting to give an authoritative interpretation of its report. We have made a new study of the conditions in the schools, and have entered once again into a careful consideration of the history curriculum. The report of the committee of seven, however, has necessarily been our starting point; we were appointed to determine what modifications, if any, were needed in the recommendations of the earlier committee. This task could not be performed without interpreting the report; and in some instances interpretation or emphasis appeared more desirable than any very distinct modification. In the following pages, therefore, we present, not only our own recommendations for change, but also what appears to us to be the proper or the most helpful and useful construction of the work of the committee of seven.

II. THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN.

In 1899, when the committee of seven published its report, the schools were ready for decided change in the curriculum and for advance in methods. The report appears to have judged the general situation correctly, and, in the main, to have recommended steps that the schools were prepared to take. From one side of the continent to the other courses were fashioned with deference to its recom-

¹ See the report of the committee of seven on this subject in the annual report for 1898, pp. 427-564.

mendations. The report of the committee affected not merely the curriculum but also the method and even the aims of history teaching, and its natural result was also to bring about, or help to bring about, the establishment of substantially similar curricula in a large portion of the schools the country over. In general this movement appears to us to have been wise and admirable. The approximate uniformity in the history curricula of the schools is in itself so desirable that the condition ought not to be disturbed except for strong reasons or where there is good ground for expectation that a large percentage of the schools can easily and willingly accommodate themselves to the change. Not that absolute conformity to a fixed régime is in all cases wise; local conditions or peculiar circumstances may justly have more influence on the shaping of a curriculum than any theory of adjustment or of correlation of studies. But there is such a thing as a logically developed series of history courses, and there are general principles that are largely applicable to the great majority of schools; such principles may in special cases need modification, but they need not be entirely ignored. It is probably unnecessary to prove to the practical teacher the convenience of substantially similar courses in the high schools, especially if college entrance requirements are, or can be brought to be, in accord with what the schools are prepared to furnish.

In light of all these facts we have felt it peculiarly advisable to look into present conditions carefully and to recommend only such change as appeared indubitably advantageous and clearly in the line of progress. Fortunately no very radical alteration in the curriculum appears necessary.¹

III. THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The present committee was appointed by the American Historical Association as the result of a petition from the Headmasters' Association proposing that certain changes be made in the report of the committee of seven. The petition asked for a modification in the extent of the field of ancient history and for a reduction of what was thought to be an over-emphasis upon the desirability of cultivating the reasoning faculty rather than "mere memory" by historical study. Before taking action on these matters, it appeared to us necessary to study the whole subject anew, to gather information concerning the existing situation in the schools, and to make recommendations that

¹ The committee of seven recommended four fields of history, each normally a year's work, to be taken in the following order:

1. Ancient history, with special reference to Greek and Roman history, but including also a short introductory study of the more ancient nations. This period should also embrace the early Middle Ages, and should close with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire (800) or with the death of Charlemagne (814) or with the Treaty of Verdun (843).

2. Medieval and modern European history, from the close of the first period to the present time.

3. English history.

4. American history and civil government.

the general survey of the field appeared to justify. We sent circulars of inquiry to history teachers in all sections of the country and obtained helpful information from the answers to these inquiries. We gained further knowledge from discussions in teachers' meetings and associations. The general subject was discussed in the American Historical Association, in the New England History Teachers' Association, in the North Central History Teachers' Association, in the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, in a convention of the History Teachers of California, and in other gatherings as well. Some of the associations have made special and detailed study of the problems we have had to consider, and the published reports of these associations have been serviceable in enabling us to appreciate the prevailing sentiment on critical questions and to estimate differences of opinion and judgment. The recommendations in the following pages, therefore, are based on information gained from a variety of sources.

To give in detail or in synoptical form all the information gathered from the replies to the questions in the committee's circular appears to be unnecessary; but it may be well to give here a brief survey of the general situation as disclosed by these replies and by the debates and reports to which we have just referred.

(1) Ten years ago there were some sharp criticisms of the committee of seven's report because it ventured to mark out a course in history extending over four years. But even then an occasional school was offering a similar amount of work, and since that time the development of the school curriculum has shown that four years of work can be quite generally offered. For example, out of 93 schools which, in reply to our inquiry, describe or name their history courses, 7 offer five years of work, 38 offer four years, 2 offer three and a half years, 42 offer three years, and 4 offer two years. It is thus apparent that four years of work is a possible amount. Although a sound three-year course may be recommended to schools desiring to do only three years' work, it is equally desirable to prepare a four-year scheme for schools that can furnish the longer schedule. This committee believes, as did the committee of seven, that four years are needed and should be offered where conditions permit.

(2) It is not so easy as it might at first appear to ascertain just how far the school curricula have been shaped in accordance with the report of the committee of seven.¹ But it is not necessary to know by exact measurement the influence of the report; it is sufficient to

¹ For example, in answer to the question, "How far has this course [of yours] been drawn up or shaped in accordance with the recommendations of the committee of seven?" one school says, "Not at all"; but the course given is, nevertheless—

First year, ancient history to 800 A. D.

Second year, 800 to the present time.

Third year, English history.

Fourth year, American History and civics

know that, whether the report has been consciously followed or not, school programs are now very commonly, though by no means universally, in accord with its recommendations. Moreover, even when there are variations in other particulars, many schools, we judge the vast majority, have abandoned the attempt to cover general history in a single year and have adopted the plan of offering blocks or periods of history. This alone constitutes an important approach to the scheme of the committee of seven.

(3) It is not possible to determine from the replies to our circular alone just what is the opinion of teachers concerning the field of ancient history. The conditions and difficulties are not the same in all sections of the country, probably. The teacher in the East, preparing pupils for college examinations in ancient history, works under conditions differing in some particulars from those in which the western teacher is placed; to omit portions of a text, to emphasize, to enlarge or to abbreviate as inclination suggests or as need of time demands, is a more serious operation for the teacher of history fitting pupils for examinations than it is to one whose pupils enter college on certificates stating that they have covered the field required. The difficulty in the eastern schools is not so much in the extent of the field to be covered as in the need of covering it all with a layer of equal and even thickness lest the unwary pupil be caught by an unexpected question of the examiner. Inconclusive as the replies to our circulars are, the information they give is not seriously at variance with that reached by other methods of inquiry; some of them contain the expected complaint, but the statistics appear to point to the conclusion that the majority of teachers are not discontented with the length of the field.

Of 107 schools giving adequate answers to the inquiries concerning the length of the period, 77 appear to cover oriental history and bring the study of ancient history down to 800 A. D., or try to do so; 9 stop at 476 A. D.; and 7 at some point in the fourth century. A number complain that the field is too long, a few that the freshmen are too immature, and several that the textbooks are unsatisfactory.

(4) On the subject of medieval and modern history there are differences of opinion and practice. Amid all this diversity, however, one thing is quite apparent. Many schools—we are inclined to believe a distinct majority—are desirous of emphasizing modern history. Certainly the tendency is too strong to be ignored. Here again one can not form one's opinion solely from the replies to our circulars; but as usual they bear out the conclusions one gains from other sources. Of the schools whose replies have been compiled, 7 do not offer work in the field of medieval or modern history; 14 do not state the limits of the field as they actually teach it; 67 aim to come down to the present day; 11 do not attempt to do this; 64 schools are in favor of placing more emphasis on the later portion;

7 do not think such emphasis practicable; 26 give no opinion. Some 13 schools are in favor of a special course in modern history; and 28 wish to gain time for the study of modern history by shortening the time given to medieval history.

(5) Concerning the relation between United States history and civil government, and concerning the extent to which government can be taught in direct connection with history, there are also marked differences of opinion. There is evident difficulty to ascertain from the replies in the circular just what the teachers desire. There are many possible grades between teaching government and history in two totally detached courses, on the one hand, and teaching them in one combined course, on the other; moreover, a combined course may appear the best if the time at disposal is short, and two interrelated and interdependent courses may appear desirable where more time is available. The questions in the circular were as follows: "To what extent does your study of American history include civil government? Does your experience indicate that civil government can best be taught as a part of the work in American history?" The following are typical answers:

"Our study of American history does include civil government, and our teachers of American history are emphatic in the opinion that for a secondary school the only feasible way in which to teach civil government is in connection with the American history. They heartily indorse the views of the committee of seven upon that point."

"About one-fifth civil government with a textbook. I have taught it in each way and prefer to make it a part of the work in American history."

"Our study of American history includes the study of political science. About two-fifths of the time is given up to this. Experience has indicated that it can best be taught in connection with the work in American history. The principal objection that we find to this plan is that it reduces the time for history."

"It should be taught in both ways—historically, as a part of history; systematically and logically, as a separate course."

"Without doubt civics can of itself best be taught—I say from experience—separately. In five months devoted to civics my class would have more knowledge of government than they have now, but not so much of United States history."

"I am rather inclined to the view that an adequate course in civics may best be given after the student has had the history course."¹

¹ An experienced teacher, when asked how civil government was taught, replied: "In connection with American history." "Do you set aside so many hours a week or a definite number of weeks in the year for government?" "No." "How does the plan work?" "Splendidly." "Do you use a textbook in government?" "Certainly." "Do you believe this plan of teaching the two together to be the best?" "That depends on the teacher." "Possibly we have here the real situation; some teachers can without difficulty manage the system, others can not. But schools should give opportunity to the teacher to teach in the way in which he finds he can produce best results."

The analysis appears to show that 41 schools favor teaching the two subjects together in a course that may be called American history and civil government; 32 prefer separate courses; 23 partly follow the plan of teaching the two together; others are doubtful.

Such replies and such information are, as we have said, inconclusive. But in light of all the facts we can gather we are justified, probably, in saying that there is an undoubted desire on the part of many teachers to have the opportunity to give a separate course in government, especially for the purpose of dwelling on certain phases of actual politics and government that can not be readily and adequately discussed in connection with American history. The need is not so much for a radical revision of method as for sufficient time to do both subjects profitably.

(6) On the subject of memorizing and the attempt to get generalized knowledge, the circular asked the following question: "Does it seem to you that the committee [of seven] has laid undue stress upon comprehensive and generalized knowledge and led to the undue neglect of matters specific and detailed?" The answers are clearly in favor of the report; 11 think that the committee does lay too much stress on comprehensive and generalized knowledge; 66 do not think so; 19 are non-committal.¹

(7) The circular contained an inquiry upon school equipment for teaching history. Probably the schools receiving the circular were, on the whole, above the average in advantages and in general strength. However this may be, there is evidence that there is a wide use of illustrative material, an earnest desire to use as much as can profitably be used, and a sense of the value of sources as illustrative material.

IV. THE TEACHER AND THE MATERIAL FOR HIS USE.

The most important factor in the schoolroom is not the curriculum, the text, or even the method, but the teacher. The schools are taking history more seriously than they did 10 years ago, and superintendents and school trustees are beginning to see how difficult it is to get history taught as it should be taught. Of course it is a comparatively easy task to follow the winding way of a thoughtless pupil over the pages of a well-smoothed textbook. It is not difficult for a teacher to watch his charges narrowly as they move along from one rigid paragraph to the next. If the pupils ask no questions, the teacher is in no imminent danger of telling untruths. But if history is to be a study

¹ In a series of recommendations addressed to the committee of five by the New England Teachers' Association appears the following paragraph: "In general the critics of the recommendation of the committee of seven complain of the length of the field covered, and to it attribute the apparent failure of the teacher of history to impress upon the student the value of facts, and do not feel that such a failure is due to the emphasis placed by the report upon the value of generalized knowledge, but rather believe it has been of especial value in leading our teachers of history to develop power in our pupils."

of actual educational value and culture, if the boy and girl are to be given insight into social life, some real sense of time and movement, and, above all, interest, vital interest, in books and facts, the teacher must have character, enthusiasm, and knowledge. Because we believe so profoundly in the helpfulness of historical study, the necessity of bringing the pupils to see the world about them as the product of past ages, the value of learning to handle books and to think and speak clearly—not alone of quantities in algebra or of facts in physics, but of human doings—we wish here distinctly to state our belief that all questions of curriculum are comparatively insignificant. The schools have a right to demand teachers that are prepared to teach history and have the ability and the spirit to teach it right. Public schools, supported by taxation, that are content with the old idea that anybody can teach history, that anybody can trace the line of life through the past and give his pupils the spark of interest and the fire of useful knowledge, have, in our opinion, a distorted conception of their responsibility. The great demand of the day is for teachers that have themselves inhaled the breath of enthusiasm, and that have knowledge, skill, and force.

No one knows better than the members of the committee how hard it is to have adequate knowledge and to combine with knowledge an unflinching supply of interest and courage. We know too that a great deal of good work is being done. But the fact remains that there is a need for *more* good teachers; the schools need far better equipment; and the teachers need more time to prepare their lessons, to seek out illustrative material, and to direct the study of their pupils. Excellent as are the texts that have appeared in recent years, they can not take the place of teachers well trained in history; the poorly equipped teacher may nullify the results to be derived from the best texts.

Most schools are badly in need of equipment for doing their work right. Teachers of history, when contrasted with the teachers of science, have been modest in their requests. In most schools the provision for sound and substantial work in history is quite inadequate. Good wall maps, large, framed photographs of historical remains and historical places, a good working general library, a small classroom library with duplicate copies of the most important works, lantern slides, which can if necessary be shown with an inexpensive and portable lantern, cheap pictures and reprints of interesting sources for illustration and for special study—these are necessities in a school that expects the best results. The history teacher is as much entitled to helpful apparatus as the science teacher is to the expensive appliances of his laboratory. In history, as in science, pupils must learn facts, and learn also to do things and see things for themselves; but if they are to get the best training, if they are to

study history to the best advantage, they must have the tools with which to work and the opportunity to use the tools they have. A room devoted to history, a room well stocked with such materials as pupils can use and enjoy, will some day, and we hope soon, be considered as indispensable as the laboratory in the well-equipped school.

V. THE FOUR-YEAR COURSE AND THE THREE-YEAR COURSE.

Ten or eleven years ago when the committee of seven was at work, circulars were widely distributed and the returns carefully examined. At that time one-half of the schools answering the circulars reported a course in general history; i. e., they sought to cover the field of universal history in six months or a year. The committee of seven in its report strongly combated the idea that pupils could profitably be carried over the whole field in a single year. Earnestly advocating the advisability of studying the whole period where possible, the report recommended that four years be devoted to the subject and the whole field be divided into blocks or periods, each to be recognized as a unit for college entrance. Each block appeared to be brief enough to give ample opportunity for real history work, for a study of men and of concrete facts.

As we have shown in considering the replies to our circulars and in an attempt to state briefly what the general situation is, there has been a tendency to accept these recommendations. Blocks or periods of history not dissimilar to those marked out by the committee of seven are commonly used. We are at the present time, however, occasionally confronted with complaints and desires that are of exactly opposite character. Occasionally a teacher, more frequently, we believe, a superintendent not actually engaged in history teaching, advocates the retention or the re-establishment of the short course in general history; on the other hand, one sometimes hears the declaration that it is impossible to cover the period of the world's history in four years. The first complaint arises from a sense of the desirability of a comprehensive view of the whole field; the other, from an appreciation of the difficulty of teaching well and wisely when the field is broad and long.

It is not our intention to discuss anew the inadvisability of adopting the short course in general history; that matter is fully and, we believe, convincingly treated in the report of the committee of seven. It is conceivable that some teachers, under advantageous conditions, with some students, may after a fashion cover the whole course of the world's history in a single year; but it appears to us as a general thing altogether unwise to make the attempt. Such a conclusion appears unavoidable for many reasons, but chiefly for the reason that there are many things to be gained from historical study besides a comprehensive view and equally proportioned knowledge; and even

if such a view and such knowledge could be secured by the study of general history in a single year, perspective and proportion would be acquired at the expense of what is much more valuable—training and insight and comprehension.

That the fields marked out by the committee of seven are too extensive for four years' study is, it appears, the belief of some teachers. At least we find one experienced and learned college teacher saying that the committee of seven "unintentionally perpetrated a pleasantry on the teaching world." This pleasantry is said to consist in the declaration that it is possible to cover the entire range of history from early Grecian times to the present day in four years. As a matter of fact the pleasantry might more justly be considered as an effort to persuade schools to give up the attempt to accomplish this task in a single year. Teachers were advised by the report to accept the four-period system, and, if only three years were available, either to omit one of the periods entirely or to combine two of them into one. Objections to the plan of covering general history in four years are probably indications of progress, or, at all events, of a desire to give thorough work, to require or induce extensive reading, and to allow the free use of illustrative material. But whether these objections are signs of progress or not, they appear to be ill-founded. More than four years can not be used in the great majority of schools, and when so much time is devoted to history it is quite within the range of sense and possibility to cover general history and to teach the subject well.

The trouble, if there be any, lies in the fact that teachers complaining of the inadequacy of a four years' course in general history, or asserting that the blocks or periods marked out by the committee of seven are too long and cumbersome, try, or think they are expected to try, to cover the whole range of history with a layer of information of uniform thickness. They do not understand that in going over a field they can, by wise omissions and clever condensations, here and there, gain the time and the chance to plow deeper in some portions than in others. No one can seriously propose that, in four years, pupils be taught everything that can be learned; and in our opinion stress to-day comes largely from textbooks that are loaded with unnecessary facts, from this feeling that omission and condensation are culpable, and perhaps, too, from such college entrance examinations as make it necessary to teach all that a text contains. When a school offers its pupils the opportunities of a four years' history course, it does not appear necessary to omit treatment of any great period in the world's history in order to get substantial results. But even with such a course the teacher must use discrimination, be ready to omit unnecessary and unedifying details, pass over unappetizing and unnourishing narrative, and emphasize and illustrate the por-

tions of the field that are specially worthy of study and thought. This process of omission and condensation, of emphasis and clarification, of dwelling with interest and sympathy on what most deserves interest and sympathy, is the process which tries the teacher's soul, but it is the essential element of good teaching, if good teaching can justly be called a matter of method at all.

Unfortunately the schools do not by any means universally offer four years of history. There are many schools that offer but three years, and with this allotment of time many teachers must be content. If only three years are available, how shall they be used? That is a question much more troublesome than the proper distribution of studies under the four-year scheme. There appears to be positively no agreement concerning what should be given or what omitted, although in general, probably, the problem is solved by the omission of a whole period or section of history, such as ancient or English, rather than by any system of condensation or combination. Of course the plan of merely omitting all consideration of some one block is the simplest; and in many instances it must be the wisest plan, for to attempt condensation or the rapid survey of a wide period can not be profitable if the teacher is inexperienced or if he has not the opportunity to make thorough and thoughtful preparation. This is especially true because texts are not commonly arranged for the three years' scheme.

We are not ready, however, to assert that the course of the world's history can in no case be covered intelligently and effectively in three years, and that the only thing to do is to drop bodily out of sight some great and important section. The experienced teacher may find it quite possible to trace the main development and to gather the main lessons, and to accomplish the task without studying mere mechanical outlines on the one hand or struggling with philosophic generalizations on the other. This task must be performed by the wisest and most discriminating selection of the important and by the skillful subordination of the unessential; and it must be performed, too, without losing sight of the fact that the pupil must be so taught that he touches particulars. The secondary pupil must deal with real facts and with real men, with institutions as men worked in them and with them; he must have time to think and read as well as to learn. We must not forget that history merits a place in the curriculum because of its distinctly educational value; by it the pupil learns how the toil and labor of the past generations made the present; he learns to read and think of social problems. Such ends are not attained by any unreal and impersonal treatment of institutions and processes, or by the memorizing of chronological outlines.

It would be inappropriate to attempt here any ample illustration of the process of condensation and elimination that might be suitable

for a three years' course. That process can be accomplished only by the skillful text-writer or by the wise teacher in the classroom. We do suggest, however, that if it seems wise to omit any detailed study of ancient history and to give the three years substantially to the other three blocks, the teacher, while omitting all detail, may still attempt to give his pupils some idea of the growth of the ancient nations, and some idea of their achievements and their qualities. Hurried and unsatisfactory as such treatment must be, it need not be profitless; the pupil need not enter upon the study of medieval history with no appreciation of antiquity. The essentials of Greek civilization can be pointed out with considerable distinctness; the pupil can learn with some clearness the main steps by which Rome encircled the Mediterranean and established her far-reaching dominion; he can get some knowledge of the most salient facts in Roman organization and government. For such study time must be gained by elimination and condensation, chiefly in the treatment of the thousand years of English and continental history that come before the age of discovery. In many cases, probably, the teacher will have to give this introductory survey by oral instruction.

If in a three years' course ancient history be given as usual in the four-year curriculum, condensation and elimination must, of course, be attempted in other fields. The medieval field must then be treated as only introductory to the later time, and only those facts can be dwelt upon that conspicuously aid in a comprehension of the modern era. If the second year's work is general European history, the teacher will seek to give a knowledge of the most striking facts in the development of England. If European history is omitted, English history should be so taught as to bring out the chief phases of the general European environment. The omission of American history does not seem in any case to be advisable, and probably in no three-year schedule can the time allotted to it be materially shortened—its lessons are too immediate, its content is too valuable. And yet even here it may be quite possible to teach certain portions of colonial history in connection with English history, and thus to bring out the great fact of England's expansion as well as some of the essentials of her growth.

VI. ANCIENT HISTORY.

The committee of seven recommended that ancient history should be taken as one field of study. The schools were advised, instead of giving separate and detached courses in Greek and Roman history, to give a single course covering the history of both peoples. The committee believed that the time had come when ancient history might "be studied independently as an interesting, instructive, and valuable part of the history of the human race," and not merely as a sort of appendix to the languages of Greece and Rome. There

appeared to be abundant reason for treating the field as one field and not dividing it into two, as if the nations of antiquity lived and walked in isolated grandeur, and as if Greek history ended before Rome began. There appeared then, and there appears now, every reason for studying the history of the ancient world as one subject in schools, and the whole tendency of scholarly investigation is in the same direction. On this point, fortunately, there appears to be no material difference of opinion among competent teachers of history.

As a means of securing this broader study of ancient history and placing Greek and Roman history in its proper setting, the committee of seven advocated a brief introductory survey of oriental history in order that students should not be dropped into Greek history without appreciation of the fact that thousands of years of recorded history had already passed over the world and made important contributions to its civilization. This survey was urged "as an indispensable background for the study of the classical peoples," but it has not always been understood that it should be given only as a background, and ought in no case to involve a memorizing of dynasties or even a continuous narration. What such a course should contain is excellently stated by the committee of seven, and the present committee sees no reason for modifying that recommendation: "It should aim to give (*a*) an idea of the remoteness of these oriental beginnings of the length and reach of recorded history; (*b*) a definite knowledge of the names, location, and chronological succession of the early oriental nations; (*c*) the distinguishing features of their civilizations, as concretely as possible; (*d*) the recognizable lines of their influence on later times." The statement of the committee of seven that this survey should not exceed one-eighth of the entire time devoted to ancient history has sometimes been interpreted as meaning that one-eighth of a year is a minimum, whereas in our opinion it should occupy distinctly less than that amount of time. Fortunately the treatment of this field in the textbooks has greatly improved since the report of the committee of seven was written, and the better texts now offer a wise guidance in the selection and emphasis of facts concerning the oriental period.

As a further means of unifying ancient history and breaking down the traditional isolation of Greece and Rome, the committee of seven recommended emphasis upon the Hellenistic period, as the age when Greek civilization spread over the East and when Greece and Rome were drawn together, and upon the Roman Empire as the culmination of ancient history and the starting point of later development. These recommendations in themselves seem to have met with little criticism, but there has been a widespread complaint that they can not be carried out in schools in the time available for the study of ancient history. The cup of Greek and Roman history was already

full, and nothing could be added. In one sense the kernel of this objection is perfectly sound; what is needed is not so much more time for this course, as a radical revision of its subject matter in the light of the progress of historical investigation and the results of classroom experience. The content of the course is still too largely shaped by the tradition which made it the handmaid to the study of certain classical authors and filled it with military and constitutional detail without regard to larger historical perspective; and too little attention has been paid to selecting and dwelling only on such facts as can be clearly apprehended by pupils at the age when the subject is usually studied. Thus for those who have as yet scarcely any acquaintance with their own Government, the attempt is made to teach the early constitutional development of Athens and Rome, subjects which are obscure and difficult even for maturer students and, at least in the case of Rome, are usually presented in accordance with outgrown views of historical study. We can see no useful purpose that is served at this stage by comparing the Solonian and Draconian legislation or learning the details of the Valerio-Horatian laws.

Young pupils entering upon a new and complicated field of study should commonly be taught something of the statics of government before its dynamics receive much attention; the workings of a political system at a given period should precede the tracing of constitutional development. In the study of Athenian history in the secondary school, the early development should be disregarded and effort concentrated upon the actual workings of Athenian democracy in the Periclean age. Likewise in Roman history no attempt should be made to reconstruct the institutions of the regal period or the supposed history of the struggle between the orders. The teacher will do well if he leaves a clear understanding of the government of the republic in the period of the Punic wars, the character of the provincial system, the constitutional issues of the later republic, the changes introduced by Augustus, and the nature of the later empire. Throughout the study of ancient history much better results would be secured by fuller and more descriptive study of significant epochs, at the expense of much chronological narration once deemed important. Historically as well as pedagogically, for example, it would be far better to begin the study of Roman history where our actual knowledge begins, at the close of the fourth century B. C., and give a brief account of the Romans, their life and government and how they conquered Italy, leaving for more advanced study the difficult problems of the reconstruction of early Roman history from the legends and the guesses of the later Romans. By beginning at this point the natural connection with Greek history is made in the war with Pyrrhus, and the struggle with Carthage becomes,

what it should be, a piece of Mediterranean rather than of local Italian history. If it is thought desirable to give in the secondary school some of the legends of early Rome, they can be introduced here as illustrating the character and ideals of the Romans and their beliefs concerning Rome's past.

The suggestion of the committee of seven which has attracted the most attention is the one advising the continuation of ancient history down to 800 A. D. The reasons for this recommendation are apparently these: (1) Such an arrangement shortens the period that follows; the great field of medieval and modern history is made more manageable; (2) to break off the history of Rome abruptly at 476 or at any previous time is to leave the old impression that Rome actually fell and disappeared, while one of the most important facts in history is the continuing influence of the eternal city; (3) "to break off with the year 476 is to leave the pupil in a world of confusion—the invasions only begun, the church not fully organized, the empire not fully 'fallen'"; (4) in the light of the way in which Roman history was not infrequently taught—as if with the daggers of Cassius and Brutus, or at best with the burial of Augustus or the unsaintly Tiberius, the greatness of Rome were gone—it is especially desirable that connection be made between the history of Rome and the beginning of the Middle Ages, and that the tale should not be stopped without pointing to the appearance on the western horizon of States and systems which, in some measure, relying on the traditions of Roman order and the inheritance of her law, were to form the foundation not only of medieval but of modern Europe.

These reasonings appear to us on the whole sound, and the great majority of schools seem to have accommodated themselves to this plan of prolonging the study of ancient history into the earlier middle ages. While, however, we find ourselves in accord with the committee of seven on this much-debated point, we believe that the matter requires further and more specific explanation. Many school masters and examiners have interpreted this recommendation as demanding as intensive a study of the period from Constantine to Charlemagne as is commonly given to the later republic and the early empire, and this misconception has naturally led to a protest against the possibility of crowding such an amount of additional matter into a year already full. The difficulty has been rendered acute in many schools through the practice of the college entrance examination board of setting questions on the later period which could be answered only as the result of somewhat detailed study. Such an interpretation of the committee's recommendation seems to us not only out of harmony with the spirit of its report, but contrary to sound historical teaching, and we desire to set forth more fully our views on this subject.

No period of history can properly be taught without some reference to what precedes and what follows; and no course on ancient history, however elementary, ought to omit some reference to the Middle Ages which came after, as well as to the oriental nations which went before. If the Roman Empire is in any sense the "great central fact in the history of nations," the pupil must be led to understand its central position by seeing, not only its origin, but its influence on later times. He must be shown that Rome did not "fall" in any one year, but that by a process of change the ancient world gradually disappeared and a new medieval world took its place. To stop the study of ancient history in 180 or 395 or 476 is inevitably to give the impression that ancient history ends at this point and in some way stands apart from the subsequent history of the world. There is, on the other hand, nothing peculiarly sacred in the year 800. It is simply a convenient stopping place from which the student can look back and see by contrasting the empire of Charlemagne with that of Augustus something of the process by which the ancient world was transformed into the medieval. Some teachers may perhaps succeed in accomplishing the same end by stopping with the death of Justinian; others, especially where no specific study of medieval history is to follow, may wish to carry their classes still further in the effort to establish a connection between ancient and modern times. The main point is that these transitional centuries should be used to round out the view of ancient history and show its relations to modern.

Similarly in the study of medieval history it will be necessary to treat this same period, but from a different point of view, that of the origins of medieval civilization. To chop European history in two at the year 800 is not much better than to chop it in two at 476, for the result is to violate historical continuity and give a factitious importance to a date which should serve merely as an historical convenience.

The period between Constantine and Charlemagne, being neither wholly ancient nor wholly medieval, should accordingly be studied both in the course on ancient history and in that on medieval and modern history, but it should be approached in each case from a different point of view. In the course on ancient history the emphasis should be put upon the Roman elements. In studying the later empire attention should be given to those elements which remained rather than to those which perished—to the power and influence of the emperor as determining the persistence of the imperial ideal; to the Roman law; to the Latin language; and to the local life of the civitas and the villa. Christianity should be studied particularly in its relations to Rome as seen in its establishment as a state religion,

its organization as modeled on the local organization of the empire, with the bishop as the center of the religious life of the civitas, and its absorption of the Roman culture which it was to transmit to the Middle Ages. The Germanic invasions should likewise be taken up primarily in relation to the overthrow of the Roman Empire; no attempt should be made to follow the migrations in detail, but the history of a single people, such as the Visigoths, should be traced, and the growth and extent of the Frankish Empire should be made clear as a basis for a description of conditions of western Europe under Charlemagne. Attention should carefully be called to the continuation of the Empire in the East and to the part of the Greek Empire in perpetuating Roman law and in civilizing eastern Europe, but its narrative history should not be carried beyond the time of Justinian. Such a tapering-off of Roman history can not fail to leave a clear impression of the character and the abiding importance of ancient civilization.

All such topics should, of course, be treated as simply and concretely as possible, and should require but a small number of exercises at the close of the year; and suitable questions upon these should find a place in examination papers on ancient history. Candidates might, for example, be asked to describe city life in the Roman Empire; to show how Christianity was made the state religion; to give a brief account of the history of the Visigoths; to show how the eastern and western empires became separated; to explain what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* is and mention important States in which its influence is still felt; to name the countries which speak a language derived from the Latin; to trace the boundaries of Justinian's or Charlemagne's Empire as compared with that of Augustus's. On the other hand, such subjects as the rise and spread of Mohammedanism, the specific institutions of the Germans (such as the *comitatus* or the *ordeal*), monasticism, and the history of the Papacy, while they fall chronologically in the period before 800, are so essentially a part of medieval history that no examiner or board of examiners should put questions upon them in a paper on ancient history. Topics such as these, whose culminating interest is reached in medieval times, are suitable material for questions in examinations in medieval and modern history.

One other matter needs consideration here. Some teachers declare that pupils of the first year are too immature for ancient history. If, however, a four years' course is to be given, what shall be done? Are they not in the same way unprepared for any field of history? Should the chronological order advised by the committee of seven be abandoned and some other field given the first year? Now, the only other field that one would think of is probably American history, and, as the report points out, if American history were substi-

tuted, this would mean a repetition of courses usually given in the later years of the elementary school; the work could not be conducted on a plane sufficiently advanced to be justified. If American history were given the first year, it would probably involve the omission of the more advanced work in American history, and, it may be, of civil government, which high-school pupils should have the chance to study in the latter part of the course.¹ If a three years' course is given, of course the work might not be begun until the second year.

The only possible solution appears to be one that is not on the whole regrettable. Ancient history must be made simpler and less abstract; more attention must be paid to the great men, less to the history of institutions; more time must be given to simple studies of art and habits of life; wars that mean nothing must be omitted, and time must be gained for easy, familiar talks and lessons about things that pupils of 14 can understand. Constitutional details must give place to pictures and to stories of the great deeds and achievements of antiquity. An attempt to show just how this can be done would be out of place here. There is an undoubted demand for textbooks that will aid the teachers in this difficult task; and there is need of abundant and cheap illustrative material. But the task must rest with the teacher. Difficult as it is, there is reason for thinking that it will be mastered. We feel confidence in saying that there is no other field of history so rich in materials of human interest and which can be made more vivid and comprehensible; but pupils will probably not be fired to enthusiasm by the reforms of Clisthenes, the duties of archons, the campaigns of the Samnite War, or the technicalities of the Roman Constitution.²

Such treatment as we suggest may not meet the requirements of entrance examinations, where colleges demand a year's work of such a character as may be done in the later years of the high school. But we can not see our way to advising a distortion of the school course in general because of the exigencies of examination. If colleges will make such demands, many schools must shape their courses accordingly. We believe, however, that it is unreasonable for colleges to demand work of such a character that it can be done only in the later part of the course or that necessitates taking the work over again in the fourth year. College entrance examinations should be arranged with regard to the normal sequence in the school

¹ Attention may be here called to the report of the committee of eight of the American Historical Association, dealing with history in the elementary schools.

² Reference may be made again to the remark in the report of the committee of seven as to the fact that Cæsar's Commentaries, loaded down with all sorts of antiquarian information, is put into the hands of pupils in the second year of the high school. Boys of 15 are often reading Xenophon. If a boy of 15 can read Cæsar in the original intelligently, can one of 14 not understand a simple story of ancient life in the vernacular? Beyond all question the complaint concerning the difficulty of the ancient field arises from a feeling that the teacher must have his pupils learn things that are ill adapted to this stage of growth. This feeling is based on tradition and possibly on a difficulty of selecting the significant, the picturesque, and the comprehensible.

course. Schools should not be compelled to keep subjects fresh merely for examination purposes, nor, after subjects have been once given well, should it be necessary to review them in the later years of the high school merely to meet college requirements. Such a process tends to a hopeless congestion in the last year and makes for cramming rather than real study. Some schools may be forced to give an ancient history course in the later years, but the great body of boys and girls will get what they most need by just such untechnical familiar study as we here suggest, and there is no peculiar salvation for their souls in knowing technical constitutional organization and the meaningless detail of war.

VII. "MERE MEMORY."

The report of the committee of seven did not emphasize the necessity of learning historical facts and did not dwell at length on the need of accuracy and precision. As far as methods of teaching are concerned, the report disapproved the practice of confining the pupil's work and interest to a textbook, and, on the other hand, objected to the "topical method" without the use of a text, because by such method "it is difficult to hold the pupils to a definite line of work" and because "there is danger of incoherence and confusion." The report also included definite suggestions concerning method, and discussed at considerable length the value of historical study as well as the aims of historical instruction. The present committee does not find that it can materially alter the recommendations of the report in these particulars.

If history teaching results only in the memorizing of a modicum of bare facts in the order in which they are given in a text, there is not much to be said in favor of the retention of the subject as an important part of the curriculum. This does not mean that pupils should not be accurate, painstaking, and thorough; it means that in addition to learning, and learning well, a reasonable amount of history from the text, the pupil should gain something more: he should learn how to use books and how to read them; he should be led to think about historical facts and to see through the pages of the book the life with which history deals; he may even be brought to see the relation between evidence and historical statement in simple cases where material is close at hand; he should in some measure get the historical state of mind.

This committee can not be persuaded that, when a pupil can be induced to think, and not merely learn by rote in other subjects—in physics, in English, and in geometry—he can not think in history without being in peril of losing hold on truth and of gaining a love for indistinctness and uncertainty. In fact, there appear to be two essential results that should be the product of historical study:

First, a firm, hard grasp of a reasonable quantity of facts; second, a sense of the meaning of historical facts and historical relations, some aptitude in gleaning knowledge from historical books, some appreciation of what history is, some historical imagination, some skill, though it be not great, in putting together the facts that one has learned. The committee does not need to be told that pupils entering college have a marked fondness for vague misinformation about the essentials of history. But surely this can not be attributed to the endeavor on the part of the teacher to arouse interest, to stimulate his pupils to read, to incite them to think and not merely repeat—unless in his enthusiasm he forget the danger of discussion without knowledge; for keen debate and even hard thinking, without a basis of fact for thought, unquestionably have their perils. The remedy and the control are, however, in the teacher's hands. It is all a matter of good judgment and good teaching. On either side there is difficulty and danger: on the one side, slavish adherence to a text and the loss of interest and training; on the other, distraction, incoherence, vague uncertainty, and possibly ignorant enthusiasm. The teacher of history has an incomparably difficult task; but we believe that a reasonable effort should be made to get the best results by avoiding both of these extremes.

In a great many ways teachers can add to the value of their work even when there is paucity of material outside the text, or when there is little time for collateral reading. Pupils can be taught by frequent exercises, both oral and written, to put together in their own way things they have learned at different times and in different parts of their textbooks; and, while this will develop their power in handling their knowledge, it will likewise strengthen their hold on what has been taught them. It is not too much to ask an intelligent boy who has just finished the reign of Edward I to gather together and put into writing what he has learned about the growth of Parliament from the time of the Conquest. It is not too much to ask one who has been studying the Napoleonic wars or the American Revolution what other wars he has studied about in which England and France were opposed. It may not be too much even to ask for a comparison of the way in which the French overthrew absolutism in the Revolution, with the way in which England gained her free constitution, if the pupil has already learned the facts and been given the elements of comparison. A pupil who has been going over American history should be able to say something of the activities of John C. Calhoun or of Henry Clay or to compare the work of the two statesmen, if he has already learned in various parts of the text the main facts which he is asked to put together. In this way constant review can be insured and continual practice in using the

knowledge he has gained. Much of this can be done without extensive collateral reading.

It has sometimes been said that the report of the committee of seven emphasized the importance of generalized knowledge and minimized the importance of memorized facts. If we may judge by the information from various sources, to which we have already referred, teachers at large do not believe that the report erred in this respect. The expression "mere memory," to which special exception was taken, does not appear in the report, but in certain statements emanating from the college entrance examination board which have apparently been transferred, with slight verbal alteration, to some college catalogues. We do not feel called upon to discuss this subject at length; our general conclusions are sufficiently presented in the preceding paragraphs; but lest there be a mistake, let us say expressly that the pupil should get more out of his study of history than the memory of a certain modicum of facts which, when the examination comes, he can faithfully reproduce, but reproduce only in the exact order and in the exact combination in which they appear in his text.

But let us also say, with equal emphasis, that pupils must be taught to know clearly, strongly, and well the essential facts of history; they must be taught to know what they know and hold fast to what they have. Whatever else we may do, we are certainly not succeeding as teachers of history if our pupils are slovenly and inaccurate, and if at the end of their study they know but little, and that vaguely. There may be some consolation in the thought that the uncertainty with which pupils often hold their inaccuracies is not at all confined to history. The condition is general, in fact, and its roots lie too deep to be attributed to any special advice from any one committee or to any method of instruction. But it is clearly our duty* to do our part in getting accuracy and certainty.

VIII. AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

Much discussion has recently arisen concerning the study of government and the relations of the subject to American history. A committee of the American Political Science Association has prepared and published a report on the matter. It enters very fully into a consideration of the relationship of the two studies and combats the recommendations, or what it believes to be the recommendations, of the committee of seven. Certain portions of that report appear to us to be based on a misconstruction of the report of the committee of seven and to underestimate the perfectly just and proper combination of history and government. But it is not necessary for us to discuss the subject at length. The purposes of the two associations can not be hopelessly at variance, and a discussion in conflicting reports would, at

the best, do no good. Both associations are anxious that suitable attention should be given the subjects in which they are especially interested, and each is ready, we are sure, to acknowledge its interest in the special field of the other; for government and political order can not be disassociated from history; and the historian that has no appreciation of the problems of modern government and of modern politics may lose his history in scholasticism or antiquarianism.

When the committee of seven reported, there was no national association of political scientists; the Historical Association included then, as indeed it does now, many teachers of government and politics; at least four members of the committee of seven had for years taught both government and history. It was not therefore beyond the province of that committee to make suggestions about teaching government, and especially to speak of the connection between government and history. The situation is now considerably changed; the present committee can with no show of right lay down definite regulations or explicit recommendations about the teaching of government or its place in the curriculum.¹ The most we can do is to present our views of the relations of government to history and make proposals for adjustment of time and proportional emphasis.

The statements of the report of the committee of seven, which are given in the note below,² appear to us unexceptionable, if they are fairly construed and applied. The recommendations were far from advising that civil government should not be given adequate attention or that government be distinctly subordinated to history, but rather that, especially when the time at command was brief, every available opportunity be used to take advantage of the interrelation and interdependence of the two subjects. But if the report of the committee of seven is in this respect at all ambiguous, we desire to say clearly that we do not think that the two subjects, despite their

¹ It may be said, however, that of the committee making the present report, only one is not a member of the American Political Science Association. Mr. Mann was also a member of that association.

² "Much time will be saved and better results obtained if history and civil government be studied in large measure together as one subject rather than as two distinct subjects. We are sure that, in the light of what has been said in the earlier portions of this report about the desirability of school pupils knowing their political surroundings and duties, no one will suppose that in what we here recommend we underestimate the value of civil government or wish to lessen the effectiveness of the study. What we desire to emphasize is the fact that the two subjects are in some respects one, and that there is a distinct loss of energy in studying a small book on American history and afterwards a small book on civil government, or vice versa, when by combining the two a substantial course may be given."

"In any complete and thorough secondary course in these subjects, there must be, probably, a separate study of civil government, in which may be discussed such topics as municipal government, State institutions, the nature and origin of civil society, some fundamental notions of law and justice, and like matters; and it may even be necessary, if the teacher desires to give a complete course and can command the time, to supplement work in American history with a formal study of the Constitution and the workings of the National Government. But we repeat that a great deal of what is commonly called civil government can best be studied as a part of history. To know the present form of our institutions well, one should see whence they came and how they developed; but to show origins, developments, changes, is the task of history, and in the proper study of history one sees just these movements and knows their results."

"It would of course be foolish to say that the secondary pupil can trace the steps in the development of all our institutions, laws, political theories, and practices; but some of them he can trace, and he should be

interdependence, should be so taught as to crowd out government or give insufficient time for its proper study. More and more as the days go by it becomes plain that the schools have the clear duty of giving full instruction on the essentials of American government and practical politics. We have no desire to underestimate this need and this duty.

We still think, however, that much that is commonly called government as distinguished from history can be taught and should be taught as part of the history course. To separate the workings of political institutions through the decades of the last century from the institutions we have to-day, or to have no eye for the fact that the contests of the past produced what we have to-day, would be entirely without justification. Such separation and willful blindness would be worse than profitless. A proper and wise correlation, a suitable and just treating of American history, must have the result of giving clear pictures of actual institutions of government and clear ideas of their workings. Much of our national constitutional system can thus be effectively presented.

It is clear, however, that not by the study of American history alone can the pupil get such a knowledge of government as he ought to have. It is especially difficult to teach the State constitutional system or local government in connection with the course in American history, and it is almost impossible to bring out adequately the all-important facts of party organization and the workings of party machinery. Such subjects seem to require distinct and separate treat-

enabled to do so in his course in American history. How it came about that we have a Federal system of government rather than a centralized state; what were the colonial beginnings of our systems of local government; how the Union itself grew into being; why the Constitution provided against general warrants; why the first ten amendments were adopted; why the American people objected to bills of attainder and declared against them in their fundamental law—these, and a score of other questions, naturally arise in the study of history, and an answer to them gives meaning to our Constitution. Moreover, the most fundamental ideas in the political structure of the United States may best be seen in a study of the problems of history. The nature of the Constitution as an instrument of government, the relation of the central authority to the States, the theory of State sovereignty or that of national unity, the rise of parties and the growth of party machinery—these subjects are best understood when seen in their historical settings."

"But in addition to this, many, if not all, of the provisions of the Constitution may be seen in the study of history, not as mere descriptions written on a piece of parchment, but as they are embodied in working institutions. The best way to understand institutions is to see them in action; the best way to understand forms is to see them used. By studying civil government in connection with history, the pupil studies the concrete and the actual. The process of impeachment, the appointing power of the president, the make-up of the cabinet, the power of the speaker, the organization of the territories, the adoption and purpose of the amendments, the methods of annexing territory, the distribution of the powers of government and their working relations, indeed all the important parts of the Constitution that have been translated into existing, acting institutions, may be studied as they have acted. If one does not pay attention to such subjects as these in the study of history, what is left but wars and rumors of wars, partisan contentions, and meaningless details?"

"We do not advise that textbooks on civil government be discarded, even when there is no opportunity to give a separate course in the subject. On the contrary, such a book should always be ready for use, in order that the teacher may properly illustrate the past by reference to the present. If the pupils can make use of good books on the Constitution and laws, so much the better. What we desire to recommend is simply this, that in any school where there is no time for sound, substantial courses in both civil government and history, the history be taught in such a way that the pupil will gain a knowledge of the essentials of the political system which is the product of that history; and that, where there is time for separate courses, they be taught, not as isolated, but as interrelated and interdependent subjects."

ment, and their significance in the daily life of the pupil is too great to justify a hurried or vague treatment. And yet it must be pointed out that the proper presentation of governmental facts in the history course, those facts of a general character that readily and naturally come into view, does not detract from the importance of government; such presentation only gives more time for the proper study of the political situation, the problems of the day, the intricacies of party methods, the make-up of local government, and such other things as demand particular and separate study. Moreover, the field is so large, so immediate, and so important that every available advantage must be taken of fair and just opportunity to treat government and history as related and mutually helpful subjects of study.

Here, as in so many cases, the real need is for more time. Probably no one doubts that where there is ample time at disposal separate courses in history and government should be established. And no one can fairly doubt that, even then, they should be so taught as to take advantage of relationships and interdependence. But the problem becomes acute when time is brief, and condensation is imperative. How much time should be given to the separate study in government? How much government must be taught, and taught once for all, in connection with history? How shall the time be justly distributed between the two? Now, perhaps, we do quite wrong in suggesting palliatives, in proposing plans that may soothe school administrators and result in the inadequate or improper study of American history and government. The simple truth is that these subjects should be given the time they need in the school curriculum, and if shearing and clipping must be done somewhere, let the operation be applied to subjects that are not the best and most immediate subjects for preparing boys and girls for citizenship.

We are, however, confronted by a condition and not a theory—only the exceptional school will give more than a single year to American history and government late in the course. The question of distribution and arrangement must therefore receive some sort of an answer. Let us, however, before suggesting the answer, propose an alleviation of the pressure on the last year. Some relief may be obtained by dealing with colonial history in connection with English and modern European history. If this is done the course in American history can be begun with a rapid survey of colonial history, with a consideration of the most important colonial achievements, and especially with a picture of conditions and institutions in the middle of the eighteenth century. This proposal is discussed briefly in later portions of the report. The English background of American history is of great value to the student of American history; moreover, if modern history be taught, as suggested in succeeding pages of this report, the pupil will have as a background for his study of America some knowl-

edge of European government and institutions, and will have at least some idea of the colonial expansion of Europe.

The distribution of time between government and history in the fourth year should, we believe, be in some such ratio as this: Two-fifths of the time may be given to separate work in government and three-fifths to the course in history. This arrangement will not appear to all teachers as ideal; some teachers will desire more time for history, others more time for government. But on the whole the distribution appears to be the best that can be proposed, and we should be the last to assert that no teacher should modify any adjustment or arrangement to suit his own needs and inclinations, if they are based on an intelligent regard for the subject and his pupils. Many teachers will prefer to give the civil government separately after the history work is concluded. But while this plan may have its advantages in some respects, the continuous study of government throughout the year side by side with history has also advantages that merit consideration. Where the study of government extends through the whole year there are many opportunities for concrete illustrations and even learning by observation, which are not allowed in a shorter time: Elections are held; municipal problems arise and are discussed in the newspapers; important appointments to office are announced; the usual presidential message appears. These advantages will induce many teachers to prefer the system of carrying government through the year side by side with history.

IX. MORE TIME FOR MODERN HISTORY.

In the decade and more that has passed since the committee of seven reported there has been a growing interest in the study of modern history. Many teachers have come to feel strongly that a study of the past should distinctly help in understanding the present. They believe that for a knowledge of present social and political conditions there is need of a reasonable familiarity with the great changes of the past century, and that history courses should be so arranged as to allow ample opportunity for the study of the development and progress of modern Europe. As the course is now arranged, and as it is not uncommonly taught, quite as much attention is given to the Middle Ages as to modern times; in fact, probably many teachers would confess that their pupils know more of the crusades than of the colonial expansion of Europe, and that Charlemagne and Peter the Hermit are more familiar figures than is Napoleon, or Cavour, or Bismarck. Such a condition can scarcely be justified. Interesting and important as are the great statesmen and soldiers of medieval times, they are not more important to us than the men of more recent centuries. Why should we know of Frederic Barbarossa or Innocent III and be ignorant of their great successors? Surely Pitt

and Palmerston and Gladstone are more significant to us than are Athelstane or Thomas Becket. From the study of history, it is true, much more is to be gained than a modicum of information about the immediate background of European politics; the value of history is not to be measured merely by its contribution to knowledge of the present. But on the other hand there appears no valid reason for avoiding a more intensive study of more recent centuries or for spending so much time on the earlier ages that the pupils get little or nothing of the social changes and political movements which have in modern times transformed the face of Europe. The desire of teachers to emphasize modern history therefore strongly appeals to the members of this committee. Although we appreciate fully the cultural value of all historical study and although we should deplore the abandonment of the older fields, we are quite in accord with those who wish to see sufficient time given for the deliberate study of the later period.

If dissatisfaction with the curriculum marked out by the committee of seven were quite general, or if some distinct plan for rearrangement were commonly advocated by experienced teachers, it would not be so difficult to determine what changes should be made. But even among those desiring this increased emphasis on modern times, there appears to be no general agreement. Many teachers are not advocating a breaking up of the old schedule and the establishment of a new, distinct course; they are simply in sympathy with the movement for more modern history. It appears to us likely that many schools will soon rearrange their courses; and even where no fundamental change is made, there will not infrequently be a shifting of emphasis in order that modern history may receive fuller treatment.

In light of all these conditions we do not advocate an immediate change in every school, the universal abandonment of the plan of the committee of seven, and the immediate substitution of a new curriculum. We have tried to make it clear that an emphasis on modern times is, in our opinion, desirable, and we believe a rearrangement of the curriculum is much to be desired. But something must be left to the determination of the teacher; something must be left to circumstances and conditions; and it seems to us we should not be justified in condemning the curriculum proposed by the committee of seven as so totally wrong in principle that schools should in all cases immediately abandon it for a curriculum that appeals to us as better in some particulars. Any radical rearrangement is a serious matter when the schools of the whole country are concerned, and it should be entered upon with a full understanding of what the change involves. We content ourselves, therefore, first, with advising a change in emphasis when the abandonment of the plan marked out

by the committee of seven does not seem feasible; and, second, by the proposal of a course which we believe to be on the whole better than the old, and which we think will suit the needs of schools ready to take up seriously the study of modern history.

For the schools adhering to the blocks or periods now commonly given there is only one way to get more time for modern history. That way is to abridge the medieval period in general European history and in English history; it is the old remedy of condensation and omission. The early centuries must be treated as introductory or preparatory only; those things must be selected that are conspicuous and of deep significance; those things must be omitted that are not of fundamental importance and that do not materially aid in the appreciation of later times. Of course this is easier in the saying than in the doing. But even where textbooks do not make such elimination and cursory treatment easy the task is by no means an impossible one. The fuller attention to the later centuries of England and the Continent is quite within the range of possibility for the well-prepared teacher, especially if the school is provided with illustrative material and suitable reference books.

This mere shifting of emphasis will not satisfy those who are intent upon the careful and fairly elaborate study of modern times. They will point out the difficulty of carrying out the plan of abridgment and condensation in the earlier period; they will argue that the modern development of England and the Continent needs to be studied in a single course and that the second year, in which general European history is commonly given, should be devoted to the study of events leading up to modern history. To get substantial and satisfying results from the study of modern history requires, it will be said, at least a year for concentrated connected study. Such assertions are certainly not without force; they constitute a strong argument for the establishment of a separate course.

X. A NEW SCHEDULE OF COURSES.

The establishment of a separate course in modern history involves, in our judgment, placing English history in the second year. Perhaps it might more properly be said that the second year should be devoted to a study of English history together with the general history of Europe. The main line of English growth should be followed, and events and conditions on the Continent of supreme importance for the understanding of general European development should be introduced in connection with the history of England. The course will naturally begin with the break-up of the Roman Empire and give a rapid survey of conditions in England and on the Continent in the later portion of the period covered by the course in ancient his-

tory. Throughout the study of the Middle Ages the most significant movements in Europe can be introduced and made to stand out with distinctness. The establishment and growth of the papal power, the great institutions of the church, the foundation of the religious orders, the contest between papal and temporal authority, can not only be properly studied as a part of general European history but can be seen also as part of the history of England. The same can be said of feudalism, which can not be understood as it existed in England without some examination of the feudal system on the Continent. The growth of the kingly authority and the establishment of the national state can be seen both in England and in continental Europe. So also of the Crusades and the spread of the Northmen—the pupil will get totally wrong conceptions if he does not see these facts as part of European history.

Social conditions of medieval times and the extent and character of medieval commerce can also be studied in connection with the history of England. The rise of the towns and the growth of parliament give opportunity for valuable comparisons and the imparting of useful knowledge of conditions on both sides of the Channel. The truth is that such topics as these, often treated in the course of English history as of purely insular importance, can be understood properly only when seen in the setting of general European history. The Renaissance and the revival of learning must, under any circumstances, be seen first, not in backward England, but in the life of the more advanced nations of the Continent. The study of Wyclif and the pre-Reformation conditions in England give opportunity for the study of John Huss and the growing discontent in continental Europe, while the Reformation itself necessitates, under any circumstances, the introduction of Luther before one enters upon the separation of the English Church from Rome.

The same is true of the age of discovery. It can not be treated as if England first entered the race and was a leader in achievement. Henry the Navigator was a grandson of John of Gaunt, yet it was Portugal, not England, that pointed the way to the Indies. John Cabot himself was a Venetian, and for long years after him the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese seamen were the pioneers in maritime adventure. But even the great discoveries, the finding of the new heaven and the new earth, are of such supreme importance in English history that no excuse need be made for the introduction of Prince Henry, Columbus, and the bold Portuguese sailor who rounded the cape England now holds, on his voyage to the Indies, now ruled as an English possession.

Some subjects of prime significance, it is true, can not be studied merely when incidents or conditions in English history call for their presentation. Nor, indeed, is such a treatment in immediate con-

nection with England always desirable. The course of English history offers a convenient and suitable line to be followed; to follow it will probably help in giving coherence, strength, and simplicity to the work; and as English history is in some ways our history, and as our own institutions were making in the kingdoms of Alfred, William the Conqueror, and Edward I, we may well hesitate to cast aside the advantage of seeing the growth of the English state and the establishment of English liberties. But, withal, many of the great movements, as we have already said, were not peculiarly English; and there is a real advantage in seeing the general European character of the most significant social and political development. If occasionally the teacher or text-writer must leave the course of English history to describe events that, comparatively speaking, remotely influenced the growth of England, such digressions need not cause confusion or perplexity. The early rise and progress of the Mohammedan power, for instance, can not be treated as in any sense of especial importance to England, though the participation of Richard Cœur de Lion in the third crusade gives opportunity for saying something of Mohammedanism and for studying the crusading movement. The spread of the Ottoman Turk and the influence of his conquests can not be introduced as merely incidental matter, where some event in the history of England seems to furnish the excuse. But if time can be taken for suitable treatment of such matters, and even if they are brought in with little or no pretense of finding their connection with English history, the loss in interest and continuity need not be serious, if there be loss at all.

If only the most superficial treatment were to be given to the events on the Continent from the Council of Trent to the accession of Louis XIV, the result would not be disastrous. Probably something should be known of the wars of religion in France, and some impression should be gained of the extent and character of the Thirty Years' War, but the average pupil surely need not be burdened with anything like detail. Of course English history can not omit suitable reference to the rise of the Dutch Republic, the expansion and decline of Spain, and the growth of French power and influence in Europe. But the age of Elizabeth and the course of the English struggle for constitutional liberty in the seventeenth century are too important to be obscured by undue attention to continental history. A certain amount of attention is inevitable and may illuminate rather than obscure; but particular effort must be made to avoid confusion. With the accession of Louis XIV, continental history may be left to the study of the third year, with only such reference to France and other lands of Europe as the study of English history requires. The main outline of English progress can be followed as far as the middle of the eighteenth century or the accession of George III.

The study of England's growth from the accession of Elizabeth to George III necessitates some reference to English adventure and English colonization. The establishment and growth of the American colonies must be noted, and only the pressure of time need prevent such a treatment of the colonies as to make an extended treatment in the fourth year unnecessary. The course in American history must inevitably begin with a picture of colonial conditions, include a distinct statement of the nature of colonial development, point out those tendencies and qualities in colonial life that account for independence, and make clear the achievements of the colonies that are of real significance in our national history. But if the course in English history has included an examination of the English colonial system and a study, even though a hurried one, of colonial growth, it will be possible to pass over quickly or to omit altogether many things now dwelt on in the first two or three months of work in American history.

To outline the course in modern history which we recommend for the third year would be superfluous. Teachers and text writers will be sure to differ concerning details of arrangement and emphasis. We desire, therefore, only to say that in all likelihood it will be necessary to reach back into medieval history at least occasionally in order, if for no other reason, to get hold again of institutions, customs, and practices which the modern world was altering or casting aside. The course will, we presume, begin with Louis XIV and be carried down to the present, devoting suitable attention to the rise of the modern states, European expansion, the development of free institutions, economic progress, and social change. At least from 1760 the course will naturally include not only the history of the Continent but of England as well. Some attention can be paid to American colonial history, and thus help to relieve the pressure on the last year of study.

The four blocks of study under this arrangement would then be as follows:

(A) Ancient history to 800 A. D. or thereabouts, the events of the last 500 years to be passed over rapidly in some such manner as we have suggested above.

(B) English history, beginning with a brief statement of England's connection with the ancient world. The work should trace the main line of English development to about 1760, include as far as is possible or convenient the chief facts of general European history, especially before the seventeenth century, and give something of the colonial history of America.

(C) Modern European history, including such introductory matter concerning later medieval institutions and the beginnings of the

modern age as seems wise or desirable, and giving a suitable treatment of English history from 1760.

(D) American history and government, arranged on such a basis that some time may be secured for the separate study of government. We propose, as explained in the earlier portions of this report, a possible division of the year which would allow two-fifths of the time for such separate and distinct treatment.

XI. SHALL THREE YEARS BE REQUIRED IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS?

The committee of seven, although recommending a four years' course and pointing out the advantages of continuous study, did not propose that all students be directly required to take a long series of courses in history. The subject has been much discussed by the present committee; and we are strongly of the opinion that the time has come when many schools can introduce the requirement of three years of history from every pupil. We recognize the difficulty of giving three years to history in courses that are already filled to overflowing with ancient and modern languages and with mathematics and science. And yet history and government are so valuable, their effects, if properly taught, should aid so distinctly and directly in giving pupils an appreciation of the present and a sense of social life and social responsibility, that we can not believe they should be sacrificed to the pursuit of other subjects. If language and literature are cultural, in the narrow sense and in the wider sense also, history, too, is cultural; it helps to widen the horizon, to deepen the sympathies, and to develop the judgment. If mathematics and science require exactness and precision of statement and clear thinking, so also does history, at least in considerable measure, if it be taught with intelligence and care. It is true that conclusions in history do not always rest on demonstration, but often on conflicting evidence, and frequently it is not easy, or even possible, to speak with the assurance and precision one may use in science; but the training in judgment, in candor, and in scientific fairness is not to be ignored; in daily life one must often rest his conclusions on the same kind of testimony that one is called upon to consider in history. To require that, of the sixteen or seventeen units offered in the ordinary course, three should be taken in history does not seem to be an exorbitant requirement.

Such a suggestion as this, coming from this committee, may appear to be a desire for more history as a college entrance requirement, or as a result of a desire to get more history in the schools, that college teachers may have a broader foundation to build upon. But this is not the case. We have not in this report considered the needs of the colleges. In fact, college teachers of history are not supremely anxious, for any particular purpose of their own, about the amount of history studied in the schools. The study of history in the schools

is more important for those that do not go to college than for those that do. The thing that we deplore is that young men and women should leave the schools and encounter the work and pleasure of mature years without a knowledge of history, for history will peculiarly help to fit them for entering upon their duties in society and give them the basis for satisfaction in the intellectual life.

XII. TRADE SCHOOLS.

The recent movements in the line of commercial, technical, and industrial education have forced on the attention of the committee the necessity of making some statement concerning historical courses in schools where such education is to be given. In the overwhelming enthusiasm of the moment, it is to be feared that over-ardent advocates may venture to exclude historical instruction altogether or recommend courses in which only the development of shipping, the progress of invention, and the processes of manufacture are studied to the exclusion of the political and social background which is really necessary for the complete understanding of any commercial, scientific, or industrial movement.

In such schools the committee is of the opinion that a course in modern history should be required, and that it should be followed by a course in United States history and government. The demand that our high schools should prepare for intelligent citizenship certainly makes necessary the requirement of these two courses in all of them. Pupils may or may not become artisans or captains of industry, but they will all be citizens and need the background of knowledge and of interest that comes, or should come, from the intelligent study of the social and political life of the past and the political organization of the present. If two years of history be given in the curriculum, this could scarcely be looked on as an excess of liberalizing study; for it is not unlikely that history will be the only, or almost the only, non-technical, nonoccupational study offered.

There is a reasonable desire that such schools should offer courses in economics and in commercial geography. Both of these studies need to be correlated with history and can be given with best effect to pupils that are studying or have studied history. No plan or method of correlation, however, should, in our judgment, result in the essential diminution of the time we have named as an irreducible minimum to be devoted substantially and in fact to history and government. It will probably be feasible to introduce into the history course not a little industrial history. But, whatever may be done, this appears certain—the pupils from the trade or semi-professional schools should not be turned out upon the world ignorant of the main currents of modern history, ignorant of the history of their own country and the

ideals it has tried to make its own, and ignorant of the government under which they live and on which they must have their share of influence.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN,
Professor of History, University of Chicago, Chairman.

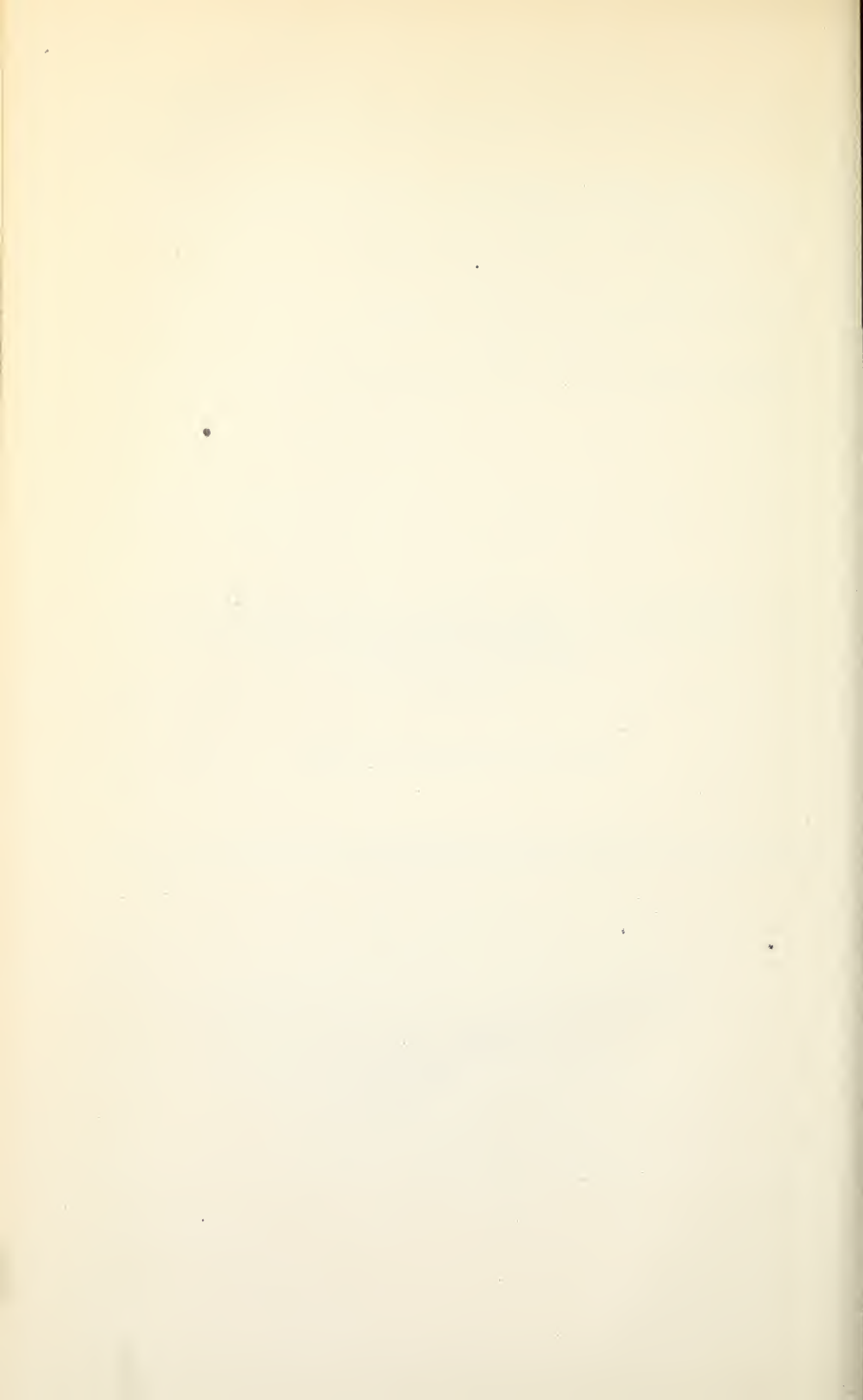
CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Professor of History, Harvard University.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON,
Professor of History, Columbia University.

JAMES SULLIVAN,
Principal of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn.

XV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 28, 1910.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The seventh annual conference of historical societies was held during the meeting of the American Historical Association in Indianapolis on the afternoon of December 28, 1910. It was presided over by Mr. Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit, president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and was attended by between 40 and 50 delegates of various American historical societies.

In opening the session the chairman made brief remarks speaking of the joint session of the Ohio Valley and Mississippi Valley Historical Associations, held the preceding day, and of the discussion thereat respecting the proposed consolidation of the two associations. Such a consolidation would, in the opinion of the chairman, be unwise and he pointed out that while the aim of the two associations is in some respects identical, their respective lines of work are entirely separate, dealing with different sections of the country, and productive of entirely dissimilar researches. Speaking from his knowledge of the experience of the Michigan society he was well aware of the difficulty which any single society found in publishing all the historical papers that it could produce. He felt that this problem of publication could be more satisfactorily met by numerous localized societies, than by consolidated associations, corresponding to large territory, for whom the problem would be complicated by the necessity of making a selection and at the same time of trying to represent all the varied local interests of the different parts of the territory covered. He said that the Michigan society had undertaken to collect and print such papers and documents (the latter largely from English archives) as were thought to be of local interest but not likely to be published by the State.

Following the chairman's remarks Mr. Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, presented the following report of the progress of the catalogue of documents in French archives compiled under the auspices of the conference:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND DEPARTMENTS.

The committee of seven, on cooperation of historical societies and departments, submits the following report of progress:

The last report of the committee, submitted to the conference at its meeting in New York, December 28, 1909, stated that the funds

necessary for the preparation of a catalogue of French archives concerning the Mississippi Valley had been subscribed, and that the work had begun under the direction of Mr. W. G. Leland, of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution. To the list of subscribers to the fund given in this report of a year ago should be added the Missouri State Historical Society which has contributed \$150. Mr. Leland has submitted the following report to the committee of the work of the past year:

“Active work on the catalogue was commenced in November, 1909, as soon as the guarantee fund had been secured. A portion of the field to be gone over had already been covered by the Carnegie Institution, in summary fashion, but in such way that the results of that work will aid largely and materially in the preparation of the calendar. A single assistant was employed, at \$30 a month, until October, 1910, since which time another assistant, at \$40, has been secured. This second assistant, M. Doysié, who has immediate charge of the work, will be capable of carrying it to completion after my return to America.

“Most of the work in the ministry of foreign affairs and in the National Library has now been completed, and my own notes will be nearly sufficient for the ministry of war. The principal bodies of archives to search, after the work in the places already mentioned has been completed, are the national archives, those of the ministry of marine, and of the ministry of the colonies.

“A complete manuscript list has already been made of the documents in the Correspondance Générale, Louisiane, by an official of the ministry of the colonies. This has been offered to me for 500 francs, and I intend to take it, if I find it satisfactory, for it will save much time to use it.

“A list has also been made of all the documents from the French archives relating to Louisiana, noted in Stevens’s manuscript ‘Catalogue-Index’ of documents in European archives relating to America between 1763 and 1783, this catalogue being in the Library of Congress.

“I have found it better to employ a small number of assistants, and to supervise their work closely, than to employ a larger number whose work I should be obliged to take more or less on faith.

“The work in the archives should be completed in December, 1911, or at the latest by June, 1912, it being necessary to allow a certain latitude as to time. The catalogue should be ready to print during the year 1912. It is preferable to arrange the entries in chronological order, each entry being numbered, and containing, so far as possible, the following data: Date, place of writing, author, person to whom sent, title of document, if any, description of contents, mentioning especially names of places, persons, tribes, rivers, etc.,

character of document, (i. e., original, copy, translation, signatures, etc.), length, and location in the archives.

“It is not probable that much will be found of date later than 1804, but the search will be carried on in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1848, and in the other depositories as late as is permitted, i. e., to about 1850.

“Respectfully submitted.

“W. G. LELAND.

“PARIS, *November 30, 1910.*”

Dr. J. F. Jameson, treasurer of the Mississippi Valley fund, has submitted his financial report as follows:

Statement of the treasurer of the Mississippi Valley fund.

RECEIPTS.

Wisconsin Historical Society.....	\$200.00
Indiana Historical Society	200.00
Mississippi Department of Archives and History.....	250.00
Missouri Historical Society.....	200.00
	850.00

EXPENDITURES.

Services:	
Mlle. Bossart, checks 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9.....	\$169.12
F. M. Dennis, checks 6, 8, 10.....	52.00
W. G. Leland, for subsequent clerical aid in Paris, by Mlle. Bossart and M. Doysié, checks 11, 12.....	400.00
	621.12
Balance on hand, December 13, 1910.....	228.88

The remainder of the fund subscribed will be paid to the treasurer when it is needed.

Respectfully submitted.

DUNBAR ROWLAND, *Chairman.*

J. F. JAMESON.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

R. G. THWAITES.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

B. F. SHAMBAUGH.

After the reading of the report, which was accepted, Mr. Rowland stated, in response to a query by the chairman, that the catalogue would be published and probably in such a way as to cause no additional expense to the subscribers. The chairman pointed out that the catalogue should indicate what documents are already to be found in print and where, which, it may be added, is the intention of the compilers.

In the absence of the secretary of the conference, Mr. Leland, who was detained in Paris by his work, and of the acting secretary, Prof. Sioussat, confined to his home by serious illness, the usual report on the progress and activities of historical societies during the past year was not presented. Data respecting them will, however, be found in the appendix to the present report of proceedings of the conference.

The first paper to be presented was by Prof. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, and the Illinois State Historical Library, on the "Preservation and care of collections with especial reference to the restoration and treatment of manuscripts." Prof. Alvord spoke informally, illustrating his remarks with an exhibition of selected manuscripts and of the processes employed in repairing them. His remarks follow as stenographically reported:

"I do not know exactly why I was called upon to talk on this particular subject, as there are so many men in the United States and Canada who are more familiar with the subject of the preservation of documents than I am. However, I have had some little experience in Illinois University since the discovery of the Kaskaskia and Menard manuscripts, for these are in the library and I have general charge of the repairing of the documents and of putting them in condition that they may be preserved. We have used the methods of the Library of Congress, and have had the assistance of advice from a good many historical societies.

"I will not go into a discussion of the various methods of restoring manuscripts, but will simply give a practical talk on how we do it in Illinois, our method, I think, being not very dissimilar from that used in the Library of Congress.

"The Kaskaskia records were in a very bad state when they came into my hands. A large number of them had been folded for over 100 years and tied in packages. Many of these packages, however, had become loosened and the papers were crumpled in all sorts of ways; the ink had so corroded the paper in some of the documents that they had almost fallen to pieces; the mice and rats had found the papers and used them for nests, so you may imagine their condition.

"It presented rather a difficult problem of restoration, and without further introduction I will give this practical account of how the young men (I employ several students) and I went about to restore the documents so that they are in condition to be preserved. The recipe for paste follows, and it is the one that is used, I am told, in the Library of Congress.

"PASTE.

"One cup of wheat flour.

"Two cups of cold water.

"One-half spoonful of powdered alum.

"A pinch of white arsenic.

"Mix well to dissolve lumps; boil in double boiler 10 minutes; cool and remove scum; add one tablespoonful formaldehyde and beat well. When cold, the paste

assumes the consistency of jelly, and for use must be dissolved in water. When working, it is well to keep two mixtures, one for pasting the mousseline, a little thinner than the other, which is used for pasting patches.

“The tools that we have for this work are a sharp knife—it may be a penknife or any kind of a knife—a large letter press, oil sheets, blotting paper, and crepine or mousseline. We buy our mousseline from Lord & Taylor, of New York. The Library of Congress, I think, imports its mousseline direct, but that which we get from Lord & Taylor is of very good quality and serviceable and answers all purposes.

“The manuscripts in their original condition are frequently rumpled. The first thing that has to be done is to straighten them out. They are slightly moistened with a sponge and put in the press between blotting papers. They remain there until they are dry. There is rarely any danger of the moisture affecting the ink, but as many of the manuscripts are rotten and weak, and the water still further weakens them, it is better to dampen them carefully with a sponge. Those who have experience know exactly how much water to apply before putting in the press.

“I have here a manuscript. I suppose some of my friends, the archivists, wonder how I dare bring a precious manuscript over here, but one of these would not be the slightest loss if it happened to be destroyed. This manuscript is not any worse, nor any better than the average. It is what we might call an average document that has to be restored.

“The first step is to moisten the manuscript and put it in the press; when it comes out in this shape, with the wrinkles all out, it is ready for work. The next step is to prepare it for mounting. We take a sharp knife and scrape the edge, beveling it very carefully. We then seek among the loose sheets for a piece of paper that will match. In all these documents, or in a great many of them, there are pages that have no writing on them. These blank pages are removed in order that we may use them for the patches.

“Having prepared the edges in this manner, we prepare a patch the exact outline of the hole, and bevel the edges of the patch. The purpose of this is that when the edges of the patch and the hole are put together, the thickness will be the same as the thickness of the rest of the paper. In case the original manuscripts are excessively weak and need reenforcing by mousseline, or in case there is some writing on the other side around the hole, instead of beveling, we cut the patch to fit the hole exactly and insert it and keep it in place by pasting mousseline over both patch and manuscript. In that way no writing is destroyed, and frequently when the manuscript is very much weakened by corroding ink it is necessary to do this, because you can not scrape the edges without damaging the manuscript.

“Here is a manuscript where the next step has been taken. The whole lower part of this manuscript was eaten away, and we have taken a piece of paper and patched it up by this beveling process, and the rough edges have been trimmed. Many of the manuscripts are so weak that it is absolutely necessary that they should be reenforced with crepeline or mousseline.

“Here is a manuscript that has had more done to it. The manuscript was weak, and where it was folded it was almost torn, and to reinforce it mousseline has been pasted over it, so it is now stronger than it was when new.

“After the manuscript has been pasted—that is, after the mousseline has been pasted on it or the patch has been made—it is necessary to put it back into the letterpress. This operation must be watched very carefully, because the blotting paper is likely to stick to the manuscript, so after leaving the manuscript in the press a few minutes it is taken out and put back into the press between dry blotting papers, and then taken out again, until it is safe to leave it in indefinitely.

“In placing the mousseline on the manuscript there has been found one difficulty. I believe that the Library of Congress in placing mousseline on manuscripts places it always on both sides, but at the University of Illinois we have found that in many cases it is sufficient to place the mousseline upon only one side of the manuscript. This has the advantage of obscuring the writing less, and if the manuscript can be reenforced by placing the mousseline on the back, you do not in any way obliterate the writing. But in placing the mousseline upon the manuscript we have found that dampening the manuscript of course stretches the same, and therefore the mousseline must be placed loosely upon the manuscript, so that it will cover the latter as it stretches. It is put on loosely and pasted down, and the dampening process will take it up until it is a close fit.

“When the manuscripts are finished we mount them in this way, with a hinge. We lay the manuscript down and put a piece of mousseline along the side. It is therefore possible to read the manuscript on both sides.”

After a short discussion in which Prof. Alvord spoke of the method of mounting manuscripts in specially prepared volumes, the patching of manuscripts filled with small holes, and the use of chemicals for the restoration of faded ink, a process which Prof. Alvord advised against, the second paper of the program was presented by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin State Historical Library. The subject of Dr. Thwaites's remarks was “The collection and preservation of historical sources, manuscript and printed, as a function of historical societies.” As they were presented informally, the following report of them is drawn from the stenographic record:

"Any historical society, be it National, State, or local, has several functions. It may gather material; it may discuss that material; it may publish that material. All these are interesting functions and can be carried on separately and still the association would be very useful. And yet I take it that any society, whatever may be the breadth of its territory, that does not gather material is not doing its full duty to itself or to the public. The question of what to gather is very easily answered. Gather everything that is a record, either of past or of present. I may conclude by giving you the story of one Thomason. I have told this often in historical societies, and it may be familiar to some of you.

"In the middle of the seventeenth century—about the first third of the seventeenth century—there lived in London a bookseller by the name of Thomason, who was regarded by his neighbors as a crank, because he gathered everything that was printed or written—that floated in the atmosphere in his particular neighborhood—the flotsam and jetsam of life in London. It consisted of printed news letters; it consisted of invitations to dinners; it consisted of notes between one gentleman and another; it consisted of programs of vaudeville shows in Vauxhall Gardens and elsewhere—everything that was a record of the times. He had a vision of posterity and gathered it all; but he did not know how to classify and use it; he simply gathered. He wrote on each one the time and the conditions under which he had collected it. They were tied up and piled in piles, and after his death somebody bought the collection and presented it to the British Museum, and it lay there until Macaulay found it and used it. He saw in this collection a vision of life during the civil-war period of England, and with the assistance of his imagination he pictured for us, from this collection of odds and ends, the life of that period.

"So I say that any historical society, no matter how broad or narrow its scope, should gather material, for someone has said 'The literary rubbish of one generation is the priceless treasure of the next.' The members of the historical societies should have a vision of posterity. What is interesting to you that has come down from the past? Some old colonial newspaper; some playbill when the English were occupying Philadelphia and having a gay time; something that keeps you in touch with the old days? That all interests you to-day and helps you to rebuild the past, and so what we are gathering to-day will be considered treasures by the next generation. We should have a vision of posterity, and that is the basis on which a historical society should be conducted."

The next paper was read by Mr. F. A. Sampson, of the Missouri State Historical Society, on "Publicity as a means of adding to collections."

“The owners of material that historical societies might want to obtain, and who might be reached by publicity, may be divided into three classes: First, those who appreciate the value of the material, take pride in it, and desire to have it preserved. Second, those with something of a collecting instinct who preserve without having much knowledge of or interest in the value of the material. Third, the careless, indifferent, or ignorant one who becomes owner and possessor without caring for what he has.

“The first class can readily be led to take an interest in the historical society, and to turn over museum or library material to it for preservation. If the material consists of manuscripts the owner may not wish to publish because of the expense of doing so, or because he does not feel competent to edit them, and he will be glad to donate to a society which will fill the necessary requirements in these two respects.

“The second class is easily reached by holding up the examples of others in the disposition of similar material, and the third may act merely from a willingness to get rid of what is not wanted or appreciated.

“It can readily be seen that the benefits of publicity may depend very materially on the funds at the disposal of the society. A menu prepared for a dinner for a millionaire would differ very markedly from one prepared for a workman whose income does not exceed \$50 per month. For Dr. Thwaites, with his \$60,000 and 40 employees, the situation is different from that in which one finds himself who has but \$7,500 and 2 employees. The one can at any moment take advantage of all opportunities that present themselves, while the other is compelled to decide on methods appropriate to the available resources for carrying out the same.

“What, then, are the methods by which publicity can be obtained?

“First, by the employment of one who will devote his entire time to travel for the purpose of presenting to the public and to individuals the objects of the society, and its desire for the cooperation of others in the carrying out of those objects. If the available funds will allow this method to be adopted, as is the case in some States, it is the most effective, and with it the collections obtained are limited only by the means and space available for taking care of them.

“Second, publicity may be by the distribution of circulars and broadsides which tell of the objects of the society, and enumerate somewhat in detail the kind of material desired; this would be a fairly effective method if there was any way of getting persons to read such circulars. If 99 of every 100 who receive these circulars put them in the waste basket without a second look at them, the result is discouraging.

“Third, another method is by personally-addressed letters accompanying the printed circulars, which will induce some to read that which is printed, but the number of personal letters that can be sent out by the society with 2 or 3 employees is of necessity limited. When a letter is sent and an answer is awaited, the information may come that another society which sent some one to make a personal application has carried off the prize.

“Fourth, there may be inserted in the newspapers notices of donations that are being made to the society. Universally persons are influenced by what others do, or what persons think they will do. Barnum acted upon this fact when he made the people believe that there would be a great contest as to who should obtain tickets to the first Jenny Lind concert, so that hundreds of dollars were given for the first choice of a seat. Make known the fact that the first thousand persons are going to do a certain thing, and the second thousand will be anxious to do the same thing, not primarily because they think it the best thing to do, but because it is popular, and the crowd is doing it. The example of giving is contagious, and this contagion may be spread by the persistency of the society in making known the various donations.

“Fifth, publicity may be by means of publications by the society. The objects of a historical society are more than to be merely literary or debating clubs where historical subjects are considered for the entertainment and pleasure of its members. Its duty is also to accumulate sources of history, to make use of these sources, and to present the result in such shape that the public may benefit thereby. The society that does this attains a better standing among similar societies, and itself, through this activity, becomes better and more widely known.

“The library of a society is built up in three ways: By purchase, by donation, and by exchange. The average society is hampered by not having funds sufficiently large to allow it to buy all that it may desire, and no society has yet found enough donors to give it all it wants. Therefore the third method is important—the exchange of one thing for another. The publication of a thousand copies of something worthy of being printed gives it a thousand different publications that come to it in this exchange, and possibly more than that number, as many give more than an exact equivalent.

“If the publication is in the shape of a quarterly magazine, it will reach the most persons and will attract attention more frequently. The Virginia society has its long list of members in all the States of the Union, each one giving \$5 yearly because he is reminded four times during that period that he belongs to a society that counts among its members some of the most prominent, the best educated, and the most intellectual of the country at large.

“Another benefit will come from the publication if the membership fee or subscription is greater than the cost of publishing, in which case the margin can be used for the purchase of other material.

“If the funds of the society are severely limited, then the combination of the plan of personal travel, as much as circumstances will permit, and the publication of a quarterly magazine will be found the most effective.”

Supplementing his paper by informal remarks, and in reply to various queries, Mr. Sampson further said:

“Our Missouri society is only about a dozen years old, yet we have now 50,000 titles. We have 50,000 duplicate publications that we want to give to the other States. Of course, we want something in return for them, but we have 60 copies of everything published by the State for this exchange.

“I go around to the old courthouses that have not been burned down or torn down, and in the attic or in the basement I find from one to several hundred publications. I ship them in, and of these make up the material that we want to exchange with you.

“Of the periodicals, we get 500 volumes in a batch. We publish a quarterly magazine, now in its fifth year, and we use in a limited way the methods I have spoken of; but our means are very limited, and we can not do as much as Dr. Thwaites’s society or some of the others are able to do.

“The newspapers generally send us their publications free. We get regularly about 600 Missouri periodicals—dailies, weeklies, monthlies, etc. We have just had returned from the bindery a little over 500 volumes. We expect some time to build a building similar to that of Wisconsin. We now have 11 rooms in the academic building of the university, but they are too small.

“When I am traveling, the first place I go to in a town is the printing office, to see what I can get, and I will get from a very few up to 50 publications. In some cases I have secured as many as 100 publications from the local printing office. In a trip I made last week I got about 60 publications, and I found a very interesting diary, kept during the years 1877–78, by some one in that county. From another printing office in that town I got another interesting manuscript, the original incorporation and minutes of the company organized to build the monument to Gen. Shields, at Carrollton, Mo., that was dedicated a short time ago. So, at the different towns I call on the editors and get them to do what they can, and let them know it is appreciated. In a large printing office in Columbus they have a large drawer, and the foreman of the office is directed by the editor to put in that drawer a copy of everything that goes through their office—for us.”

The discussion was continued by Dr. Thwaites, who, speaking of the collection of newspapers, said:

“We do not want all the newspapers of the State, because some of them are so very poor they are not worth writing for. Some have only one page left for local news. We pick out what papers we want in the various counties—take two or three of the best—in all about 450, for which we never pay anything. Indeed we consider it a privilege conferred on the papers. Now and then some new editor of a paper that we have been getting for a long time, when he finds we are on the free list, cuts off the paper. When we find out what is the matter we send him a form letter in which we explain the object of the society, and he always comes down with the paper.

“In order not to fill up our files with all the papers of the State, when some are not worth keeping, we have subscribed to a clipping agency in the city of Milwaukee, which sends us clippings along certain lines that we have pointed out, and we find this far cheaper than to do the clipping ourselves. These clippings are mounted in the various collections of scrapbook materials under the proper heads.”

With the conclusion of the discussion the conference adjourned.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1910.¹

ALASKA.

Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology (Sitka).—President, Harris B. Parks; secretary, Douglas C. McTavish. Membership, 20; increase, 5. Funds of \$1,000 and annual income of \$300 from museum entrance fees. Publications: Reports of meetings published in newspapers. Collections: 1,500 books, increase of 200, relating to Alaskan history and ethnology; 13,000 museum objects, forming the Sheldon Jackson collection of ethnological specimens, catalogue in progress; 100 objects added during year.

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford).—President, Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D.; secretary, Albert C. Bates. Membership, 406; increase, 6. Invested funds, \$23,966; income from dividends, interest, dues, admission fees, \$1,847; appropriation from State, \$1,000; special donations and subscriptions, \$714. Rooms of society refitted and library moved into new quarters. Published annual report, 39 pages; Volume XIII of Collections, containing correspondence of Gov. Jonathan Law, 1745-1747, in press. Collections: 35,000 books and pamphlets, estimated increase, 1,500; 50,000 MSS., small increase; small increase in museum objects.

ILLINOIS.

Chicago Historical Society (Dearborn Avenue and Ontario Street, Chicago).—President, Thomas Dent; librarian, Caroline M. McIlvaine. Membership, 368; increase, 33. Endowment funds of \$111,814, bearing income of \$6,812; receipts from dues, donations, sale of publications, etc., \$4,827. Publications: Diary of James K. Polk, in four volumes, Yearbook (containing catalogue of manuscripts, etc., exhibited during Lincoln centennial celebration), and Proceedings (Preamble and Boundary Clause of the Illinois Constitution, by H. G. Janes, and the Indian as a Diplomatic Factor in the History of the Old Northwest, by I. J. Cox). Collections: 130,000 books, increase of 2,500, including the Charles H. Conover collection of Lewis and Clark literature; 16,000 MSS.; increase, 100, including 4 letters of James Wilkinson, French-Illinois dictionary, said to be work of the R. P. Le Boulanger, S. J., etc.; museum acquisitions of Lincoln portraits and medals, etc.

Swedish Historical Society of America (358 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago).—President, C. G. Wallenius; secretary, Ernst W. Olson. Membership, 212; increase, 42. Income composed of dues at \$2. Published Yearbook for 1909 and 1910 in one volume. Collections: 1,400 books, increase, 400; housed in Swedish M. E. Theological Seminary, Evanston.

¹ In accordance with the custom of past years, requests were sent out to about 400 historical societies in the United States and Canada to furnish information designed to show the present status, activities, and progress during the year, under the general heads of membership, funds, equipment, collections, new enterprises, organization, and relations with State, county, or town. The returns made by the 76 societies responding to the request are here summarized.

Evanston Historical Society (Evanston).—President, J. Seymour Currey; secretary, Merton J. Clay. Membership, 250. Income of membership dues at \$1, and annual appropriation of \$50 by the city council. Equipped with stereopticon. Published report, 26 pages. Collections: 2,000 books and pamphlets; many MSS., photographs, clippings, maps, etc.

INDIANA.

Indiana Historical Society (Indianapolis).—President, D. W. Howe; secretary, J. P. Dunn. Membership, 75. Invested funds, \$3,000; appropriation from State, \$300. Publications: *The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana*, by James A. Woodburn (No. 8 of Vol. IV of Publications). No collections.

La Porte County Historical Society (La Porte).—President, Williams Niles; secretary, Mrs. E. H. Scott. Membership, 35. Income composed of membership dues. Has room in public library, where monthly meetings are held and collections are preserved. Papers read before the society are printed in local newspapers. Collections of books, MSS., and museum objects are as yet uncatalogued. Erected a granite boulder on site of old stockade near Door Village.

Cass County Historical Society (Logansport).—President, Dr. John Z. Powell; secretary, Charles H. Stuart. Membership, 108; increase, 21. Publish frequent articles, etc., in newspapers. Small collection of books and MSS. Is engaged in systematic investigation of county history, various phases, such as schools, churches, roads, and transportation, Indians, business, etc., being studied by special committees.

Grant County Historical Society (Marion).—President, I. M. Miller; secretary, R. L. Whitson. Membership small. Practically no funds. No collections. A log-cabin museum belongs to the society.

Henry County Historical Society (Newcastle).—President, Adolph Rogers; secretary, John Thornburgh. Membership, 100; increase, 15. Annual income, about \$200. Established in a building owned by the county. Collections of 800 volumes, 100 MSS., 200 museum objects, with small annual increase. Publishes articles in newspapers.

IOWA.

Historical Society of Linn County (Cedar Rapids).—President, B. L. Wick; secretary, Luther A. Brewer. Membership, 100. Collection of 500 books. Members are engaged in writing a county history. Affiliated with State Historical Society.

Lucas County Historical Society (Chariton).—President, Warren S. Dungan; secretary, Mrs. F. H. Boynton. Membership, 200. Income, from members' fees. One room in public library. About 200 MSS. Catalogue of collections in preparation. Affiliated with State Historical Society.

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).—President, Euclid Sanders; secretary, F. E. Horack; superintendent, Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Membership, 375; increase, 100. Annual appropriation from State of \$12,000. Has installed a steel and glass case (\$600) for historic flags. Publications: *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Volume VIII; *History of Labor Legislation in Iowa*, *Territorial Governors of the Old Northwest*, *Biography of Gov. John Chambers*. Addresses: On the Way to Iowa, and Abraham Lincoln. Collections: 37,500 books, increase, 2,000.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka).—President, Abbe B. Whiting; secretary, George W. Martin. Membership, 374; increase, 41. Income, \$10,400 from State appropriation, \$472 from membership fees. Erection of \$200,000 building commenced for joint use of Grand Army and Historical Society. Publications:

Volume XI of Collections. Collections: 191,026 books, newspapers, and pamphlets; increase, 10,870 (a feature of the collections is that they include nearly all the newspapers published in the State); 44,267 MSS., increase, 216; archives, 137,291 pieces, increase, 19,704 (executive correspondence, 1859-1898); 6,482 maps, atlases, charts, increase, 127; 7,555 pictures, increase, 380; 9,230 relics, increase, 24.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society (2224 Milan Street, New Orleans).—President, Alcée Fortier; secretary, Pierce Butler. Membership, 200. Income of about \$400 from dues. Soon to have rooms in the Cabildo. Aided in completing and publishing *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana*, by the late John R. Ficklen. Large number of Spanish and French MSS. and transcripts from French and Spanish archives.

MARYLAND.

Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (Baltimore).—President, Dr. Ernest J. Becker; secretary, J. Leonard Hoffman. Membership, 45; increase, 6. Receipts, \$216. Has fireproof room in bank for safe-keeping of collections. Collections: 570 books, increase, 14; 20 MSS. In preparation: *The History of the German Element in Maryland*, under supervision of L. P. Hennighausen.

Historical Society of Harford County (Belair).—President, A. Finney Galbreath; secretary, J. Alexis Shriver; librarian, H. S. Otteill. Movement on foot to secure a building. Collections are at present in the county courthouse.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts (28 State Street, Boston).—President, Henry Lefavour; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles E. Park. Membership, 132. Endowment of \$55,000. Publications: Volume IV of *Publications*, containing *Papers relating to the Land Bank of 1740*, by Andrew McFarland Davis; *Bibliography of Massachusetts House Journals*, by Worthington C. Ford, and *Bibliography of Laws of Massachusetts Bay*, by Worthington C. Ford and Albert Matthews; Volume XI of *Publications*, containing transactions of society, 1906-1907.

New England Historic Genealogical Society (18 Somerset Street, Boston).—President, James Phinney Baxter; secretary, John Albree. Annual income, about \$19,000. Publications: *Register*, *Vital Records of Massachusetts Towns*. Library of over 70,000 books and pamphlets, relating to New England genealogy and history, open to the public.

Military Historical Society of Massachusetts (Boston).—President, Col. Thomas L. Livermore; secretary, Capt. Charles H. Porter. Membership, 90. Publications: One volume devoted to "Naval Actions and History, 1799-1898." Collections: 4,500 books; recent acquisition of Napoleonic histories, medals, and prints.

New England Methodist Historical Society (36 Bromfield Street, Boston).—President, John L. Bates; recording secretary, George F. Darwin, D. D.; corresponding secretary, William H. Meredith, D. D. Membership, 275; increase, 5. Invested funds, \$3,421; increase, \$744; annual income, \$270. Collections: 5,927 books, increase, 724; 30,000 pamphlets; 300 MSS.; 200 museum objects.

Prince Society (12 Bosworth Street, Boston).—President, Charles Francis Adams, LL. D.; secretary, Albert Matthews. A publication society. Issued in 1910 the first of four volumes of *Colonial Currency Reprints, 1682-1751*, edited by Andrew McFarland Davis.

Dover Historical and Natural History Society (Dover).—President, Frank Smith; secretary, Mrs. Sarah A. Higgins. Membership, 88; increase, 11. Fund of \$2,000. Possesses a farm. Possesses Sawin Memorial Building. Published a volume for the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Dover.

- Fitchburg Historical Society* (Fitchburg).—President, Ezra S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 73; increase, 3. Published a pamphlet, "History of the Meeting House in Fitchburg commonly known as 'The Lord's Barn.'" Library of 1,500 books; increase, 100. New building planned, to be completed during 1911.
- Lexington Historical Society* (Lexington).—President, Fred S. Piper; recording secretary, Irving P. Fox; corresponding secretary, Miss Mary E. Hudson. Membership, 185; increase, 5. Funds of \$15,000. Possesses Hancock-Clarke House, with fireproof vault. In press, a volume of Proceedings and Papers; in preparation, a history of Lexington in two volumes.
- Medfield Historical Society* (Medfield).—President, John M. Richardson; secretary, Harriet A. Fowle. Membership, 35. Funds, \$325. Has accommodations in the town hall. Collections: 250 volumes, 200 pamphlets and newspapers, 600 MSS., 300 museum objects.
- Medford Historical Society* (Medford).—President, Will C. Eddy; secretary, George S. T. Fuller. Membership, 250. Publishes a quarterly, "Historical Register." Collections: 955 books, increase, 35; 65 MSS., 200 museum objects. Catalogue of collections in preparation.
- Methuen Historical Society* (Methuen).—President, Joseph S. Howe; secretary, Elizabeth B. Currier. Membership, 110; decrease, 7. Collections: 202 books, small collection of MSS., 412 museum objects. These last have been catalogued.
- Nantucket Historical Association* (Nantucket).—President, Alexander Starbuck; secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Bennett. Property and funds, \$16,798. Has new, fireproof building with modern library equipment. Publications: Century of Free Masonry in Nantucket, by Alexander Starbuck; Proceedings of Sixteenth Annual Meeting. Collections of MSS. and museum objects. Plans completion of "Catalogue of Old Cemeteries."
- Essex Institute* (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis Henry Appleton; secretary, George Francis Dow. Publications: Historical Collections, Bentley Diary, III, Vital Records of Ipswich, Newbury, Newburyport. Has acquired a house of 1684 and a shoemaker's shop of 1830. Gives courses of free public lectures. Plans publication of Essex County Court Records.
- Connecticut Valley Historical Society* (Springfield).—President, William F. Adams; secretary, Henry A. Booth. Membership, 200. Library of 3,000 books.
- Quinabaug Historical Society* (Southbridge).—President, J. Edward Clemence; secretary, Mary E. Clemence. Membership, 131; increase, 2. Funds of \$1,350. Has published Leaflets, Volumes II and III in progress, relating to history of the Quinabaug Valley. Has marked the "Old Bay Path."
- American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester).—President, Waldo Lincoln; recording secretary, George P. Winship; librarian, Clarence S. Brigham. Membership, 207; increase, 30 (membership is limited and by invitation only). Has new building holding library and museum. Publications: Proceedings, Volume XX, and Transactions and Collections, Volumes IX, X, XI, all containing documentary material. In preparation, Royal Proclamations concerning America, 1606-1783. Library of 100,000 volumes; increase, 4,000. Large collection of MSS. in process of being catalogued.

MISSOURI.

- State Historical Society of Missouri* (Columbia).—President, W. O. L. Jewett; secretary, F. A. Sampson. Membership, 400; increase, 25. Income, biennial appropriation by legislature of \$7,500, and members' fees at \$1. Occupies 11 rooms in Academic Hall of State University. Publishes quarterly—Missouri Historical Review. Library of 17,625 books and 30,000 pamphlets. Trustee for the State.
- Kansas City Historical Society* (24 West Thirty-fourth Street, Kansas City).—President,

Dr. W. L. Campbell; secretary, W. J. Anderson. Membership, 197; increase, 72. Use of room in the Allen Library. Collections in process of being catalogued. Is securing a biographical record of prominent citizens, special blanks having been prepared for this purpose.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society (Station A, Lincoln).—President, John L. Webster; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 875; increase, 75. Biennial legislative appropriation of \$15,000. Publications: Outline of Nebraska History, Annual Report, 1909. Collections: 34,227 books, increase, 2,127; 150 MSS., increase, 25, including a MS. of John Dunbar; 29,000 museum objects, increase, 300. Is preparing a card index of Nebraska history. Placed a monument at Bellevue to commemorate the Astorian expedition, and in cooperation with the D. A. R. placed a marker for the Oregon trail at Kearney. Society is a State institution.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord).—President, Daniel Hall; secretary, Henry A. Kimball. Membership, 208; increase, 33. Funds of \$30,272. New building is nearing completion. Collections: 17,500 books, increase, 264 books and 1,420 pamphlets. Has acquired Stanwood collection of colonial and provincial MSS., maps, and prints. Receives annual appropriation from State of \$500.

Manchester Historic Association (452 Merrimack Street, Manchester).—President, Isaac Huse; librarian, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 200. Has published Volume XI of Collections, containing early records of Manchester, 1817-1828. Library of 600 books. Celebrated one hundredth anniversary of naming of Manchester on June 13, 1910, the proceedings to be published, the city having appropriated \$150 therefor.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society (Hackensack).—President, Everett L. Zabriskie; secretary, Burton L. Allbee. Membership, 157; increase, 20. Has published Yearbook and a pamphlet of proceedings. Collections: 150 books, increase, 25; 250 museum objects. Collections have been catalogued. Celebrated anniversary of Washington's retreat from Fort Lee. Cooperated with Hudson County Society in celebrating two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of founding Bergen.

Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 43. New \$12,000 building commenced. Has published annual report. Library of 8,000 volumes. In preparation, a list of publications relating to Vineland or by Vineland authors.

Gloucester County Historical Society (Woodbury).—President, John G. Whitall; secretary, Dr. J. E. Parker. Membership, 195; increase, 18. Has published three papers. Excursion to Brandywine Battlefield.

NEW YORK.

Montgomery County Historical Society (Amsterdam).—President, Robert M. Hartley; secretary, Charles E. French. Membership, 175; increase, 10. Endowment fund of \$10,000. Possesses "Fort Johnson," mansion of Sir William Johnson, which contains a valuable collection of furniture, Indian relics, etc. Publishes Yearbook. Small collection of books and MSS.

New York State Historical Association (Glens Falls).—President, James A. Roberts; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 642; increase, 74. Invested funds of \$400. Published Volume IX of Proceedings, containing Ticonderoga

Expedition of 1775, by Robert O. Bascom and James A. Holden, as well as catalogue of collections. Annual meeting (October 4-6) was in form of house-boat party or excursion on Lake Champlain, visiting various historic points on the lake. Association is custodian of Lake George Park, for which the State makes an appropriation.

Herkimer County Historical Society (Herkimer).—President, Albert N. Russell; secretary, Arthur T. Smith. Membership, about 200. Occupies rooms in public library. Has published two volumes of papers and addresses. Collections: 250 books, MSS., relics.

American Jewish Historical Society (531-535 West One hundred and twenty-third Street, New York City).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York City. Membership, 286; increase, 25. Has publication fund of \$5,150 and general assets of \$3,250. Has a room in the Jewish Theological Seminary (New York City). Has brought out Publication No. 19, containing two papers on the Jews in Masonry in the United States. Collections: 1,280 books, increase, 180. Is preparing for publication the Lyons collection of MSS.

NORTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of North Dakota (Bismarck).—President, Charles T. Amidon; secretary, O. G. Libby. Membership, 158. Annual appropriation from State of \$4,600. Published Volume III of Collections. Trustee for the State.

OHIO.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Burnet Woods, Cincinnati).—President, Joseph Wilby; corresponding secretary, Charles T. Greve. Membership, 94; increase, 5. Has published Volume V of Quarterly Publications, containing documents and reprints of rare publications. Collections: 24,132 books, increase, 667; many MSS.; a few museum objects.

The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Society (Columbus).—President, De Witt C. Jones; secretary, Frank T. Cole. Membership, 224. Published Volume XIII of "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Collections: 2,800 books, a few MSS., and a few museum objects.

Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association (Fremont).—President, Isadore H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Meek. Membership, 200. Has use of Birchard Library for meetings and collections. Preparing to publish proceedings of first five years. Collections consist principally of a small number of Indian relics. Has cooperated with D. A. R. in placing tablets at "Harrison Table Rock" and "Ball's Battle Ground."

Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society (Zanesville).—President, William J. Massey; secretary, Anna Stokes. Membership, 25; increase, 5. Occupies a hall supplied by the county. Collections: 200 books, increase, 15; 2 volumes of MSS.; small collection of museum objects.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society (City Hall, Portland).—President, Frederick V. Holman; secretary, F. G. Young; assistant secretary and curator, George H. Himes. Membership, 720; increase, 18. Receives \$2,500 from State, \$1,250 from members. Has published Volume XI of Quarterly. Collections: 10,223 books, increase 223; 6,615 pamphlets, increase, 315; 16,774 MSS., increase, 327, including letters and diary of Samuel R. Thurston, first Delegate to Congress; 2,000 museum objects, increase 50; 8,140 photographs, etc., increase, 140. Planning celebration of one hundredth anniversary (1911) of founding of Astoria.

PENNSYLVANIA.

- Delaware County Historical Society* (Chester).—President, A. Lewis Smith; recording secretary, H. G. Ashmead; corresponding secretary, Charles Palmer. Membership, 108; increase, 8. Collections: 165 books, increase, 22; 25 museum objects. Has marked headquarters of Washington and of Lafayette at battle of Brandywine.
- Bucks County Historical Society* (Doylestown).—President, W. W. H. Davis; secretary, C. D. Hotchkiss. Membership, 758; increase, 28. Funds of \$1,083. Real estate worth \$25,000. Collections: 3,000 books, increase, 200; about 4,000 museum objects. Has purchased and restored a log house, the oldest building in Doylestown. Receives \$200 annually from county.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies*.—President, F. R. Diffenderffer; secretary, S. P. Heilman, M. D., Heilman Dale. A federation of 32 societies, 1 having been added during the year. Has published Acts and Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting. Maintains no collections, its object being to coordinate the activities of local societies. Its last report shows that these societies held, in 1910, 175 meetings, at which 196 papers were read. Their aggregate membership was 10,544.
- Lebanon County Historical Society*.—President, E. Grumbine; secretary, S. P. Heilman, M. D., Heilman Dale. Membership, 170; increase, 11. Receives county appropriation of \$200. Quarters are in the county courthouse. Has published Nos. 2-5 of Volume V of its Publications. Collection contains about 5,000 pieces, books, MSS., and museum objects.
- Snyder County Historical Society* (Middleburgh).—President, Jay G. Weiser; secretary, George W. Wagenseller. Membership, 12.
- Historical Society of Frankford* (Frankford, Philadelphia).—President, Franklin Smedley; secretary, Eleanor E. Wright. Membership, 200. Occupies two rooms in an office building and has use of safe. During its five years of existence has published 9 pamphlets relating to local history. Collections: 104 books, many pamphlets; collection of deeds, title briefs, maps, photographs, etc. Held loan exhibit in November, 1910, of various objects, such as furniture, household utensils, maps, MSS., etc.
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia).—President, Samuel W. Pennypacker; corresponding secretary, John B. McMaster; librarian, John W. Jordan. Membership, 2,300; increase, 150. Funds, \$255,036; property, \$339,591. New fireproof building with modern library equipment. Has published *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, and various pamphlets. Collections: 80,000 books, 200,000 pamphlets, 3,321 volumes of newspapers, 5,200 volumes of MSS. Has acquired MSS. of Benjamin West with sketches by him.
- Pennsylvania History Club* (1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia).—President, Isaac Sharpless; secretary, Albert Cook Myers. Membership, 57. Has appointed a permanent committee on European background of Pennsylvania history.
- Presbyterian Historical Society* (518 Witherspoon Building, 1319 Walnut Street, Philadelphia).—President, Rev. Henry C. McCook, D. D.; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles R. Watson, D. D. Membership, 237; increase, 12. Endowment funds, \$10,600. Maintains library, museum, and reading room. Publishes *Journal*. Collections: 22,000 books, increase, 566; 6,326 museum objects.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown* (Germantown, Philadelphia).—President, Charles Francis Jenkins; secretary, William E. Chapman. Membership, 640; increase, 19. Invested fund of \$1,000. Income, \$1,479. Has building with good library equipment. Has published No. 4 of its Publications. Collections: 600 books, increase, 200; 700 MSS., increase, 350; 1,100 museum objects, increase, 150.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (1410 Keenan Building, Pittsburg).—President, Thomas L. Rodgers; secretary, Burd Shippen Patterson. Membership, 400; increase, 350. Has received provisional gift of \$10,000, to become available upon erection of building by society within five years. Society has at present an office, expects to lay corner stone of new building during centennial celebration of steamboat navigation on western waters, 1911. Small collection of books and MSS. Has made pilgrimages to various battle fields, and celebrated anniversaries of founding of Pittsburg and first fortification of falls of the Ohio. Has established lectures on local history in the public schools.

Historical Society of Bradford County (Towanda).—President, Herbert S. Putnam; secretary, J. Andrew Wilt. Membership, 100. County provides accommodations for meetings and collections and appropriates \$200 yearly. Has published Annual No. 4, containing articles on Count Zinzendorf, Moravian Missions, Schools, etc. Collections: 1,000 books, increase, 100; large collection of museum objects. Recently acquired J. H. Horton collection of Civil War relics; title paper of Le Roy and Morris lands. Celebrated one hundredth anniversary of organization of Bradford County and of Overton Township, one hundred and thirty-first anniversary of Gen. John Sullivan's expedition against the Indians. Plans celebration in 1915 of three hundredth anniversary of the coming of first white man (Stephen Brulé) within present limits of Pennsylvania.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (Wilkes-Barre).—President, Irving A. Stearns; corresponding secretary and librarian, Horace E. Hayden. Membership, 388. Funds, \$52,250. Occupies building furnished free of rent, light, and heat, by bequest. Publishes Papers, Volume XI in press. Collections: 20,000 books and pamphlets, several thousand MSS., 45,000 museum objects.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Citizens Historical Association (Providence).—President, Thomas W. Bicknell; secretary, Charles H. Eddy, 171 Westminster Street. Membership, 350. Has published address by ex-Gov. Lippitt on Rhode Island Independence Day, May 4, 1776. Library of 500 books, a few MSS., and a few museum objects. Arranges excursions to and marking of points of historic interest. Plans a people's institute for study of local history. Receives State aid in publication of papers.

TEXAS.

Texas State Historical Association (Austin).—President, A. W. Terrell; secretary, Charles W. Ramsdell. Membership, 1,000. Invested funds of about \$3,000. Quarters in University of Texas. Publishes Quarterly. Collections are all presented to university library.

VERMONT.

Vermont Historical Society (Montpelier).—President, William W. Stickney; secretary, Edward D. Field. Membership, 281; increase, 32. Income about \$250, in addition to State appropriation of \$500 for purchases and binding. Occupies quarters in statehouse. Has reprinted the first pamphlet issued by the society, and has in press proceedings of 1909-10. Proceedings printed by State. Collections: 6,000 books and pamphlets, all catalogued. Erected memorial tablet in Forest-dale to Thomas Davenport, inventor of electric motor.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia Historical Society (707 East Franklin Street, Richmond).—President, W. Gordon McCabe; secretary, W. G. Stanard. Membership, 740. Invested funds of \$10,640. Has building with library equipment. Publishes Virginia Magazine

of History and Biography. Collections: 15,000 books and pamphlets, increase, 647; several thousand MSS., catalogued; several hundred museum objects. Will publish during 1911 Minutes of Council and General Court, 1623-1632.

WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison).—President, Lucius C. Coleman; secretary and superintendent, Reuben G. Thwaites. Membership, 794; increase, 50. Endowment funds, \$63,000; increase, \$2,000. Has published Wisconsin Historical Collections, volume 19, containing Mackinac register of baptisms and interments, 1695-1821; journal of François Victor Malhiot, a fur trader, 1804-5; documents relating to fur trade in upper lake region, 1778-1817. Has also published proceedings for 1909 and several bulletins. Collections: 331,567 books, increase, 11,420; 2,000 bound volumes of MSS., increase, 50 volumes, including papers of George H. Paul, 1826-1890; increase of 2,000 museum objects. Trustee for State, which appropriates \$31,000, and pays for printing, binding, stationery, etc. The Wisconsin History Commission, receiving \$2,000 yearly from the State, is closely connected with the society.

Wisconsin Archæological Society (Madison).—President, Arthur Wenz; secretary, Charles Edward Brown. Membership, 500. Publishes Wisconsin Archæologist. Has secured preservation of various Indian mounds, and has marked several others. Has conducted archæological exploration.

Manitowoc County Historical Society (Manitowoc).—President, Emil Baensch; secretary, R. C. Plumb. Membership, 30; increase, 2. Occupies part of city library. Has printed three papers in local press. Dedicated a monument in August, 1909, to Waumegesako, chief of mixed tribes. Is auxiliary of State Historical Society.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

ONTARIO.

Huron Institute (Collingwood).—President, M. Gaviller; secretary, David Williams. Membership, 65. Receives \$100 from Province. Has published Volume I of Papers and Records. Collection of 4,000 pieces (books, MSS., photographs, museum objects, etc.). Has explored sites of Indian villages and Fort Nottawasago.

London and Middlesex Historical Society (London).—President, Alexander W. Fraser; secretary, Rev. George M. Cox. Membership, 112; increase, 4. Receives \$100 from Province. Uses a hall in public library. Has published a volume of papers read at meetings. Small collection. Has marked site of "Victoria disaster" of 1881; prepared exhibit at Western Fair of books, pictures, utensils, furniture, etc., illustrative of local history.

Niagara Historical Society (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss Carnochan; secretary, John Eckersley. Membership, 184; increase, 31. Grants of \$200 from Province and \$25 from county. Various improvements to building. Has published No. 19 of Publications, containing "Inscriptions and Graves in Niagara Peninsula." Collections: 203 books, increase, 45; 243 MSS., increase, 21; 5,216 museum objects, increase, 71. Is placing tablets in Historical Building in memory of early settlers and of regiments stationed in vicinity.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa (Ottawa).—President, Mrs. Thomas Ahearn; secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings, 303 Wellington Street. Membership, 134; increase, 34. Receives grant of \$200 from Province. Has published eleventh annual report, Volume III of Transactions, and report of delegate to meetings of American Historical Association, December 27-31, 1909. Plans the erection of a memorial to the confederation of Canada, and a monument to Champlain. Affiliated to Royal Society of Canada.

QUEBEC.

Société Historique de Montréal. (École Normale Jacques Cartier, Montreal).—President, S. W. Sicotte; secretary, R. Z. Baulne. Membership, 38; decrease, 1. Occupies a room at the normal school. Collections: 3,128 books, increase, 75; 300 MSS., increase, 80, including papers of Sir Louis Hypolite Lafontaine.

DELEGATES ACCREDITED TO CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.¹

ILLINOIS.

State Historical Library.—Charles H. Rammelkamp, Clarence W. Alvord.

INDIANA.

Grant County Historical Society.—R. L. Whitson.

Cass County Historical Society.—Quincy A. Myers, Frank Swigart, G. N. Berry, J. Z. Powell.

Indiana Historical Society.—Demarchus Brown, Harlow Lindley, J. P. Dunn.

IOWA.

State Historical Society of Iowa.—Benj. F. Shambaugh, Dan E. Clark.

Lucas County Historical Society.—Margaret W. Brown.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts.—Andrew McFarland Davis, J. F. Jameson, Frederick J. Turner, Archibald C. Coolidge.

Fitchburg Historical Society.—Benjamin F. Brown.

Nantucket Historical Society.—Alexander Starbuck.

MISSISSIPPI.

Department of Archives.—Dunbar Rowland.

MISSOURI.

State Historical Society of Missouri.—F. A. Sampson.

Kansas City Historical Society.—W. J. Anderson.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society.—Clarence S. Paine.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society.—Burton H. Allbee.

NEW YORK.

Herkimer County Historical Society.—Arthur T. Smith.

NORTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of North Dakota.—O. G. Libby.

¹ This is the list of delegates appointed; not all attended.

OHIO.

Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association.—Isadore H. Burgoon, Basil Meek.

"Old Northwest" Genealogical Society.—Frank T. Cole.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.—Charles Theodore Greve.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society.—George E. Chamberlain, W. C. Hawley, H. H. Gilfrey, Medorem Crawford, E. R. Lake.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Site and Relic Society of Germantown.—Albert E. McKinley.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.—G. A. M. Dyess, Burd S. Patterson.

Pennsylvania History Club.—H. Frank Eshleman.

TEXAS.

Texas State Historical Association.—E. C. Barker, Charles W. Ramsdell.

VERMONT.

Vermont Historical Society.—Joseph A. De Boer, Allen M. Fletcher.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Department of Archives.—Virgil A. Lewis.

WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin Historical Society.—Reuben G. Thwaites.

CANADA.

Ontario Historical Society (Toronto).—Clarkson W. James, C. S. R.

Société Historique de Montréal.—Abbé Naz. Dubois.

Huron Institute (Collingwood).—David Williams.

XVI. ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

HERMAN V. AMES,

University of Pennsylvania.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,

Johns Hopkins University.

DUNBAR ROWLAND,

Department of Archives and History, Mississippi.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

American Antiquarian Society.

CARL RUSSELL FISH,

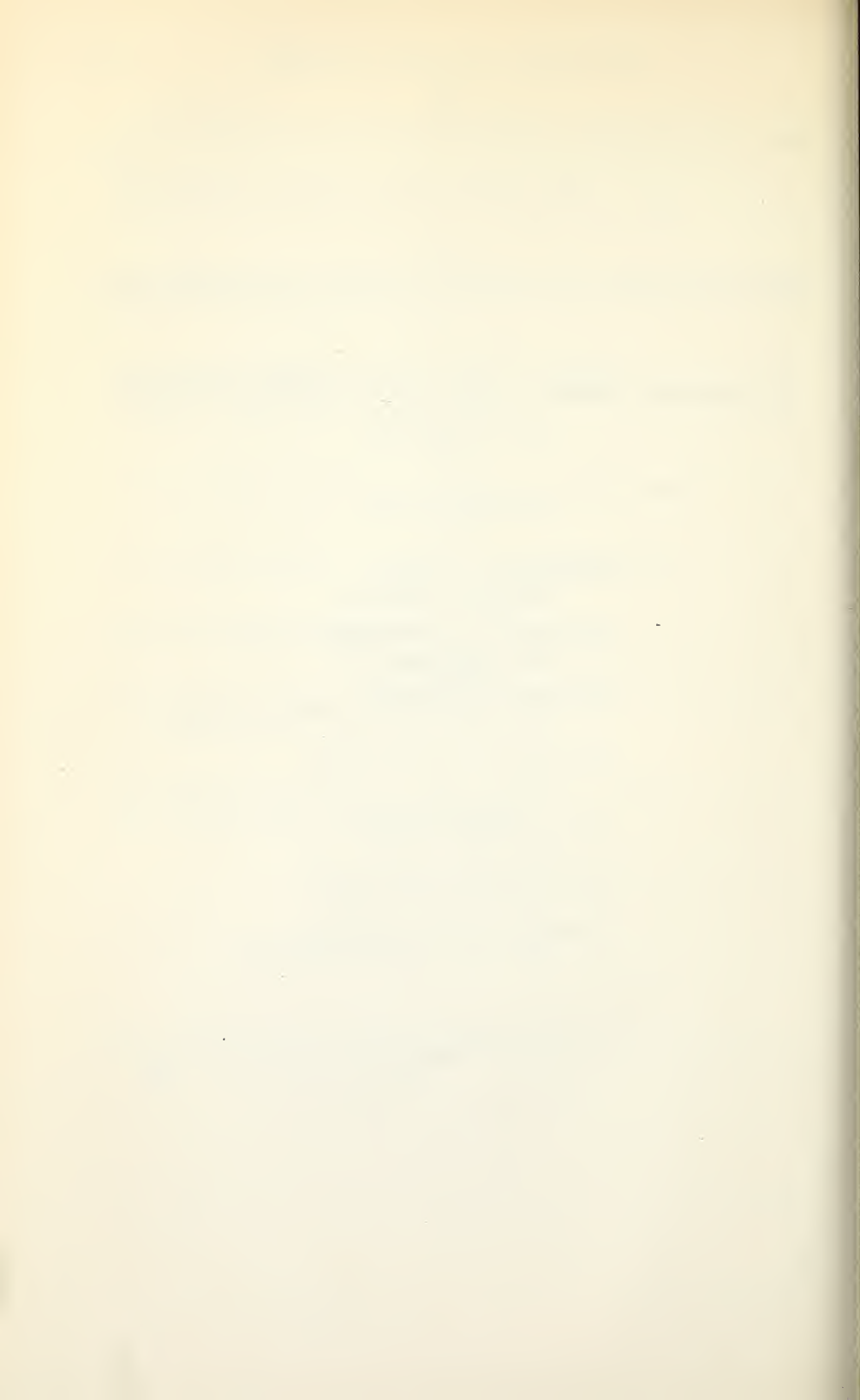
University of Wisconsin.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,

State Historian, New York.

ROBERT D. W. CONNOR,

North Carolina Historical Commission.



CONTENTS.

	Page.
Eleventh report.....	271
Appendix A. Proceedings of the second annual conference of archivists...	279
Appendix B. Report on the archives of the State of Indiana, by Harlow Lindley.....	315
Appendix C. Report on the archives of the State of Kentucky, by Irene T. Myers.....	331
Appendix D. Report on the archives of the State of Nebraska, by Addison E. Sheldon.....	365
Appendix E. Notes on the archives of the Philippines, by James A. Robertson	421



REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 30, 1910.

To the executive council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association submits the following report of its work for the year 1910:

As a partial result of the work of investigating the public archives that has been carried on during the past year in several of the States, the commission submits herewith three reports as follows:

1. Preliminary report upon the State archives of Indiana, by Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

2. Report upon the State archives of Kentucky, by Prof. Irene T. Myers, Transylvania University.

3. Report upon the State archives of Nebraska, by Mr. Addison E. Sheldon, Nebraska State Historical Society, with the assistance of Mr. A. E. Warren, Mr. W. H. Hodgkin, and Mr. William Hannen.

A small body of notes on the Philippine archives is also presented, prepared by Dr. James A. Robertson, librarian of the Philippines Library at Manila.

The commission also cooperated in the work of the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, which was held at Brussels during last August. As stated in our last report, a special commission of the American Historical Association was appointed for this purpose, consisting of the members of the public archives commission and the following additional persons:

Waldo G. Leland, secretary, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Worthington C. Ford, editor, Massachusetts Historical Society, and chairman of the historical manuscripts commission.

Gaillard Hunt, chief of division of manuscripts, Library of Congress.

Henry E. Woods, commissioner of public records of Massachusetts.

In April the special commission caused to be prepared and sent out to archivists and other persons interested in archive matters a circular letter which contained information in regard to the program of the congress, the particulars in regard to membership, and the importance of obtaining its publications. The commission also arranged for the preparation of four papers which were presented at the conference as follows:

A paper on "Massachusetts laws and commission of public records," by Henry E. Woods, commissioner of public records of Massachusetts.

A paper on the "Principles that should govern the transfer of records of governmental departments to a central bureau, especially as applied to the transfer of such material to the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress," by Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts, Library of Congress.

A paper on "The work of the public archives commission," by Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association.

A paper on the "Centralization of records," by Dunbar Rowland, director, department of archives and history of Mississippi.

The following delegates represented the Historical Association and commission at the meeting.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress.

Secretary W. G. Leland, of the American Historical Association.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of the public archives commission.

Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, archivist, New York State library.

The work of the transcribing of documents in the British archives for the Library of Congress, which is being done under the direction of Prof. Andrews, has been going on steadily; the number of folios thus far received from the Bodleian Library, British Museum, and Public Record Office aggregating in the neighborhood of 90,000 and forming about 300 volumes. All the documents desired in the Bodleian Library have been copied, and but comparatively few in the British Museum remain to be transcribed. The most important of these are the Newcastle Papers, of which selected extracts are being copied together with an index, and the papers relating to the West Indies during the colonial period. At present attention is being centered chiefly on the Public Record Office, and transcription is progressing rapidly of such volumes and bundles of "Class 5" as are desired. It is intended to continue this work along the lines already laid down. One new group of papers which will be secured for the Library of Congress in the near future will consist of transcripts of all entries relating to America from the audit-office rolls of declared accounts and customs, containing the names, offices, and other data regarding customs officials in America and such customs officials on the British establishment as had to do with American revenues from 1676 to 1767.

The commission plans to supplement the material published in its report for 1908, in regard to the laws and journals of colonial assemblies in the Record Office, by the publication of two further lists. The first will be a complete list of the commissions, instructions, and additional instructions, trade instructions, and circular instructions issued to the royal governors and others in America; the second, a complete list of all representations and reports of the board of trade to the King in council, Parliament, secretary of state, and other departments, made during the colonial period and relating to America.

The preparation of these lists is now under way, but it is impossible to state just when they will be ready for publication. In addition to the references to the manuscript sources, it is proposed to cite references to such of these documents as have been printed. Transcripts of the originals will be prepared for the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress, in so far as they have not already been acquired.

As a result of the interest shown at the first conference of archivists held in connection with the New York meeting of the association, the commission arranged for a second conference of archivists, which was held in connection with this year's annual meeting of the association. A circular letter was sent out in November calling attention to the questions to be discussed at this conference and extending an invitation to all interested in archive matters to attend. A good attendance resulted, although perhaps in frankness it should be stated that the attendance of archivists was so far below that of historical students that the conference might more correctly have been called an archive conference than a conference of archivists. The following program was carried out:

Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.

"The work of the international conference of archivists and librarians at Brussels, August 28-31, 1910," A. J. F. van Laer, archivist, State library of New York.

"Concentration of State and national archives," Dunbar Rowland, director of department of archives and history, State of Mississippi.

"The need of a federal hall of records," Gaillard Hunt, chief of division of manuscripts, Library of Congress.

"What material should go into the archives?" Frederic L. Paxson, professor in the University of Wisconsin; Dan E. Clark, State Historical Society of Iowa; Eugene C. Barker, professor in the University of Texas; Harlow Lindley, professor in Earlham College; R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

General discussions: D. C. Brown, State librarian of Indiana; Dr. Asa C. Tilton, assistant, Connecticut State library; Mr. Justin H. Smith; Dr. J. F. Jameson.

These papers and abstracts of the discussions are incorporated in the accompanying appendixes to this report.

Little legislation of importance relating to public archives has been enacted during the past year. This was to be expected as most of the State legislatures have not been in session. Of the few acts passed, two only call for particular mention. The first of these is an act of Rhode Island transferring the duties of the previous State record commissioner to the State librarian, and making the latter ex officio State record commissioner. The text of this act follows:

CHAPTER 645.

AN ACT Creating the office of State record commissioner.

It is enacted by the general assembly as follows:

SECTION 1. The State librarian, ex officio, is hereby appointed State record commissioner, with full power to appoint a deputy to do all things by law required of the

State record commissioner, whose duty it shall be to prepare for the use of the State a detailed report of the number, kind, and condition of the various public records in the custody and under the control of State, city, and town officers in this State, and such parish or church records as may be obtainable relating to extinct or active church organizations in said State, and, as far as possible, of the records and place of deposit in other States relating to the several cities and towns in the State of Rhode Island; for the purpose aforesaid the sum of six hundred dollars be, and the same is hereby, annually appropriated, and the State auditor is hereby directed to allow such bills for the same as may be approved by the governor and draw his orders therefor upon the general treasurer, who shall pay the same from any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 2. The duties imposed upon the person heretofore known as State record commissioner, appointed under resolution passed at the January session, A. D. 1896, and all subsequent resolutions, shall in the future be completed by the State record commissioner provided for in section 1 of this act.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage, and all parts of resolutions inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.¹

The State of New York has made provision for the translation into English of the Dutch manuscript records in the possession of the State library, which are the official records of the government of the Colony of New Netherland from 1630 to 1674. The act further provides for the publication of the translation "in parts from time to time in parallel columns or pages of Dutch and English."² This work is being done under the supervision of the archivist of the State library, Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. Laws have also been passed by Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Rhode Island making provision for the preservation or publication of war records, or for the publication of military histories or biographies.³

In this connection, belated reference is made to an act passed by the State of Washington in 1909, establishing a public archives commission. The text of this act follows.⁴

AN ACT To create a public archives commission, and to define its duties and powers.

Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Washington:

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a public archives commission, which shall consist of the governor of the State, the secretary of state, and the State auditor, who shall be the official custodians of all public documents, records, and archives of the State, and in general all such material as shall come into its possession in accordance with the terms of this act.

SEC. 2. The term archives as used in this act shall be construed to mean manuscripts, manuscript books, records, printed books, papers, maps or drawings, or other papers of original record of any office, department, board or commission constituting

¹ Approved Aug. 19, 1910. Acts and Resolves of Rhode Island, August session, 1910, ch. 645, pp. 111, 112

² Laws of New York, 1910. Vol. 1, ch. 177, pp. 327, 328.

³ Acts of Massachusetts, 1910, r. 32; ch. 242; ch. 455; Laws of New Jersey, 1910, ch. 74; ch. 211; Acts of Rhode Island, 1910, r. 63 and 64. The commission expresses its indebtedness to Mr. C. B. Lester, legislative reference librarian of the New York State library, for these references.

⁴ From copy of act furnished by Mr. J. M. Hitt, the State archivist.

the State government, and which are not of current use, but whose chief use is that of preservation and reference, and which is required by law to be preserved, filed, or recorded in any office of the State, or of any county or municipality, or of any officer or employee of the State, or of any county or municipality.

SEC. 3. The public archives commission shall have full and complete control of the official archives of the State, and it shall be their duty to arrange for the assessment, classification, labeling, filing, indexing, and cataloguing of the entire body of the archives committed to their custody.

SEC. 4. They may adopt such rules and regulations regarding the care and custody of the official archives as they may deem best, and may authorize the making of copies of the same, which copies may be given under seal of the commission, for which purpose the commission may adopt an appropriate seal.

SEC. 5. Any State official, county or other official, is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to turn over to the public archives commission for permanent preservation therewith any official archives not in current use in his office. When so surrendered copies therefrom shall be made and certified by the archivist upon the application of any person interested, which certification shall have all the force and effect as if made by the officer originally in charge of them and for which the same fees shall be charged, to be collected in advance: *Provided*, That in turning over the archives of his office the officer in charge thereof, or his successor in office, thereby loses none of his rights of access to them whenever necessary and for which no fees shall be charged.

SEC. 6. The State librarian shall serve without pay as archivist, and shall under the direction of the public archives commission have control and direction of the work and operations of the department; he shall preserve its collections and care for the official archives that may come into the custody of the commission. For this preservation the commission shall furnish suitable rooms, cases, and vaults.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the commission to report biennially to the legislature the condition of the archives under their care, and to make such recommendations as will result in the records of this State being permanently preserved for historic and reference purposes.

Another effort was made in the legislature of New York during 1910 through State Historian Victor Hugo Paltsits, a member of our commission, seconded by many historical societies and persons in that State, for procuring legislation looking to the preservation and publication of official records and the correlation of existing laws on the subject, under the auspices of the State historian. The bill was drawn on the lines of the bill of 1909, the text of which was given in the commission's last report, but like that bill failed.

As an indication of the growing interest in and recognition of the importance of the systematic care of public archives, attention is called to the action of the National Association of State Libraries at their annual meeting in July, 1910, in establishing a committee on public archives. The object of the committee as stated by its chairman is to cooperate with, and supplement the work of, the public archives commission of our association, particularly with a view to disseminating information relating to the actual administration of an archives department. The committee has sent out a circular letter

and questionnaire with the purpose of preparing "a review of legislation relating to archives and of the progress which has been made under it." Only in this particular does the committee propose to duplicate the work of the public archives commission. Extracts from this circular letter follow:

Little systematic attention has been given in the past to the care of our public records—national, State, and local—even by their custodians and by persons interested in their contents. During the last decade, however, a deeper appreciation of their value has arisen; the need of preserving them and making them easily accessible to public officials and to lawyers, scholars, and all others who may wish to consult them has been more fully realized, and study of the best methods of attaining these ends has begun. The American Historical Association through its public archives commission has been the leader in this movement.

Consideration of archive problems has everywhere led to the conclusion that preservation and accessibility of State and local records can best and most economically be attained by centralizing them in a single State repository, so far as the needs of current administration do not require their retention in the place and office of their origin. Legislation tending to that end has been enacted in half of the States, and is under consideration in others.

A State repository for public records, whether an additional function or department of the State (or State historical) library or a distinct department of archives, falls within the field of this association. Some of our members have been giving much time to archive problems and have gained valuable knowledge and experience; others anticipate having such problems to deal with in the near future, and all are interested in them as a part of the work of the State supported libraries.

A committee on public archives was added to the list of committees of the association at its last annual meeting. This was done to facilitate exchange of experience and views, to assist in accumulation of information, and in other ways to make effective and influential the work of its members in archive administration.¹

¹ The committee consists of A. C. Tilton, T. L. Montgomery, J. L. Gillis, H. R. McIlwaine, and Gaillard Hunt. The following are the questions upon which the committee seeks information:

I. Public records of State.

- (a) Has your State laws which designate a central repository for State records (as the State library or a department of archives) and permit or direct State officers to transfer records thereto?
- (b) If there are such laws, what progress has been made in transferring records?
- (c) In the absence of such laws have officials turned over to the State library or department of archives records which they are not specifically required by law to keep?
- (d) Has your State had any temporary or permanent commissions or officers to care for, print, or report on any class of public records, or the records in general?

II. Local public records.

- (a) Has your State laws which designate a central repository for local records (as the State library or department of archives) and direct or permit officers of counties, cities, towns, etc., to transfer records thereto?
- (b) If there are such laws, what progress has been made in transferring records?
- (c) In the absence of such laws have local officials turned over any records which they are not specifically required by law to keep?
- (d) Has your State had any temporary or permanent commissions or officers for supervising, printing, or reporting on local records in general or on those of specified periods or places?

III. General.

- (a) What equipment has the central depository for caring for records which are entrusted to it (as fire-proof buildings, vaults, etc.)?
- (b) How many persons are employed in work on the archives and what training have they had?
- (c) What has been done in arranging, binding, cataloguing, indexing, calendaring, etc., the local and State records in the State library or department of archives?

In Pennsylvania the committee on the preservation of manuscript records appointed by the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies has in preparation a report upon the county archives of Pennsylvania. The results of a questionnaire sent out to the official and local historians of the several counties will be embodied in a paper to be presented at the annual meeting of the federation early in 1911.¹

In conclusion, it should be said that the commission, in keeping with its course in the past, has endeavored to lend its aid and extend its moral support in appropriate ways to various agencies throughout the country in fostering the movement in support of scientific and systematic provision for the care, preservation, and use of the public archives.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS.
DUNBAR ROWLAND.
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.
CARL R. FISH.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.
ROBERT D. W. CONNOR.

¹ The committee consisted of Herman V. Ames, H. Frank Eshleman, and Albert Cook Myers. Report printed in Acts and Proceedings of the Federation, 1911.



ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF ARCHIVISTS.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 29, 1910.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The second annual conference of archivists and of those interested in archival matters was held under the auspices of the public archives commission of the American Historical Association, on December 29, 1910, in Indianapolis, as one of the sessions of the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the association. The attendance at the conference was gratifyingly large and the interest manifested in the proceedings corresponded to the importance of the subject matter.

The conference was presided over by Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the public archives commission, who in opening the session spoke as follows: "It falls to my lot to welcome you here this afternoon to the second of these conferences for archivists. Some 11 years ago a public archives commission was established by this association, and nearly every year the various members of the commission with their associates have assembled at the place of meeting for a private conference, but last year it seemed that the archivists' interests had grown to be so considerable that an open conference to take a place on the program was planned. The meeting in New York was so successful and stimulated so much interest that we felt encouraged to hold a similar meeting to-day, and accordingly arrangements have been made to that end.

"First on the program we have a report from the International Conference of Archivists and Librarians at Brussels, held last summer. The American Historical Association appointed several gentlemen to act as a commission representing the archivists' interests of the United States in connection with that congress, and four of its members were present at Brussels. We had hoped to hear from one of them this afternoon. Unfortunately Mr. van Laer, owing to illness in his family, is unable to be present, but Prof. Andrews will read his paper which he has sent."

THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHIVISTS AND LIBRARIANS AT BRUSSELS, AUGUST 28-31, 1910.

By ARNOLD J. F. VAN LAER.

The International Congress of Archivists and Librarians held at Brussels from August 28 to August 31, as one of the series of international congresses arranged in connection with the Brussels Exposition, for the first time brought together representatives from various countries for the discussion of questions relating to the care and administration of archives. The printed list of members showed the names of 49 institutions and 389 persons, of which 22 institutions and about 120 persons may be classed as belonging to the archive group. At the meetings of the archivists about 60 persons were present, including, besides the Belgian members, official delegates of five Governments and representatives from most of the countries that participated in the organization of the congress through national committees, Holland leading with a delegation of nine members, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, and the United States each having from three to six members present, and several other countries, among them Great Britain, Portugal, and Russia, being represented by one or two members each. The American Historical Association cooperated through its public archives commission and was represented at the congress by Messrs. Gaillard Hunt, Dunbar Rowland, W. G. Leland, and A. J. F. van Laer, Mr. Hunt being also the official delegate of the United States Government.

The preparations for the congress were begun in the fall of 1907 by the executive officers and three members of the Association of Belgian Archivists and Librarians, and afterwards carried to completion by a central commission of organization of about 40 archivists and librarians, under the patronage of the Belgian Government and a large and representative body of citizens. The rules adopted by the central commission provided that there should be two general sessions of archivists and librarians, one at the opening and one at the close of the congress, but that the work of the congress should be done in four sections, the first devoted to archives, the second to libraries, the third to collections supplementary to archives and libraries, and the fourth to popular libraries, the sessions of the first and third sections and of the second and fourth sections not to be held at the same time, but to be as much as possible continuous. In order to give the proceedings sufficient international scope, the organizing commission had at an early date consulted prominent archivists and librarians in various countries as to topics most

suitable for discussion at the congress and prepared from the answers for each section a list of questions on which papers were requested. For the archives section the schedule embraced 25 questions relating to the construction and interior arrangement of archive depositories, the classification and cataloguing of archive collections, the preservation of private archives and notarial and parish records, the transfer of administrative papers to archive depositories, the scientific training of archivists and other kindred topics, on which 16 papers were presented and printed in advance of the congress and others promised to be sent later. It was assumed that the contents of the printed papers were familiar to the members attending, so that but a few minutes were devoted by the author of each paper to introduce the subject and the rest of the time was given up to discussion. French was the official language of the proceedings, but German, English, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese were occasionally used in the discussions.

The opening session of the congress was held in the Palais des Fêtes et Congrès, on Sunday, August 28, at 3.30 in the afternoon, with about 300 honorary members, official delegates, and members present. Rev. J. Van den Gheyn, S. J., chief conservator of manuscripts in the Royal library of Belgium and president for libraries of the central commission of organization, with a few words opened the meeting and introduced M. A. Gaillard, archivist general of the Kingdom of Belgium and president for archives of the central commission, who delivered an address of welcome. Brief reports were then presented by the general secretaries, MM. Joseph Cuvelier and Louis Stainier, and nominations made for officers of the congress and the four sections. As honorary presidents were chosen the heads of the foreign delegations; as honorary vice presidents, a number of distinguished foreign representatives; as permanent presidents, Dr. S. Muller Fz., State Archivist of the Netherlands in the Province of Utrecht, and M. Henri Martin, librarian of the Arsenal Library at Paris; and as secretaries, treasurer, and assistant treasurer, MM. Cuvelier, Stainier, Van der Haege, and Tourneur, who had acted in the same capacities for the organizing commission. For the archives section there were chosen as presidents, Dr. Paul Bailleu, of Berlin, Dr. Robert Fruin, of Middelburg, M. Henri Stein, of Paris, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of Washington; as vice presidents, Mr. Julian Paz, of Simancas, Dr. Luigi Pagliai, of Florence, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of Washington, and Dr. Hans Schlitter, of Vienna; and as secretaries, MM. Brouwers, Des Marez, Nélis, Van den Haute, Vannérus, and Verriest, all of the public archives of Belgium.

Following the work of organization came the presidential address by M. Martin, secretary of the first International Congress of Librarians of 1900, at Paris, who dealt on the work accomplished by

that congress and paid a fitting tribute to its recently deceased president, Léopold Delisle, in which the assembly concurred by a rising vote. At the close brief speeches were made by a number of foreign delegates, Mr. Charles M. Andrews, of the Johns Hopkins University library, speaking for the Americans.

In the evening the members had an opportunity for friendly intercourse at an informal reception given by the Association of Belgian Archivists and Librarians at the Maison des Médecins, on the Grand' Place.

Monday morning shortly after 9 o'clock the archives section met in one of the small rooms of the Palais des Congrès, Dr. Paul Bailieu, second director of the archives of Prussia, in the chair. The first question that came before the meeting concerned the publications which should be issued by archives departments and was presented by M. H. Nélis, of the Royal archives of Belgium. Briefly summarizing his printed paper, M. Nélis mentioned seven kinds of publications that were needed or desirable to have for each country: (1) A general guide or handbook of archive depositories, giving the names of officials, office hours, and descriptions of the available manuscript and printed indexes; (2) classified lists of the archive collections in all the depositories of a state or province; (3) lists of the contents of large depositories, such as the Vatican archives and the Public Record Office; (4) systematic inventories of the papers of special institutions or administrations; (5) calendars of special series of papers; (6) periodical lists of accessions to archive depositories; (7) bulletins containing historical notes and items of information that might be of interest to the general public. M. Nélis also spoke of the desirability of having some one undertake the compilation of an annual bibliography of archive publications and of establishing a system of international exchange of such publications, which suggestions, together with the recommendations mentioned under Nos. 2 and 3, he embodied in the form of resolutions and submitted for the consideration of the meeting.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Eugenio Casanova, director of the State archives at Naples, called attention to the fact that the Department of the Interior had just published an inventory of the various State archives in Italy, entitled *Ordinamento delle Carte degli Archivi di Stato Italiani*; Mr. Árpád Györy von Nábudvar spoke of the publications issued by the Austrian archives; M. Henri Stein stated that the French archives had discontinued the publication of summary inventories, as being too expensive; Mr. James Maitland Anderson, librarian of the university of St. Andrews, Scotland, mentioned two or three publications describing the contents of the Public Record Office; and Dr. Hans Schlitter, of Vienna, expressed the wish

to see inventories published of the archives of baronial families. Thereupon the resolutions proposed by M. Nélis were voted.

The next subject was the adoption of the "principe de la provenance," or source principle, as the basis of arrangement and classification of archives, which was briefly introduced by Dr. E. Wiersum, archivist of the city of Rotterdam. This principle, which at present is accepted by nearly all the archivists of continental Europe as the only rational basis for the classification of archives, has been frequently discussed in foreign reviews, but is, I believe, as yet but vaguely understood and rarely applied in England and the United States. It may not be amiss, therefore, to state that, according to Dr. Muller's definition, by the term "principe de la provenance," or "Provenienzprinzip," as the Germans call it, is meant a system of arrangement of public archives whereby every document is traced to the governmental body, administrative office or institution by which it was issued or received and to the files of which it last belonged when these files were still in process of natural accretion. In other words, the principle demands that documents shall be classified, not like books, according to their subject matter, but with reference to the organic relations of the papers, the files of each body or office being kept by themselves. Simple and logical as this principle may seem, it has been ignored in nearly all the earlier arrangements of archives in this country. As a result we find the papers of various legislative and judicial bodies and administrative offices combined in such miscellaneous series as "Colonial manuscripts," "Revolutionary papers," "Military papers," "Land papers," "Accounts," etc., which fail to reflect the functions and activities of each body or office, hide the gaps in the existing files, and make it difficult to ascertain the nature of the papers that are missing.

Mr. Györy stated that in Austria the principle had unfortunately not been adopted till the end of the nineteenth century, when it was too late to reclassify the entire body of archives. The system had been applied, however, to certain special collections. Dr. Pagliai said that in the Florentine archives the principle had been followed to some extent since the reorganization of the archives in 1850. Dr. Muller expressed his disapproval of the method advocated by the Institut International de Bibliographie at Brussels, whereby archives in process of formation were to be arranged according to a fixed system of classification, regardless of the origin of the papers. Thereupon, the meeting voted the following resolution: "That the 'principe de la provenance' be adopted for the arrangement and inventorying of archives, with a view to the logical classification of separate documents as well as in the interest of comprehensive historical study."

The third subject, presented by M. F. Pasquier, archivist of the department of the Haute Garonne, at Toulouse, had to do with

private archives. Quoting at great length from his printed paper, M. Pasquier described the value of private archives for national, family, and economic history, and pointed out in which way local historical societies could aid in locating, preserving, and calendaring such papers. He also suggested that the French Government, through the Comité des Travaux Historiques, might render a service similar to that which in England had been performed with such success by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The chairman then spoke of the value of private papers for the history of secret societies in Germany during the period from 1760 to 1790. Dr. Schlitter called attention to the importance of saving the papers of large commercial houses and banks for the study of economic conditions. Dr. Casanova stated that in Italy the Government prohibits the sale of private papers that are of national historical interest and seizes State papers that are found in private hands, to which M. Pasquier replied that in his opinion it was undesirable to have the State interfere in that way, as it would make families less willing to have their papers examined. After other remarks by Messrs. Aldásy, of Budapest, Schjapkiné, of St. Petersburg; Paz, of Simancas; Stein, of Paris, and Muller, of Utrecht, the meeting adjourned, well past the time set for the meeting of the third section, which the present writer did not attend. In the afternoon, the members of all the sections visited the Royal Library and the Royal Archives, and in the evening a large number took part in a subscription banquet, in the Restaurant de la Monnaie, at which M. Martin presided and Mr. Hunt spoke in the name of the United States Government.

On Tuesday morning, the second meeting of the archives section was held, Dr. Robert Fruin, State archivist at Middelburg, presiding. The first speaker was M. Pasquier, of Toulouse, who took up the questions of preservation, concentration, and consultation of the old notarial records, which in most countries of continental Europe are still under the seal of secrecy in the possession of the notarial offices. M. Pasquier pointed out the ever-growing value of these records for the study of former economic and social conditions and briefly sketched the efforts which have been made in various countries, but especially in France, to secure the transfer of such papers to the public archive depositories. He then asked the meeting to vote the following resolutions, authorizing notaries:

1. To give the public access to all records that are more than 100 years old.
2. To turn the records over to public depositories, after consent to do so has been obtained from interested parties.

These resolutions gave rise to lively discussion. M. Eugène Déprez, archivist of the department of Pas de Calais, thought the resolutions too vague, and wanted to know whether they had special

reference to France, or were intended to apply to other countries also. He saw no occasion for the congress to concern itself with the legislation of any particular country and, moreover, thought it undesirable to transfer the notarial records to public depositories, first, because there was not room for these very voluminous records, and secondly, because they were strictly private in character and had no business to be thrown open to the public. Dr. Fruin thereupon remarked that instruments similar to those drawn up before notaries used to be executed before the courts of schepens, whose records had always been considered public, so that there could be no objection to making the notarial records public. M. Pasquier then proposed to amend his resolutions so as to read that it was desirable that countries, where the notarial records were the property of the notarial offices, should pass laws permitting the notaries to turn their records over to the State archives. This proposition was further discussed, but finally rejected on the ground that the situation in regard to the notarial records varied too much from country to country to admit of general regulation.

The next subject was the preservation, classification, and cataloguing of the administrative archives of a large city, which was very ably presented by M. G. Des Marez, archivist of the city of Brussels, with special reference to the department under his care. M. Des Marez explained how at Brussels the administrative papers of all the city offices are filed in one central depository, not at stated intervals, but as soon as each official business matter is disposed of. Every document received by the administration is entered in a general register, then referred to the appropriate department for consideration, and finally, with its report, answer, or other accompanying papers, put in a suitably labeled cover and turned over to the central archive department, where the package is catalogued and filed for future reference. Each year over 30,000 papers and 400 volumes are thus turned over. Last year, the number of dossiers, or packages of papers dealing with the same subject matter, reached 19,000, for each of which a main card entry and one or more cross references must be made, the packages, and not the individual papers, being catalogued. At the close of his remarks, M. Des Marez proposed the following resolutions:

That it is desirable that communal administrations should adopt:

1. The system of centralization of current documents.
2. A single catalogue on cards, made by competent persons, for the entire body of documents in the central depository.

Dr. Bailleu stated that he saw no occasion for adopting these resolutions, since they related to what in Germany was known as "Registratur" and had nothing to do with archives proper. To this M. Des Marez replied that no sharp distinction can be or ought to be made between historical and administrative archives; that the

current documents of the present will be the historical documents of the future and should be arranged and indexed while it is easiest to do so. Dr. Ernest Hauviller, director of the archives of Lorraine, at Metz, voiced the same sentiment by stating that it was high time that archivists should turn their attention from medieval documents to current records. In Lorraine, while the province was under French régime, archivists were required to look after the modern records, but at present no one gave them a thought, notwithstanding what Dr. Bailleu might say in regard to the admirable system of "Registratur" at Berlin, where every administrative paper was numbered and bound at once, where there never was a document missing, and no disorder of any kind. After some further discussion M. Des Marez's resolutions were voted.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress, then took up the subject of "Les versements des archives des administrations dans les archives anciennes," which, with reference to conditions at Washington, he construed as meaning: By what means can it be determined exactly and scientifically what documents ought to continue official archives and what ought to be deposited in the manuscripts division of a library? Examining the nature of the collections in the departments of the National Government and the principles which should govern their transfer to the National Library, Mr. Hunt reached the following conclusions:

1. What executive archives may be transferred to the manuscripts division of the National Library must be decided by the heads of the executive departments, but the librarian must decide which ones he will accept.

2. A department may transfer archives which it occasionally uses, provided the use is not of a nature which would lose its force if the archives were not in the department's possession.

3. Archives should not leave a department as long as they are confidential.

Neither the first nor the second of these conclusions proved acceptable to the European archivists; the first, because it fails to meet the requirements of a sound archival policy, which should provide for the automatic transfer of all the records of the administrative departments to a central depository, regardless of personal preferences or the historical value of the papers; and the second, because it involves merely a question of certification of documents, which can easily be regulated by law.

After a brief explanation by M. Cuvelier, showing that the conclusions were the result of peculiar American conditions which had no parallel in the European system, the chair ruled that the conclusions were of too special a nature to admit of concurrence.

The next question was the care of parish records, which in the absence of M. François Galabert, archivist of the city of Toulouse, was presented by M. Vannérus, the meeting voting five resolutions in favor of the transfer of parish records to the communal archives and the preparation of lists by countries and provinces of all the parish registers that are in existence.

In the afternoon many members availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the extremely interesting sociological research library of the Institut Solvay and the family archives and art treasures of the Duke of Arenberg. At half past 4 there was a tea and charming concert of old Belgian music at the exposition of seventeenth century Belgian art, in the Palais du Cinquantenaire, and in the evening a brilliant reception was given by the municipality at the Hôtel de Ville, in honor of the Interparliamentary Congress and the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians.

Wednesday morning, August 31, the last session was held of the archive section, M. Henri Stein, of the National Archives at Paris, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, presiding in succession.

The first subject, concerning the training of archivists, awakened unusual interest, M. Cuvelier's introductory remarks being followed at once by an animated discussion which centered itself around the question whether a legal or an historical literary training should be preferred as a preparation for the career of archivist. Dr. Muller, who more than once has discussed the subject in the *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, unhesitatingly pronounced himself in favor of a legal training, on the ground that most of the documents with which an archivist has to deal are of a legal nature and can not be properly described without legal knowledge, and, further, because an archivist is frequently called upon to make searches and reports in connection with litigations involving property or other rights of the State or community and for such work is better qualified by a legal than by an historical literary training. Dr. Bailleu explained the system in vogue in Prussia, which, in addition to a university degree, demanded of applicants for the position of archivist two years' voluntary service in the Prussian archives and the passing of an examination in the history of the German language, administrative law, paleography and other subjects. Dr. Schlitter hoped that in the future less time would be given to the study of the Middle Ages and more to that of administrative law. Dr. Casanova stated that in Italy archivists must have the doctor's degree either in law or in letters, but in making the appointments the first class of men were absolutely preferred. Prof. Aldásy stated that in Hungary the law of 1883 prescribed for the position of archivist a thorough examination in the civil and the

canon law and the auxiliary sciences of history, such as paleography, diplomatic, heraldry, etc., which are taught in the university of Budapest. M. Des Marez said that he was a doctor both of laws and of letters, but that in his experience his historical knowledge was far more important to him than his legal knowledge. He advocated a system of thorough historical training, supplemented by a course in legal terminology and the law of contracts. This last statement brought forth a storm of protest from Messrs. Muller, Nélis, and Dubois, who contended that the legal point of view was important and could not be acquired by a brief course in legal terminology. After further discussion the following resolution, formulated by M. Cuvelier, was voted by a considerable majority: That to the basis of historical knowledge in the preparatory study for the career of archivist it is indispensable to add juridical knowledge, especially by adding to the program for historical study courses, if such do not already exist, in the history of law, in administrative law, and in archive economy.

Dr. Mathieu Schwann, archivist of the Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsarchiv at Cologne, then presented an account of the work and organization of the archives for the social and economic history of the Rhine and Westphalia, founded in 1906, which led to an interesting discussion of the methods adopted in various European countries to collect and preserve economic material. M. Des Marez called attention to a collection of material illustrating the life of definite social types, which he had made for the archives of Brussels. M. Dubois, of Amiens, urged the preservation of business circulars, advertisements, samples of textile and other goods, in connection with the archives of commercial houses, and on the motion of M. Déprez a resolution to that effect was voted.

Following these discussions Mr. Leland read in French an abstract of his paper on the work of the public archives commission of the American Historical Association, which, like Mr. Rowland's paper on the centralization of national archives, unfortunately reached the congress too late to be printed. Mr. Leland then taking the chair, M. Stein gave a talk on the administrative routine of a large archive department, more particularly that of the National Archives at Paris, of which, under the archivist general, M. Stein is the managing head.

Mr. Györy von Nádudvar spoke of the desirability of minimizing diplomatic difficulties in procuring access to foreign archives, which was embodied in a resolution and voted.

M. Marius Barroux, archivist of the department of the Seine and of the city of Paris, urged the meeting to adopt a resolution recommending that administrations should use for their documents paper,

ink, and typewriter ribbons that would guarantee the durability of the records, which was voted.

Finally, Dr. M. Schoengen, State archivist in the Province of Overyssel, at Zwolle, explained the process of repairing manuscripts with the aid of zapon, a preservative consisting of a solution of nitrocellulose (gun cotton), with or without the addition of camphor, in acetate of amyl, to which a small amount of acetone has been added to increase the solubility.

This process, which was first advocated as a suitable means of preserving and renovating manuscripts at the international conference held in 1898 at St. Gall, Switzerland, and which the next year was extensively tried in the chemical laboratory of the war department of the Kingdom of Saxony, has since been employed with satisfaction in some of the European archives, but is by no means as extensively used as was at first expected and will have to be tested further before it can be recommended with entire safety. Dr. Schoengen exhibited specimens of manuscripts treated with zapon, while Mr. Hunt showed samples of repairing done with crepeline at the Library of Congress. Thereupon the meeting was closed.

In the afternoon the closing exercises of the congress took place in the Palais des Congrès, Dr. S. Muller Fz., president for archives, presiding. After the resolutions of the sections had been read and ratified by the meeting at large, Dr. Muller suggested that another international congress should be held after not less than three and not more than five years and that a permanent commission should be charged with the duty of making the necessary preparations. After spirited opposition, led by the Rev. Van den Gheyn, who maintained that permanent commissions never accomplished anything, the plan was adopted by a vote of 46 to 32, with this modification, that the time of meeting was left to be determined by the commission. Dr. Muller then delivered a lengthy address, in which he spoke of the duties and opportunities for service of the archivist, and urged archivists and librarians not to lead the secluded life of the past, but to take an active part in the world about them. After brief speeches had been made by foreign delegates, among them by Mr. Richard R. Bowker in the name of the Americans, Dr. Muller declared the congress closed.

Summing up the points in the proceedings that seem of special interest to American archivists, we may note:

First. A growing realization among the archivists of different countries of the need of cooperation in order to bring about improved and uniform methods of archive administration, which can not fail to benefit countries which like the United States are backward with regard to archival organization.

Second. A tendency to be no longer satisfied with the exclusive care of the older records, but to make systematic efforts to preserve the modern administrative records, especially of large cities, which must necessarily bear a close resemblance to the modern records in this country and present similar problems of arrangement and indexing.

Third. A keen appreciation of the value of economic material and the springing up of an entirely new class of archives, devoted exclusively to the collection and preservation of such material.

Fourth. Practical unanimity among the archivists of continental Europe as to the importance of the adoption of the "principe de la provenance" for the arrangement of archives.

Fifth. The failure in this country to distinguish clearly between public archives and miscellaneous collections of historical manuscripts and to provide for the systematic preservation of public archives in central depositories, under the care of trained officials.

Sixth. The high degree of scholarship required in Europe for the position of archivist and the decision of a majority of the members of the congress in favor of an historical-literary rather than of a legal training as the best means of preparation for the archival profession.

Mr. AMES. "I might add that this paper emphasizes a thought that each of the Americans who attended the conference has expressed to me, either in person or in writing, namely, that they realized after attending this conference, and after visiting the various archives of Europe, that we are but in the infancy of archival work in this country. It would therefore seem that conferences such as we are holding here this afternoon are in order. It may be some balm for us to note the following statement that appeared in the "Library," a journal published in England, referring to the Brussels conference, in which the writer says: 'The English delegates took very little, if any, interest in the section on archives, the profession of archivist being practically unknown here.'

"Turning now to certain of the practical questions, some of which, as we have seen from this review, were discussed at Brussels, we take up that of the 'Concentration of State and National Archives,' a paper on a subject similar to this having been prepared for presentation at Brussels, by Dr. Rowland, who will open the discussion on that question this afternoon."

THE CONCENTRATION OF STATE AND NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

By DUNBAR ROWLAND.

In this discussion of the best methods for the preservation of historical sources it is not intended to go beyond the care of official records, though all that applies to one class is applicable to the other since reliable historical materials are not confined alone to official records, but embrace a wide and varied unofficial collection that must be carefully studied in connection with the official to yield the historian the best results. But, as I have already stated, that phase of historical work belongs to an entirely different discussion, and I shall confine myself strictly to the care of official documentary material. If I place myself in the attitude of telling you things you already know I trust I shall be excused upon the ground that, sometimes, it is the most obvious needs that we are apt to overlook in the prosecution of any great work—overlook because of the very commonplaceness of their nature, a condition which fails to arouse our interest, or pique our curiosity. The subject, too, of this paper may seem trite to the scholarly historian, thrilling with the inspiration of his theme, but in view of its supreme importance in the correct unfolding of his story I trust that I shall not be deemed a trespasser upon the valuable time of my hearers when I employ these few moments in the somewhat homely task of impressing the very great need of the best methods for the care of State and national historical materials, better known and classified as public archives.

At the outset I assign these materials to their respective places by saying that the accumulation of public archives in the United States comes from two separate and independent sources, one national, and the other State. The first, as you know, deals with the history of the growth and development of the Nation, and its records begin with the efforts of the English colonies in America to establish their independence; the second, with the history of each of the States which compose the Federal Union, and the records of this source begin with the early settlements in Virginia and Massachusetts. The National Government, in keeping with one of our most pronounced governmental principles, assumes no control over the State archives, and the States are independent of each other. However, the archives of the Nation and those of the various States are all essential and necessary sources of our history, and the same necessity for the concentration and care of the national archives exists for those of the State, and it may be assumed that whatever, in this discussion, applies to the care and preservation of one applies to the other.

It is generally recognized that one of the greatest difficulties in the way of the historian, in his searches for information, is the ready location of official manuscript materials in our archive repositories. How to make his investigations less difficult and more fruitful is a problem that has perplexed the historian for many centuries, and it is one still, in a large measure, unsolved the world over. The demand, however, for improved conditions in the preservation and administration of historical sources is becoming more insistent as the use of public archives by careful historians becomes more universal; and that demand must be responded to if we continue to raise the standard and increase the value of historical method and work.

If the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were marked by a more extended use by historians of public archives, and if the nineteenth century may be said to have developed the scientific theory of history, surely it is for us in the beginning of the twentieth century, along with other nations, seriously to direct our attention to the work of making our historical sources more accessible and more usable. There is an impetus in that direction in a number of our States, and it is gratifying to think that before many years have passed, if this activity is directed in the right channel, we shall see the adoption of some uniform plan for the preservation and care of both State and national archives. But this is merely a roseate hope, not a practical solution of the question.

That the State owes a duty to its history, and that it should make its public records accessible by the adoption of some scientific method of classification is now generally admitted by all enlightened nations, yet the fact remains that, with a few notable exceptions, little has been done to better the conditions that have prevailed for centuries. Take, for instance, our own country. It is quite safe, I think, to say that public archive conditions in the United States are far from satisfactory. Admitting the admirable efforts in some of the States to concentrate and systematize their historical collections, it is a fact that can not be disputed that the great body of public records in this country, especially is it true of that at the National Capital, is of little use to the historian because of the chaotic conditions which prevail. In other words, the historian of the United States is to-day confronted in his investigations with many of the difficulties that beset the historian of the seventeenth century. These difficulties have remained because there are inherent defects in the system of archive preservation. With us no systematic plan for the care of public archives has ever been adopted. The national records have been stored with little or no classification, in scores of buildings widely separated from each other. The archives are still retained in the care of the governmental departments in which they originated, and in some instances the records of a department have become so

extensive that it is necessary to store them in rented buildings. The departments provide no adequate facilities for the use of records by investigators, and it is a mere chance that the historian can exhaust the study of any given subject of documentary history.

These methods of archive administration are familiar to all students and investigators who have had occasion to make searches in the departments in Washington. I should state here that different methods prevail in the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress; the records of that division are easily accessible and historians are accorded the widest latitude in their investigations. Nor do I overlook the well directed efforts of the department of historical research, of the Carnegie Institution, which, among its many other activities, has investigated the condition and extent of the national archives. The public archives commission, too, though confined to the interests of the States, has, along with the State departments of archives and history, historical societies, and commissions, in a manner worthy of the warmest praise, pointed out the necessity for better archive methods. But with all this the fact should be recognized that the country's archives, as a whole, are in a chaotic condition, scattered about in a most deplorable manner, and administered in haphazard fashion without any uniform system of classification.

These conditions, traceable in the beginning to general neglect, continue because of the failure to concentrate the nation's archives in a suitable building, planned and constructed especially for an archive repository. Nor are we without precedent in this particular. The method of preserving public archives in numerous repositories seems to have come down to us through the example of our English ancestors. In the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria it has been estimated that the archives of the kingdom were scattered in no less than 60 repositories. This system of archive preservation was continued in England until 1856 when the public records, that is, those that had survived the vicissitudes of centuries, were collected and placed in one suitable building, especially constructed for the purpose and known as the Public Record Office. The experience of 50 years has demonstrated to that nation the wisdom of concentrating the national archives in a central repository, located at the seat of government; and the actual working of the English system has convinced the officials of the Public Record Office that even a more complete concentration than now exists is most desirable.

Leaving England, which seems to have gone about the conservation of historical sources more earnestly and with better results than most countries, the concentration of national archives at the seat of government, occupying a building designed exclusively for the purpose, has been put into operation with the most gratifying results in Holland and Austria, and plans are on foot to erect, in the Kingdom

of Saxony, a similar building. Decentralization was the rule in prerevolutionary France, but an admirable plan of concentration has been adopted and is now in a state of active development. Such a system of preservation affords an opportunity of grasping the archive problem as a whole, and by specialization secures the most effective service in its solution, thereby creating a class of experts, trained in the best methods of research, and placing them at the service of the investigator. It gives notice to students and historians that in one accessible repository the entire documentary history of the nation may be found. It emphasizes the importance of national archives as historical sources and encourages and stimulates the writing of accurate history. Under such a system the investigator feels encouraged to exhaust all the sources of information and gain complete mastery of the subject he is treating. Concentration, too, promotes uniformity of administration, provides for a logical and systematic classification of the materials and makes easier the study of any question or problem. It must not be supposed, however, that concentration is offered here as a cure for archive troubles, but concentration combined with a scientific system of classification will place the facts of history in the possession of the historian in such a manner that he can not fail to give us an accurate story even though he himself were unwilling to admit the truth of history. The prejudices, the individual opinions, and the inability of the historian can be better tolerated if we are furnished with authentic facts and statements, and this we can never hope for until the author himself is given the opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with his subject. With his sources of information scattered everywhere he is very likely to neglect some phase of his theme.

The practical operation of the decentralized system of archive preservation in the United States has clearly shown the disadvantages of such a system. In the first place the buildings used for archive repositories are entirely unsuited for the purpose and are rarely if ever fireproof. The records have been administered in such a manner as to make them incomplete and fragmentary and in the absence of any logical arrangement or classification it is impossible for investigations to be made without the most extravagant waste of time.

Since the care of the public archives of the States is also a part of the problem under discussion a little more upon that subject might be interesting here to representatives from States that are about to undertake State care of history. We all know that an accurate knowledge of the history of the various States is necessary in the preparation of a correct and reliable history of the Nation. To acquire that knowledge under present conditions is very difficult for the historian, and I fear that many points of our history have been slurred or else manufactured because of the absence of any authentic sources of infor-

mation. But that is only a kindred subject. It must come like a shock to us to know that the public archives of the States are, if possible, in a more deplorable condition than those of the Nation, and the only sense of consolation we experience in the matter is that we are alive to the situation and are making commendable efforts to relieve it. Down in the South we have established in many of the States departments of archives and history. In 1902, Mississippi, following the lead of Alabama, established such a department, and we have there, perhaps, a more decided tendency toward concentration than exists elsewhere. The law creating the department empowers and authorizes State officials to turn over to it for permanent preservation all official records not in daily use. In this manner the records came to the department, and, while there are missing links occasionally, the plan admits of a logical classification of subjects, giving the investigator an opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with a topic and providing ready access to source materials. This, you will admit, is far better than the plan of picking up a document here and there, the incoming supply being regulated by the amount of diplomacy put into the undertaking. I do not wish it to be understood that I am claiming any great perfection for our work in Mississippi. We have accomplished a great deal, it is true, but I sometimes think we are still just nibbling around the corners. The condition of the Mississippi archives—and many of the States are contending with similar conditions to-day—when they were transferred to the department created for their care and custody was the best evidence of the wisdom of concentrating them in one department of the State government, under the care of an official appointed especially to take charge of the work. The policy of concentration has been adopted by other States with gratifying results. Alabama is doing excellent work in the care and preservation of State archives; North Carolina and West Virginia are notable for their labors, and many other States are moving in the same direction. The end is easily foreseen. We shall, one of these days, have uniform State care of public archives; not as a branch of library work, nor of historical societies, whose functions are of an entirely different nature, but by special departments established by the State for the care and custody of official records.

There is a tendency in some quarters to confuse the care and classification of manuscript materials with library work. This is a mixing of plans, and the archive problem is too great and too important to be disposed of in that way. The training of the librarian has little to do with that of the archivist, though many similar methods could be employed in both fields of endeavor.

In a brief suggestive paper like this it is impossible to discuss a system of archive classification, nor is there one at present anywhere to which we could confidently point as a model. The system, however,

which eventually is adopted, though modified to suit local conditions, should in its application throughout the country retain a general likeness and uniformity, and should provide for the freest access by investigators. And this last suggestion should receive the important attention due it.

It is generally conceded in historical circles that the inaccessibility of public archives due to unnecessary restrictions, even where the sources are in a tolerable condition, is, sometimes, the greatest drawback to investigation. The administration of archives should be based entirely upon the theory that their classification for public use is the main end and aim of their preservation. When properly classified, bound, calendared, and indexed, they are in reality manuscript libraries and should be made just as accessible and usable as the printed volume.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Rowland's paper the discussion of the question of concentration of archives was continued, with special reference to a National Archive Building, by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress.

MR. GAILLARD HUNT. Mr. Andrews read Mr. van Laer's very excellent epitome of the proceedings at Brussels. The archivists who attended that conference could see, and every American archivist must see, that European problems are not identical with our problems, and that if we study European plans and conclusions we do not arrive at conclusions that will be satisfactory in American archival work. The difference is so great that we must deal with our own problems as best we can.

I am fully in accord with what Mr. Rowland has said about concentration. The archivist should remember that governmental papers are put in archive houses primarily for governmental administrative purposes; that the needs and use of the archives by the scholar and student of history are and necessarily must be subordinated to the needs of the government itself in the use of these archives. There must therefore be a concentration with a view primarily to the uses of the administration, and secondarily with a view to the use by the scholar and student.

Now, if you wish to concentrate archives, you must have a place in which to concentrate them; if you wish to preserve archives, you must have a place in which to preserve them. That is the first essential thing toward archival concentration and archival preservation—an archive house, and it is to the question of a national archive house that I will address myself this afternoon, asking your indulgence for the fact—which you will soon see—that my report of foreign archive houses is necessarily superficial. I shall merely skim along the surface of the description of archive houses I had the privilege of seeing when I was abroad last summer.

But first, all in favor of a national archive depository in Washington must realize that there are serious obstacles in the way. Each department of the government is loath to have any of its functions taken away from it, even when it does not perform those functions in the best way. It would rather have these archives under its own administration, care, and authority than to have them taken away from it. All of the departments are crowded; all are anxious for new buildings, but it is new buildings they want rather than a building that will relieve some of the congestion of the old buildings. So any great movement for an archive house in Washington must come from the outside—from you gentlemen here—rather than from the city of Washington.

In England the Public Record Office holds the archives of the kingdom from the earliest times. It was constructed on scientific principles, and ground space has been reserved for additions to the building as they may be required in the future. In France the Archives Nationales, the central depository of official archives, is in the old Hotel de Soubise, a building not constructed for the purpose to which it has been put; but it is spacious and has been skillfully adapted to its present uses and constitutes an admirable place for the orderly storing of the records with ample room for expansion. At The Hague the Royal archives are in their own building, erected some 10 years ago, a model of its kind. At Berlin the State archives are now in an old building and are somewhat crowded, but work has already begun on a new building in which the central Prussian archives will be concentrated. The plans provide for a structure large enough to hold them all and to allow for accretions of a hundred years to come. The authorities of Berlin apologize for the present condition of the archives, but they are in better condition, receive better care, and are better housed than any official archives in Washington. The new German archive house is to follow the lines of the new archive house for the Prussian Province of Saxony at Magdeburg. This has been occupied for about four years. It is simple but substantial, the building costing 425,000 marks (or about \$105,000) and holds all the official records of the Province and even a number of private family records. At Dresden, the capital of the kingdom of Saxony, there is extraordinary activity in archival science. The State archives now occupy a separate part of the beautiful Albertinum museum, but as they have filled the space allotted them a new building is to be erected, large enough to hold all the State archives and allow expansion for at least a century, a regard for the future which does not appear unreasonable when it is known that the documents now preserved date from the tenth century. The imperial archives at Vienna are in a new building completed eight years ago and up to the present time the most

elaborate new archive building in the world, being much larger than the buildings at The Hague or Magdeburg, but not so large as the plans for the new buildings projected for Berlin and Dresden provide for. It is an addition to the Austrian foreign office, and the perfection of plan was interfered with by space limitations. The entrance and the offices are highly artistic, and the stacks and safes for the archives are well arranged. It is a building of which the Austro-Hungarian Government is reasonably proud.

The archives of Italy must arouse the enthusiasm of all historical students who have ever had the privilege of seeing them. Their great antiquity, the romantic periods and events of history to which they relate, the continuous devoted care in their preservation which is made manifest by their excellent condition, and the ripe erudition of their present custodians, call for expressions of admiration. At Florence are the official papers concerning the banishment of Dante, the condemnation of Savonarola, and the collected correspondence of Galileo. At Venice are preserved all the records of the wonderful Venetian Republic from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the eighteenth century. At Rome the Vatican library is perhaps the most priceless collection of paper and parchment manuscripts in existence. At Venice, as at Paris, the archives are not in a building especially designed for them, but in 1811 were moved to the old Frari. The long corridors and lofty ceilings have admitted of admirable arrangement. The convenience is not so great as it would be in a modern building with frequent decks, but the imposing effect of the building is greater and it is easy to find a particular document. The archives date from 833 and come up to the present day. At Florence the State archives are in the same building with the great library and they occupy upward of 450 large rooms. Plans have been drawn and the preliminary steps have been taken for the erection of a new library, when the present building will be entirely turned over to the archives. At Rome there are two collections of manuscripts preserved in the Vatican, the records of the church, or Vatican archives (the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda are elsewhere in Rome), and the manuscripts in the library, the library being given over to manuscripts and having only a small number of printed books for reference purposes. The buildings are in a class by themselves, and the gorgeous decorations of the library are known to all who have visited Rome.

Several facts concerning the Governments I have spoken of may be epitomized with reference to our own national archives:

First. All of them make special provision for collecting and preserving their archives, and our Government has not yet done so.

Second. Every central archive depository has a special room set aside for the exclusive use of those who may wish to use the archives.

No one of the executive departments in Washington has such a room. Whoever consults our official archives must do so in some space improvised for the purpose, where the facilities are indifferent at best, where the reader is apt to be in the way of others engaged upon current official work, and where the quiet which he requires is not usually present.

Third. Each foreign Government has established rules with reference to the use of the archives. In London practically all archives previous to 1837 are public; at Paris in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, except for special sets of papers, all previous to 1848, at the Archives Nationales previous to about 1860; in Dresden all up to 1832; at The Hague all up to 1830; at Vienna all up to 1847; at Venice practically all that are of historical interest. At Florence the archives are public at present only up to 1815, but arrangements are in progress by which in a short time they will be public up to 1848. At the Vatican all the manuscripts in the library are open to those who desire to use them for scientific research and are competent to do so, the use of the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda being subject to special arrangements. All of the libraries permit the use of their manuscript material without time restriction. There are no general regulations for the use of the archives of our Government. Applications are made without any definite rules to guide the applicant. Each request is treated separately. There is no clearly defined policy on the subject. Remarkable as the statement may appear to be, it is nevertheless a fact that the archives of our Government are opened with less freedom than are those of any other great country.

Fourthly, most of the Government archive depositories have reasonably adequate catalogues or inventories. They are better for some archives than they are for others, but they exist for all. Documents can be found; they are called for on the same system that regulates the calling for books in a reference library and are furnished as books are furnished. The same can not be truly said of our archives.

Fifth. In every foreign depository the archives are in the charge of trained archivists who have made a study of this intricate and important science. Our Government documents are not so fortunate.

The only way by which the archives of the Government can be safely and properly preserved is by providing a building especially for them.

Following Mr. Hunt's remarks there was a discussion of the problem as to "What material should go into the archives?" The subject being construed broadly, various phases of archive administration were considered during the discussion, which was opened by Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. PAXSON. I can discuss the archives only with reference to their arrangement as I have seen them arranged in the English collection,

and I can make only such comments on their arrangement as have suggested themselves to me during my work in London during the last few months. Your chairman requested that I should discuss the subject more particularly with reference to chronology and period of closing, and I shall confine myself chiefly to that point.

It would be easy, as a confirmed believer in popular government of the broadest sort, to take the ground that no archives should be sacred; that all should be open to the accredited scholar on demand. Certainly there are some scholars whose investigations in even the records of yesterday might be welcomed. But since the custodians of records can not well discriminate among searchers who come armed with plausible credentials it is not to be expected that everything shall be open to the attacks of deliberate malice or the more dangerous inroads of inexperience or unbalanced judgment.

If only for the convenience of the administrator, who has constantly to consult his archives, some line must be drawn between the open records and the closed. There are, moreover, many transactions not yet concluded, and based on long series of precedents. International differences are not founded on the high ground of impartial investigation, but are crossed between legal controversy, in which there is much room for the ingenuity of counsel, and business, in which no seller is bound to reveal the cost of his commodity. Too much scholarly research may be a menace to national interests as at present understood. And until the national spirit shall subside, the student of archives must content himself with somewhat of an odor of damp and dust.

The practice of the English Government, which has applied all modern conveniences to the custody of its records, is simple. Speaking generally, all departmental materials, as soon as they are "dead," are transferred to the Public Record Office, in Chancery Lane. They are open freely to British subjects, and to properly introduced foreigners, down to a given year. This year is catching up with the present rapidly. Not long since, it was 1763. Within the memory of men yet living, it was about 1713. It is now 1837. The shortening of the interval between the date of closing and the present is a measure of the breakdown of official conservatism and may be construed as prophetic of greater liberality yet to come. In a few special cases the British Government has permitted foreign students to carry their special studies beyond the mystic year and well into the forties.¹

Here seems to be, in principle, the rational scheme for regulating access to the records. When Government has provided suitable storage place for its papers, and adequate workrooms for students, the documents should be opened freely to all visitors of serious

¹ And since these remarks were made permission has been granted for a general search to 1860 in the papers of the foreign office and several other departments on the part of agents of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

countenance. There is no laboratory for the study of contemporary government. Political science must develop without the technique that to-day distinguishes every other respectable science. But there is no way of estimating the value of political acts, other than that based upon exact examination of the surviving documents. In the interest of public knowledge, the scholar has the right to demand an archive house, and freedom from restraint, so be it that he keeps out from under the feet of officials going about their current business. The date of closure ought to be fixed with due regard for the officials; but these should remember always that the records belong to the public and exist only for public ends. In single cases it may properly be within official discretion to allow special privileges for specific purposes.

No general date and no accepted term of years can be fixed upon as a reasonable restraint upon students or safeguard to present business. The rule must in every case be interpreted according to the facts. If the archivist be inclined to be too liberal to scholars, and he often is, the Government departments will check him by regarding manuscripts as current business for a prolonged period. For some days last summer, during the sittings of The Hague court on the Newfoundland fisheries, the Foreign Office ordered the temporary closing of all the series America after 1818, and no one could well controvert an official interpretation that at that moment all the American files since the signature of the fisheries convention were involved in a pending negotiation. The volumes are infested with fisheries memoranda. There are indeed some records that never die. The opinions of the British law officers are considered immortal, and have been removed from the bound volumes wherever they could be found; they are accessible only as they have been overlooked. Confidential minutes of cabinet officers are regarded similarly, but have only been taken out with less care. And the student of English diplomatic history may be pardoned for believing that in the Foreign Office are certain confidential volumes that are likely never to get within the custody of the Public Record Office. Among these are diaries that record business from day to day, and whose existence can be inferred only from rare notes penciled on the volumes of dispatches.

But though some records never die, and others vary in their length of life, it is generally true that official documents cease to have political importance within a few years of the transactions which they describe. Documents of official registration are immediately accessible. Administrative documents, and others which throw light upon the exercise of discretionary powers, ought to be housed, classified, and opened to scholarly interpretation. And Government ought to beg the scholar to come and examine these,

subject only to such restrictions as the material safety of the records and the conduct of administration may dictate.

After Mr. Paxson's remarks the following paper on the experience of Iowa was presented by Mr. Dan Elbert Clark, of the State Historical Society of Iowa:

Mr. CLARK. A report on the public archives of the State of Iowa may very well begin with a brief review of legislation and administration during the past five years. In 1906, largely as the result of the combined efforts and recommendations of Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Mr. Charles Aldrich, and Justice Horace E. Deemer, the general assembly passed "An act providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives, and making an appropriation therefor." By this act the trustees of the State library and the historical department of Iowa were given custody of "all the original public documents, papers, letters, records, and other official manuscripts of the State executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, councils, boards, bureaus, and commissions, 10 years after the date or current use of such public documents, papers, letters, records, or other official manuscripts." An appropriation of \$2,000 per annum for three years was made for carrying out the purposes of the act.

Acting under the authority conferred upon them by this act, the trustees engaged Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh to conduct an investigation of the condition of the archives and make a report containing recommendations relative to the installation of a hall of public archives. Prof. Shambaugh set several people to work in the various offices for the purpose of ascertaining the amount and character of the material found there and the problems to be solved. At the same time he made an extensive personal study of the methods of caring for archives in a number of States and in Canada. The results of these investigations were embodied in an elaborate report submitted in September, 1906, in which was outlined the plan which, with certain modifications, is being followed at the present time.

In 1907 the general assembly passed an act providing that the "arrangement, classification, labeling, filing, and calendaring" of archives material should be done under the direction of the executive council, thus making the trustees of the State library and historical department mere custodians, with no administrative supervision. The appropriation was increased at this time to \$6,000 a year for two years.

Meanwhile, the work among the papers in the State offices was continued by Prof. Shambaugh and his assistants. In May, 1907, a second report was submitted, which contained further recommendations by Prof. Shambaugh, and an extensive and valuable Guide to the Administrative Departments, Offices, Boards, Commissions, and

Public Institutions, compiled by Dr. John C. Parish. Soon after submitting this report, however, Prof. Shambaugh severed his connections with the work, since it was becoming evident that the archives would be involved in politics in such a way as to make administration along scientific lines difficult, if not impossible.

The work of arranging, classifying, filing, and calendaring was then placed in the hands of a "foreman" and five assistants, appointed, it is to be feared, largely for political reasons. At least two of these men were impressed with the importance of the task before them, but not one of them was experienced in archive administration or methods, and consequently their labors were not directed to the best advantage. After two years under this system, which must be characterized as wasteful and inefficient, the legislature in 1909 decreased the appropriation to \$4,000 for the biennial period, thus making a readjustment necessary. Fortunately, Mr. C. C. Stiles, who is now in charge of the work, is a man of earnest purpose. Although hampered through lack of funds he is gradually bringing order out of chaos.

Turning now to a consideration of the system of administration employed in the public archives of Iowa, it is to be noted in the first place that the term "archives," as used here, applies only to records, documents, and papers from the various State offices, boards, commissions, and public institutions. The law provides for the transfer to the hall of public archives of all such records, documents, and papers 10 years after their date. Consequently, the only line of demarkation between the archives and records that are to be retained in administrative offices and those which are turned over to the central depository is the point of age. After the archives from all of the offices have been transferred it is contemplated that the transfer will be made annually from each office.

Thus far only the papers from the offices of the governor, the secretary of state, and the auditor of state, covering the period from 1838 to 1898, the vital statistics records from the office of the State board of public health, and a portion of the Civil War records from the office of the adjutant general, have been transferred to the hall of public archives. An inventory of the material from the office of the governor, the secretary of state, and the auditor of state reveals a total of 2,426 bound volumes of letters and records, and approximately 1,270,000 documents. The records from the first two offices are now ready for cataloguing and indexing.

No investigation of the problem of county and municipal archives has been made in Iowa, and consequently any statement on that subject would be merely a matter of personal opinion. That there is urgent need for some efficient system of preserving county and

municipal records goes without question. But it is believed that a law, similar to the one in Massachusetts, requiring counties and municipalities to provide for the proper care of their records would be more practicable than a system of concentrating such records in the State depository. The problem of space alone would be a serious problem in Iowa at present.

Private and family papers, church records, and those of other similar organizations are not admitted to the public archives in Iowa, but find their places in the manuscript collections of either the State Historical Society of Iowa or of the historical department of Iowa. It is believed that this is the most satisfactory policy to pursue in all States where there is a State historical society. In the first place such a policy prevents the confusion of public and private papers, and in the second place the persons doing research work in or for the historical societies are the ones who have the greatest use for such private collections. Furthermore, the historical societies, through their memberships, are in a better position to gain possession of private collections.

The public archives in Iowa are open to any one who desires information, apparently without any limitation, except that proper care must be taken in the use of any document and that nothing may be taken from the rooms. Provision is also made whereby anyone wishing certified copies of any document or record sent to him may obtain such copies by making application and paying the usual fees for copying. The archives thus far have scarcely been in a condition to be used in a satisfactory manner, and consequently the problem of freedom or restriction in their use has not presented itself.

Mr. AMES. A very interesting point presented by this paper is that nothing that is less than 10 years old is to be turned over to this central archive bureau. In one of the States with which I am familiar a law was drafted that provided that all papers not in current use should be turned over to the particular bureau in question. The governor of the State thought that that might meet with some objection, and just before the bill was passed it was amended so that the date of 1750 was inserted; all papers previous to 1750 were to be turned over to the division of public records. I may say that in actual practice no attention has been paid to this date. If there had been there would be nothing to speak of in the division of public records.

I will next ask Prof. Barker, of the University of Texas, who has had considerable experience with the archives of the Southwest and Mexico, to continue the discussion of this subject.

Prof. EUGENE C. BARKER. We have recently succeeded in inducing the legislature to pass a law in Texas organizing what is called the "Library and historical commission." We obtained that law through

the assistance of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, which had a scheme for establishing circulating libraries, and so by combining the archive measure with that relating to circulating libraries we managed to get this commission established. We have been working for more than 10 years for some such law. The only sort of archive depository we had was the State library, which was in the department of statistics, insurance, agriculture, and history. The new law separates the State library from this miscellaneous collection of departments and makes it a department unto itself. At present, then, our librarian is our archivist, and there is no distinction in arrangement between the private collections of papers and public documents.

The law provides that public papers which each department does not need in its actual administration shall be deposited in the library. We find that some department chiefs are quite liberal and some are not; but in general they are liberal. But if the people in the library are persistent, and if at the same time some one on the outside keeps asking for information which makes the department chief work in frequently referring to his records, he is rather anxious to get them into a central depository where he will not have to answer these questions, and we think that in the course of a few years we shall have about all we need in the State library.

The commission—the library and historical commission—consists of the senior professor of history in the University of Texas, and the State superintendent of public instruction, ex officio, while three members are appointed by the governor; and both governors have exercised unusual discretion in making their appointments.

We have also found somewhat emphasized in our brief experience, a point that Mr. Hunt brought up. That is, that it is desirable to have each document tagged, and also that it is desirable to have a source-classification. We found, for example, that in a lawsuit that came up recently a man wanted to prove a claim by a certain document that had been transferred from the State department to the library, and before that document could be produced in evidence the defendant had to prove the history of the document. The judge, in other words, wanted to know how that document came to be in the library; wanted to be perfectly sure that it was the identical document. I should say that the necessity of this source-classification is more important perhaps where the collection is somewhat miscellaneous—where you mix private collections with public documents.

The next speaker was Prof. HARLOW LINDLEY, of Earlham College, Indiana, who said:

What little I had in mind to say this afternoon I had intended to direct more nearly to answering the question of our topic, "What materials should go into the archives?" In the first place, as one interested primarily in history, both from the point of view of student

and teacher, I should be inclined to a pretty broad construction. But from the point of view of the subject in hand it seems to me, that, for a department of public archives, supported and maintained by the State, the class of material ought to be distinctly limited. I certainly believe that there is a great deal of unofficial material in the form of private journals, correspondence, etc., that would throw a great deal of light upon various situations that the historical student would want to go into, in which the public official records would serve as a basis. And I am inclined to think, as Mr. Clark says, that the proper place would be a manuscript department in the State library, the State historical library, if both of these organizations are maintained. In Indiana we do not have a State historical library; our State library takes the place of this so far as possible.

Now there are several reasons that appeal to me, in the work I have undertaken in Indiana in a very limited way, why there should be in each State a central depository for the public archives of the State. In the first place the question of care comes to the front; I think of that first. In the change of administration, or from term to term of officeholders, usually with the change of administration, there is no specific care taken of the older records. That was once almost uniformly true in Indiana.

And in the second place there is the facility of using these records, from the view of both the official and the unofficial class. As to the former, I can not see how the officials of the State of Indiana gain anything from the holding of these records by the executive officers of the State. In fact, I have gone into a number of offices here in our own State, and those in charge have not been able to tell where the records are, and have no idea of the records for many years back.

Again, the question of economy of time is important. It seems to me that if our States could have a central depository it would effect great economy of time, both for the student and for the official. If the official could find the material in one central place, all filed in a regular way, it would surely be a saving of time. It is absolutely out of the question to think of any continuity of policy under existing conditions unless there is some sort of a depository.

The question also arises as to the most advisable plan for establishing a department of that kind. There are strong arguments in favor of a distinct department, because of the fact that there are a great many problems in connection with this subject that are so different in their nature from that of either the general State library or the State historical library that many things might be gained by separation. But if it is not thought wise to have a distinct department for the official archives of the State, there certainly ought to be a permanent department in connection with, possibly, the State

library. It would be advisable at any rate to have the department distinct and under responsible jurisdiction.

There is another point that has appealed to me, both with respect to the State records and to local records. I think it would very materially aid in the solving of the problem if there was some sort of commission in the State, a public records commission, for example, empowered to give advice and to see that the advice was followed in the care of the State and local records, even to matters of paper and ink. There is absolutely no uniformity in this line. It seems to me well to take into consideration the question of local records. It is probably impracticable to carry this idea down to our counties at present, but this department in the State ought to be also a central depository for all the local official records that could in reason be given it.

Mr. Hunt referred to the fact that in national affairs there is a tendency in many of the departments to keep their records—that they do not wish to give them up. I have not found an official in the State of Indiana who would not be glad to get rid of these records. They feel that they do not have time to keep track of the important records which they would like to keep and for which they are held responsible, and they would be glad to have some one take charge of the old records.

I do not think I have much more to say. There is nothing to say in reference to Indiana, because Indiana has no such department. The State librarian has been interested enough to try to do some pioneer work in rousing a sentiment along this line, but there is no department as such. There are those who are becoming interested, both here in Indianapolis and over the State, and, as I had occasion to say the other evening in reference to local historical conditions in Indiana, I believe this will be accomplished in Indiana in due course of time. But at the present time the official records and archives of the State of Indiana, what few there are, are in a deplorable condition.

Mr. R. D. W. CONNOR, of the North Carolina Historical Commission, continued the discussion:

I have had no experience in archival work, because we have not yet reached that stage in the development of our work in North Carolina. We have a historical commission with ample authority which we propose some day to develop into a department of archives and history, but for the present we have confined ourselves almost exclusively to the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts that we know to exist in the hands of private individuals and that are in constant danger of being destroyed or lost. Consequently, we have not turned our attention at all to the development of the work in public archives.

Mr. Hunt's description of the archives of the National Government at Washington is an exact description of the condition of the archives in North Carolina. I could take his description, change the word "Nation" to "State" and "United States" to "North Carolina" and anyone in our State would recognize the description immediately. We shall not attempt to develop the work in public archives until we get better facilities. We have no room for that work as yet.

In answering the question "What material should go into the archives?" I should say all material that originates in any of the administrative departments of the State or Government. But I think the papers of the State should be kept separate from private or unofficial papers.

Now, as to the time to which public archives should be open to the student, in North Carolina they are all open to anybody who wants to investigate them—anyone who wants to use them is at liberty to do so. We have in our law a clause similar to that which our chairman referred to, authorizing any public official—State, county, or municipal—to turn over to us any document or record not in current use, and ultimately we propose to put that authority into service when we come to develop that feature of the work; but for the present our work is confined entirely to the collection and preservation of private and unofficial papers, many of which are being rapidly destroyed or lost, and we are trying to get these together in a central depository for historical purposes.

Mr. D. C. BROWN (librarian of the Indiana State Library). Mr. Chairman, I am particularly interested just now in the preservation of the archives of my native State—Indiana. As Mr. Lindley has told you, these archives are at present in a deplorable condition; most of them are in the basement, covered with dust, and I fear partially destroyed by steam. Of public records, outside of printed documents, the State library has only the original legislative papers. The law requires that they be turned over to the State Library.

In the first editorial I wrote for the State Library Bulletin, I said that the State should have some place, a State building, call it what you will—I chose to call it a State library and museum, but that does not make any difference—where the State could house its library, public documents, and, if necessary, public archives. I will not quarrel with those who think the department of archives should be separate—well and good if necessary; but they should be in charge of some competent, scientifically trained person, separate and distinct from parties and politics. That is what I should like to see brought about in Indiana, and as long as I am permitted to work I shall work along that line.

Just now we are making a campaign. We are hoping to make a start for such a public building at the coming assembly, in order to

have it ready to be dedicated in 1916, the centennial of the State. This particular point—that there should be a single repository for archives—has never been definitely brought before the State authorities. The first time that it is to be brought before them will be when we ask for this building for a State library and museum, and it may be that we shall secure it.

Of course my interest in the library is not altogether in the archives, but I do particularly see the need of a central repository for the archives of the State of Indiana, and I am ready and willing and anxious to make a fight for that, and I am sure you will give us all possible encouragement while you are here. We consider it a great opportunity to bring this matter up for discussion while so many are here, and I have gone so far as to ask for expressions against Indiana, for we want the people to know that we are not doing what we ought to do.

Mr. AMES. It has always been the aim of this association to encourage any local or State or national effort along this line, and it is therefore with a great deal of pleasure that we recently learned that the National Association of State Librarians, of which Mr. Brown is president, has appointed a committee of their own on this subject of caring for public archives. I will ask Mr. Tilton, of the Connecticut State Library, to speak to us on the subject of this committee's work.

Mr. TILTON (assistant librarian of the Connecticut State Library). Up to the present time the association just referred to has never taken up the work which some of the States supporting State libraries have undertaken in dealing with manuscripts and archives. It now has a committee on public archives, and this committee will endeavor to collect material and arrange for sessions at the annual meetings of the association, which are held on the dates of the American Library Association. It will make reports and arrange for sessions which will bring out discussions on the various questions which come up in the administration of archives. There is no idea whatever of doing work like calendaring or reporting on the archives of the States, in the manner in which the public archives commission has done this. The work of our committee undoubtedly will be on the administrative side of the problem.

This year the report of the committee at its annual meeting, which comes in May, will give a review of existing legislation on collection of archives, and so far as possible on what has been accomplished under that legislation. We want to find out exactly what has been done, to enable the committee to report from year to year what progress is being made. What other things may be done in the future of course I can not say.

There is one point a little aside that I just wish to mention. Reference has been made to the question whether it was better to have a separate department of archives or not. I do not know anything about the subject whatever, and do not wish to say anything about it, but in corresponding with State librarians over the country in connection with the work of the State library, I note a considerable tendency toward putting the care of the archives into the hands of the State librarian or the State historical society librarian receiving State appropriation. It would seem to me that in dealing with the question whether the State library or a separate department of archives should have charge of the centralized public records, it would be necessary to be very careful not to run counter to any development which seems to be under way. If you divide your forces and have a State library and a department of archives, you could accomplish much more than if it were all kept in charge of the State library, as it would then have special attention and be in charge of experts. The State librarians, so far as they belong to the State Librarians' Association, are alive to the importance of the problem, and are going ahead and studying to learn all we can about dealing with archives.

Mr. AMES. I will now call on Prof. Justin H. Smith, of Dartmouth, who has had extensive experience in working in archives, both abroad and in this country, to tell us something of what he has learned.

Prof. JUSTIN H. SMITH. I came into the room with no thought of speaking, but to learn what is being done in the matter of gathering and preserving records. If, however, I can offer a word—more to show appreciation of the work of the archivists than to aid it—I am very glad to do so.

On the question as to the kinds of papers that should be preserved, my suggestion would be to include liberally. A great deal is said by some people about "rubbish," but one investigator's "rubbish" may be precious to another, and what appears valueless to-day may be found highly important to-morrow. It is not merely that such records may contain supplementary material worthy of notice; they may contain some vital fact—the keystone of an arch.

In the second place, the word "classification" has some terrors for me as an investigator. Whatever is done in this regard should be simple, absolutely accurate, and so managed as never to throw a searcher off the track. However laborious be the drudgery of examining huge piles of unclassified documents, it is preferable to an arrangement that would cause one to overlook valuable documents. More than once I have found it wise to discard the classification that had been designed to be helpful and go through the papers in simple consecutive order, examining every one.

Mr. AMES. If there is no further discussion I might say that the matter of building a hall of Federal records is one in which the associa-

tion has already on two occasions shown its interest. As far back as 1901 the association passed a resolution indorsing the idea of a national or Federal archive building, and in 1908 the council passed resolutions and adopted a motion appointing a committee on this subject. Dr. Jameson is chairman of that committee, and I am sure we should be pleased to hear a word from him in conclusion.

Mr. J. F. JAMESON. The doings of this committee are perhaps not a record of which we should be proud, but it is not altogether our fault that more progress has not been made. The committee of three persons, Admiral Mahan, Prof. McMaster, and myself, concluded that with the slow operations of Congress it would be a good while before such legislation as the association desired could be obtained, and I think I may fairly say that after a meeting or two the matter has been left in this shape: That the chairman, who happens to be the only member of that committee living in Washington, was left to do from time to time what he could to promote this endeavor.

The movement for a national archive building in Washington has a long history; I have an account of its legislative history covering 50 or 60 typewritten pages, showing the story of the movement from 1879 to the present time. Thirty years have shown little progress in the matter. I do hope that something may be accomplished soon. In this present session I do not hope for anything. In the last session the reason we could not get anything done was the urgency for economy in the matter of public buildings. That motive is to be enforced more severely in the present session. Yet the need is very obvious, it is acknowledged by many executive officials. I suppose most of the heads of departments agree that something ought to be done. Certain departments have to colonize their papers out, to an extent that Mr. Hunt only indicated. The Treasury Department has to hire an additional business building about every five years to hold the additional overflow, and its buildings are always crowded to such a degree that papers can not readily be found.

Some of the departments do not feel this very much, but on the other hand there is a very intelligent sentiment in favor of such a national archive building on the part of leading men in several executive departments; but they need to remonstrate to Congress on the subject a number of times. It is a slow matter to get anything done in the large manner we wish. A large building adequate for the purpose is planned—a large building in which perhaps each department will continue to control its own papers for the time being.

If this is a report of progress, it is a report of slight progress, but the end will be accomplished sometime.

A MEMBER. Is there anything that we, as individuals, can do to help?

Mr. JAMESON. Not at the present time. I have not had any encouragement to believe that there is any likelihood of anything serious being done now. If in the new Congress it comes to the point where voices from outside would be of any assistance, I shall speedily call for them, but it is better that these should arrive at the time when the matter is taken up than to have them sent in now.

With these remarks the conference adjourned.

ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

APPENDIX B.

REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE
OF INDIANA.

By HARLOW LINDLEY, A. M.,
Professor of History and Librarian of Earlham College.



CONTENTS.

	Page.
Introduction.....	319
Governor's office.....	322
Secretary of state.....	322
Auditor of state.....	324
Clerk of the supreme court.....	327
Treasurer of state.....	329
State superintendent of public instruction.....	329
Adjutant general.....	330
State library.....	330
Board of State charities.....	330



THE ARCHIVES OF INDIANA.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The region of which Indiana is now a part was occupied by the French in 1700 and remained under French control until 1763, when it was ceded by the French to Great Britain. In 1774 the Territory was attached to the Province of Quebec. In 1778-79 George Rogers Clark, as a result of his memorable conquest of the Northwest, secured the Territory for the new Government of the United States of America, and it was organized as a part of the Northwest Territory in 1787. In 1800, Indiana Territory was organized, embracing all that part of the original Northwest Territory west of the present eastern boundary of Indiana. Michigan Territory on the north was detached in 1805, and Illinois Territory in 1809, leaving the Indiana Territory with its present geographical boundaries. In 1816 the Territory was admitted as a State.

By an act of April 13, 1885,¹ amended in 1905,² the governor, secretary of state, auditor of state, and reporter of the supreme court are made *ex officio* commissioners of the public printing. All reports of the various State departments and institutions named in the act are required to be published either biennially or annually.

By an act of 1899³ the board of commissioners of public printing were required to deliver to the State librarian 150 copies of every report, document, bulletin, or other publication published by the State, except session acts of the general assembly and supreme and appellate court reports.

In 1905⁴ the number of copies to be delivered to the State librarian was increased to 200.

These documents are distributed by the State librarian as follows:

One copy to each State or Territorial library in the United States and to such other libraries as the librarian has arranged or shall arrange with for exchange of publications; one copy of each to each university, college, or normal school library within the State of Indiana, and one copy of each to each public library within the State of Indiana.

As a rule, a law providing for the establishment of a department or an institution requires annual or biennial reports to be submitted by the heads thereof.

¹ Laws of Indiana, 1885, chap. 86.

² Laws of Indiana, 1905, chap. 81.

³ Laws of Indiana, 1899, chap. 158, sec. 1.

⁴ Laws of Indiana, 1905, chap. 101.

In 1841 the State librarian was required by law¹ to preserve for the use of the State library 20 copies of the journals of the house for each year, 10 copies of the journals of the senate for each year, 30 copies of the general laws, and 15 copies of the local laws of each year. However, the librarians disregarded the law until very late in the century, and, as a result, the State does not now have a complete set of its own publications.

The Documentary Journal, begun in 1835, is made up of reports from State institutions and departments, but it does not contain all of these reports. Its contents are not definitely regulated by law, but seem to be determined by the public printer. Many reports not included in the Documentary Journal have been lost.

The State librarian is charged with the care and preservation of the legislative papers which shall be delivered to him at the close of each session by the secretary of the senate and the clerk of the house, and with the care of all bills introduced in either branch of the general assembly, all petitions, memorials, and remonstrances, keeping the files of each house separately.

There are three printed sources of information relative to the State publications which have been published:

1. R. R. Bowker's *State Publications, Part II*. This contains as complete a list as the State authorities could furnish at the time it was published, in 1901.

2. Judge Daniel Wait Howe's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Official Publications of the Territory and State of Indiana from 1800 to 1890," published in 1890, as No. 5 of the *Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets* and included in *Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume II*. This is a very meritorious publication, and in the main is quite accurate.

3. In 1903 Mr. W. E. Henry, State librarian, prepared a complete catalogue of the material in the State library. This includes substantially all the State publications contained in the lists of Bowker and Howe, together with those that have been turned in by the public printer since these lists were published. The librarian had also succeeded in securing some very valuable State and Territorial publications that were not available to Bowker and Howe, making the catalogue of 1903 the most complete printed list yet prepared.

Since that time still other early official reports have been secured by the State library. It is a matter of serious regret, however, that many valuable documents, both printed and in manuscript, have been lost. In the confusion incident to the moving of the Territorial capitol from Vincennes to Corydon in 1813 and from Corydon to Indianapolis in 1824, together with the building of the new state-

¹ Laws of Indiana, 1841, chap. 32.

house in Indianapolis, it is known that much material, including some Territorial archives, was lost or sold for junk.

No systematic catalogue or descriptive list of the manuscript archives has been made, nor is such a thing possible under present circumstances. They are kept in the various State offices, or are stored in the statehouse basement. Some of them are so badly damaged as to be almost illegible.

The law makes the secretary of state custodian of the public records of the State of Indiana, and he is required to keep and preserve the enrolled constitution of the State, the description of the State seal, the manuscripts containing the enrolled acts and joint resolutions of the general assembly and all the books, records, parchments, maps, registers, and papers deposited in his office.

Various sections of the general statutes provide for the preservation of certain records and for their care, but there is no general law. No commission or department is provided for caring for or having charge of the general subject, and the condition of all the older public records is far from satisfactory and beyond any possibility of permanent improvement until provision is made by law for their care and organization.

A large part of the earlier public records of the State, if in existence at all, are inaccessible, even to one giving his time and effort to the task of making a report concerning them. Many of them are stored away like junk in dark, damp, and dust-covered rooms in the basement of the statehouse. Present State officials know nothing about them and no one has ever been given any authority by law to make the proper examination. A preliminary examination has revealed something of the value of these old records, and has also revealed the hopelessness of the undertaking under present conditions. The final accomplishment of the undertaking would mean a great saving in time and care, on the part of the State, of records which will become more valuable for reference and research work all the time.

The following recommendations are made, which, if executed, would at least begin the solution of the problem and prepare the way for future activity and progress:

1. That steps be taken to provide, furnish, and equip a permanent place for the preservation of the public records of the State in an orderly manner.
2. That steps be taken to examine, classify, and remove to a suitable place the papers, documents, and records not of present-day use to their respective departments.
3. That any State, county, or other official be authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to this department for per-

manent preservation therein any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, and printed books and material not in current use in his office.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

The records preserved in the governor's office are very meager and of comparatively recent date. The following records are preserved:

- Official daily record of the executive department.
- Messages and vetoes.
- Pardon entry docket.
- Record of commissioners.
- Record of pardons, paroles, and commutations.
- Record of proclamations.
- Record of requisitions and warrants.
- Record of State officers.

There are also letter files containing a miscellaneous collection of material, some of the governor's letter books, and material relative to pardons.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

The secretary of state is the keeper of the official records of the State, such as the enrolled original and written copy of the constitution of the State, the manuscripts containing the enrolled laws and joint resolutions of the general assembly, all official bonds of officers approved by the governor (except his own), and all written contracts of the State, unless some particular law provides for their deposit elsewhere.

Every year the secretary of state makes a report to the governor, which report is later presented to the general assembly. The following records are available:

Benevolent institutions, 1855-1861.

Civil records, containing appointments of State and county officers and justices of the peace, indexed by counties and institutions:

Volume 3, January, 1837-1845.

Volume 4, 1845-1852 (county appointments).

Volume 4, 1845-1866 (State appointments).

Volume 5, 1852-1860 (county appointments).

Commissioner of deeds, 2 volumes: 1875-1876, 1877-1896.

Corporation records, 1872-1887.

Index to documents on file in office of secretary of state, 6 volumes.

Index to corporations.

Judiciary, 1 volume:

Circuit judges, 1816-1883.

Circuit prosecuting attorneys, 1857-1883.

Common pleas court, 1864-1872.

Judges supreme court, 1816-1867.

Judges supreme court, 1871-1882.

Military commissioners, 1822-1847.

Military loan register, 1861.

Notary public records, 4 volumes: 1863-1873, 1874-1883, 1887-1893, 1893-1900.

Pardon and parole records.

Proclamations, 1850-1879, and articles of incorporation of railways and roads, 1851-1860.

Prosecuting attorneys for circuit court, 1898-1908.

Railroad records: Articles recorded, 1868-1876.

Record book, miscellaneous: 1823-1837, including appointments, pardons, prison inspection, surveyors of roads, rivers, and canals; seminary townships, State banks, internal improvements, etc.

Record of charters to insurance companies.

Record of commissioner of deeds.

Record of convict commitments to hospital of insane.

Record of judges of circuit court.

Record of judges of supreme and appellate court.

Record of notary bonds and oaths, 2 volumes: 1849-1850, 1850-1852.

Record of official bonds and oaths, 5 volumes: 1828-1853, 1850-1881, 1882-1891, 1891-1895, 1895 to date.

Record of pardons and remissions, 6 volumes:

Pardons and remissions, 1830-1854.

Pardons and remissions, 1854-1876.

Remissions, 1873-1896.

Pardons, 1875-1877.

Remissions of fines and forfeitures, 1875-1887.

Pardons, 1877-1888.

Record of receipts by counties for laws, 1835-1857.

Record of State officers, 1865-1894.

Record of trade-marks, 1892-1896.

Register of pharmacists, 1899-1906.

Register of assistant pharmacists, 1899-1906.

Register of official bonds.

Requisitions and warrants, 1855-1875.

This office also contains manuscript copies of the senate and house journals and the engrossed laws of the State.

In the vault of the office of the secretary of state a vast quantity of material is preserved in regular files in numbered boxes and the papers are arranged by numbers in the boxes. The following is a list of materials thus filed:

Acts certified to by the secretary of state.

Appointments.

Articles of associations: Banks, railroads, roads, etc.

Banks.

Bonds and oaths (official).

Election returns.

Internal improvements.

Military requisitions.

Official correspondence, 1804-.

Papers relating to census.

Papers relating to education.

Papers relating to railroads.

Patents for swamp lands.

Report of commissioners to locate seat of government.

Requisitions.
 Schools and colleges.
 Swamp-land certificates.

In the private office of the secretary of state, preserved in a special case, may be found the following very interesting material, all in manuscript:

Ordinance of the representatives of the people of the Territory of Indiana in convention met at Corydon, Monday, June 10, 1816, for the formation of the constitution for the State of Indiana, and signed June 29, 1816, together with the State constitution of 1816.

Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1851, parchment copy with signatures of officers of and the delegates to the constitutional convention.

Journal of the house of representatives of the Indiana Territory begun and held in the town of Corydon, Monday, August 15, 1814, and continuing the journal to Friday, December 27, 1816.

Report of the commission in behalf of the State of Indiana duly appointed by the general assembly of said State to select and locate a site for the permanent seat of government, dated June 7, 1820. Nine signers attested to by signature of the clerk. This report is lying loose in the back of a book containing the constitution of 1816.

Court of impeachment, trial of Robert Morrison, Esq., Wednesday, September 28, 1808-Saturday, October 1, 1808.

Loose leaves in the journal of the house of representatives, August 15, 1814-December 27, 1816.

Journal of the proceedings of the executive government of Indiana Territory, Vincennes, July 4, 1800, 81 pages, followed by executive proceedings under the government of the State of Indiana, November 7, 1816-November 2, 1823.

Journal of the house of representatives of Indiana Territory begun and held at the town of Vincennes, Monday, February 1, 1813, up to and including March 12, 1813.

In the back of this volume is a record of executive proceedings, November 9, 1822-January 10, 1823.

THE AUDITOR OF STATE.

The auditor of state is the official bookkeeper of the State. He has many records in his office. All the records pertaining to lands once owned by the State or the Wabash and Erie Canal are kept by the auditor. Under his supervision are the departments of land, banks, and insurance.

In the storage room in the basement of the statehouse allotted to the auditor of state may be found the following manuscript material. This room probably contains the best collection of old official documents to be found in any one place in the statehouse.

Abstracts of assessment of property, taxes levied, tax duplicates, and delinquent taxes.

Agent of State, reports and correspondence of.

Assessment and taxation of railroads, 1873-1876.

Assessors, county and township: Conferences with State board of tax committee.

Attorney general, opinions of.

Auditor of state: Correspondence, letter books, ledgers, and reports.

Bank department reports.

Board of equalization, 1855 and prior years.

Bonded indebtedness of State: Register of bonds, etc.

Bonds (official), State of Indiana.

Building and loan associations' books and reports.

Bureau of finance, 1863-1864.

Canal land offices:

Applications, purchase, reports of sale, reports of receipts, and correspondence.

Logansport and Washington.

Canals:

Accounts, correspondence, contracts, receipts, vouchers, claims, reports of commissioners, engineers, etc.

Wabash and Erie, Central and White Water Canals.

Canceled bonds.

Charitable institutions: Special reports of legislative committee.

Claims *v.* State.

Codification commission.

Corporation schedules.

County maps.

Delinquent interest: Trust funds.

Draft exemption fund.

Educational institutions, special reports.

Enumerations, 1853-1895.

Estates unclaimed.

Exploration, White River, 1825.

Express companies:

Receipts, 1866-1874.

Returns.

Field notes, United States surveys.

Fund commissioners:

Correspondence, 1833-1840.

Reports, 1833-1840.

General assembly: Accounts and register bills.

Indianapolis: Sale of lots, register and daybook.

Indian treaties: Miami tribe.

Insurance department: Old reports, account books, letter books, miscellaneous papers, etc.

Insurance policies (old).

Internal improvement commission: Account books, records, etc.

Judges, special, 1886-1894.

Kankakee land: Plats.

Legislative investigation of 1859.

Letter files: Auditor of state.

Loaning agents' reports.

Loan, military, register.

Loan, temporary, canceled bonds.

Loan, war: Canceled bonds.

Maps:

County.

Showing United States land offices.

State.

Miami treaty, 1834, 1837-1838: Plats, reservations, etc.

Military loan register.

Miscellaneous bills.

Normal school, State: Old papers.

Penal institutions, special reports.

Plates and steel engravings.

Plats, United States surveys.

Pottawatomie Indians: Treaty 1832, plats and reservations.

Prisons, State, north and south, books, etc.

Public printing bills: 1853-1871, 1883, 1884, 1887.

Railroads:

Accounts, estimates, contracts, reports, and vouchers.

Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis.

Madison and Indianapolis.

Records of proceedings of State officers.

Reports, miscellaneous, 1844-1847.

Reports, superintendents common schools: 1844-1847.

Roads, State:

Accounts, estimates, reports, surveys, and vouchers.

Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville.

Michigan Road.

New Albany and Vincennes.

Road tax, 1832.

Schedules of corporations.

School funds and school lands.

Senate, State: Accounts, books, register of bills, etc.

Settlement sheets: 1844-1857, 1858 and later years.

Sinking fund: Correspondence, accounts, and records.

State banks filed by counties.

State banks, 1840-1898: Reports, correspondence, records, etc.

State debt.

State line, survey between Indiana and Illinois.

State roads, surveys, etc.:

Brookville to Indianapolis.

Corydon to Indianapolis.

Madison to Indianapolis.

Lawrenceburg to Winchester.

Rockport to Indianapolis.

Terre Haute to Indianapolis.

Surplus revenues, reports, 1842-1844.

Tax commissioners, State board of: Appeals, reports, etc.

Tax duplicates, abstract of.

Territorial treasurer, accounts, 1806-1814.

Treasurer of state: Correspondence.

Two and one-half per cent State stock.

Unclaimed estates.

United States land offices:

Applications, letters, records, letter books, etc.

Brookville.

Crawfordsville.

Fort Wayne.

Indianapolis.

Jeffersonville.

La Porte.

Vincennes.

Winamac.

University lands.

War loan commission.

Warrants on treasurer of state, 1846-1854.

CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT

The "Blotter" is the daily journal containing a record of the court's minutes—everything is put in it. The "Record" is made up from the blotter, as is the "Judgment order book," which contains the opinions and judgments copied in full.

In the basement of the office of the clerk of the supreme court is a record book of the Territorial court of Indiana, 1801–1810. This book is not well preserved, but has been copied in what is called Order Book No. 1. A second record book contains a record of the Territorial court of Indiana, April, 1811–September, 1816.

Beginning with 1817, there are two series of records, the "Order book" and "Record book" of the supreme court.

Order book No. 1 (original), May, 1817–November, 1822.

Order book No. 2 (original), May term beginning May 5, 1823–May term, 3d day, 1828. There is also a second copy of this volume.

Order book No. 3 (original), May term, 4th day, 1828 (May 8, 1828)–May term, 13th day, 1832 (May 11, 1832).

Order book No. 4 (original), November term, 1st day, 1832 (Nov. 26, 1832)–November term, 21st day, 1834 (Dec. 17, 1834).

Order book No. 5 (original), May term, 1st day, 1835 (May 25, 1835)–November term, 5th day, 1837 (Dec. 1, 1837).

Order book No. 6 (original), November term, 6th day, 1837 (Dec. 2, 1837)–May term, 6th day, 1839 (May 25, 1839). There is a second copy of this volume.

Order book No. 7 (original), May term, 7th day, 1839 (May 27, 1839)–November term, 7th day, 1840 (May 22, 1841).

Order book No. 8 (original), May term, 1841 (May 24, 1841)–May term, 1842 (Nov. 25, 1842).

Order book No. 9, November term, 1842 (Nov. 28, 1842)–November term, 1843 (Dec. 6, 1843).

Order book No. 10, November term, 1843 (Dec. 7, 1843)–November term, 1844 (May 24, 1845).

Order book No. 11, May term, 1845 (May 26, 1845)–May term, 1846 (Nov. 21, 1846).

Order book No. 12, November term, 1846 (Nov. 23, 1846)–November term, 1847 (May 20, 1848).

Order book No. 13, May term, 1848 (May 22, 1848)–November term, 1849 (Nov. 30, 1849). No. 13 has also been transcribed.

Order book No. 14, November term, 1849 (Dec. 4, 1849)–May term, 1851 (May 28, 1851).

Order book No. 15, May term, 1851 (May 29, 1851)–May term, 1852 (Nov. 20, 1852).

In 1852, the name of the "Order book" was changed to "Minute order book," and the volumes are classified by letters instead of numbers.

Minute order book A, November 20, 1852–November 22, 1856.

Minute order book B, November 24, 1856–May 30, 1860.

Minute order book C, May 30, 1860–May 20, 1864.

Minute order book D, May 23, 1864–September 30, 1868.

Minute order book E, October 1, 1868–November 23, 1871.

Minute order book F, November 27, 1871–November 22, 1873.

Minute order book G, November 24, 1873–November 20, 1875.

Minute order book H, November 22, 1875–May 21, 1878.

Minute order book I, May 27, 1878–February 4, 1881.

Minute order book J, February 10, 1881–June 20, 1882.

Minute order book K, June 20, 1882–January 8, 1884.

Minute order book L, January 9, 1884–December 15, 1885.

Minute order book M, December 16, 1885–May 12, 1888.

Minute order book N, May 15, 1888–June 20, 1890.

Minute order book O, June 21, 1890–February 17, 1893.

Minute order book P, February 18, 1893–May 22, 1896.

After this time, the "Minute order book" and "Complete record book" are combined under the name of "Judgment and minute record book."

Of the above volumes, all are in the basement, except K–P, inclusive, which are in the vault of the office of the clerk of the supreme court.

The "Record book" of the supreme court begins December 4, 1817, and is contained in books Nos. 1–86 inclusive (Dec. 4, 1817–May 2, 1895).

Volumes 1–78 are in the basement and 79–86 are in the vault on the first floor.

Beginning with book No. 40, the name was changed to "Complete records."

After volume 78, the "Complete record book" and "Minute order book" are combined under the name of "Judgment and minute record book."

EXECUTION DOCKET.

No. 1, December 10, 1817–April 18, 1838.

No. 2, August 28, 1838–January 26, 1847.

No. 3, March 30, 1847–August 7, 1856.

No. 4, August 8, 1856–June 30, 1860.

No. 5, July 7, 1860–January 31, 1862.

No. 6, January 31, 1862–August 18, 1864.

No. 7, August 22, 1864–August 20, 1872.

No. 8, August 21, 1872–March 23, 1875.

No. 9, missing.

No. 10, November 16, 1876–August 16, 1879.

No. 11, August 16, 1879–April 13, 1887.

No. 12, December 16, 1880–September 1, 1883.

The first three volumes are called "Execution book of supreme court."

Day book: Internal improvement fund, July 7, 1836–January 2, 1844.

DOCKET SUPREME COURT.

Volume 1, April 28, 1817–May 15, 1829.

Volume 2, August 22, 1827–November 5, 1837.

Volume 3, April 30, 1830–May 19, 1841.

Volume 4, November 24, 1834–May 20, 1843.

Volume 5, November 24, 1834–April 1, 1845.

Volume 6, November 24, 1834–August 19, 1846.

"Judgment order book of the supreme court" was begun November 22, 1852.

From November 22, 1852, to November 14, 1872, the records were numbered "A–ZZ," J being omitted.

Beginning with November 25, 1872, the books are numbered from 1 to 80, November 22, 1894.

The "Judgment order book" was then combined with the "Judgment and minute order book" of the supreme court.

Blotter of the supreme court, May 28, 1866–May 22, 1903, 58 volumes, in basement.

The appellate court of Indiana was established in 1891. Its records are embodied in—

1. Complete record book, 3 volumes, numbered 1, 2, 3. March 31, 1891–June 18, 1895.
 2. Minute order book, 2 volumes, numbered A and B. March 7, 1891–May 15, 1896.
 3. Judgment order book, volumes 1–6. March 31, 1891–November 22, 1894. Beginning with November 22, 1894, all these are combined in the "Judgment and minute order book" of the appellate court.
- Appellate court blotter from beginning, March, 1891–November term, 1902, 25 volumes, in the basement.

NATURALIZATION RECORDS.

First papers:

- Unnumbered volume, October 10, 1856–August 8, 1868.
- Unnumbered volume, October 12, 1868–October 11, 1880.
- Volume 2, October 11, 1880–October 5, 1883.
- Volume 3, October 5, 1883–October 31, 1884.
- Volume 4, October 31, 1884–October 30, 1886.
- Volume 5, September 9, 1887–September 24, 1905.

The end because of a change in the naturalization laws.

Second papers:

- Only one volume containing the second papers of 15 individuals, August 18, 1870–April 20, 1904.

WRITTEN DOCUMENTS.

I. Territorial cases, general court: Documents representing the years 1795–1816. In case, southwest corner of third basement room from stairs leading down from office of clerk of supreme court.

II. Appeals decided:

- November term, 1817–November term, 1846. 146 boxes, in cases in southwest corner of third basement room from stairs leading down from the office of the clerk of the supreme court.
- Appeals decided, continued, in case on west wall of same room, to November, 1858 (boxes 147–331).

TREASURER OF STATE.

The records preserved in this office are of comparatively recent date. The older ones could not be found. Those found are as follows:

- Register of checks on depositories.
- Register of clothing accounts (State institutions).
- Register of insurance taxes paid to State.
- Register of official deposits.
- Register of all receipts paid to State.
- Register of State warrants.

STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The materials preserved in this office, which have not been printed, consist of the following:

- Educational financial reports.
- Indiana educational exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair.
- Old examination questions.

Old reports unbound and arranged in vault by counties.
School finances and statistics.
School funds and revenues from 1880.
Statistical reports on education.

ADJUTANT GENERAL.

This office preserves the original muster-in and muster-out rolls of regiment and company in war, together with the individual rolls. Those for the Indiana soldiers in the Mexican War are very fragmentary, for the Civil War they are partly complete, and for the Spanish-American War they are complete.

STATE LIBRARY.

The State library has all the original legislative papers. In addition to these, the governor's letter books have been filed here since 1900. The library also possesses the telegrams and dispatches of Gov. Oliver P. Morton from April, 1861, to September, 1863, in 11 volumes; his orders on the auditor, one volume, and letter book for 1862, one volume.

BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES.

In the office of the secretary of the board of State charities are preserved—

Monthly and quarterly reports from institutions.
Names and facts relating to those committed to institutions.
Record of poor relief.
Register of institution inmates.

CONCLUSION.

This report has made no effort to take into account any official records or papers that have at any time been printed. Other departments, boards, and commissions visited stated that all materials in their possession had been printed in some form.

It has not been possible to explore the possibilities in the field of county and city archives in the State, but the various sections of the State offer a very valuable field for such investigation.

There are, also, in the State several collections of private material, not official, which contain valuable matter for the student of Indiana history.

ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

APPENDIX C.

REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE
OF KENTUCKY.

By IRENE T. MYERS,

Professor in Transylvania University.



CONTENTS.

	Page.
Introduction.....	335
Pre-State records.....	337
Land office.....	337
War record office.....	338
Supreme court records.....	338
Minutes of conventions.....	338
State records.....	339
Land office.....	339
Adjutant general's office.....	340
Office of the clerk of the court of appeals.....	340
Governor's office.....	341
Secretary of state's office.....	341
Auditor's office.....	353
Insurance commissioner's office.....	354
State board of equalization.....	354
Treasurer's office.....	355
Railroad commissioner's office.....	355
Board of prison commissioners.....	356
Board of control of charitable institutions.....	356
Attorney general's office.....	356
Department of agriculture.....	356
Agricultural experiment station.....	357
State inspector and examiner's office.....	358
Office of the superintendent of public instruction.....	358
Library.....	361



THE ARCHIVES OF KENTUCKY.

INTRODUCTION.

The State archives of Kentucky, with the exception of those belonging to the department of public health,¹ to the State university and to the agricultural experiment station, are housed in the capitol at Frankfort.

The capitol is a new building, and is said to be fireproof. Its offices are furnished with metal shelves and filing cases for the documents in current use. Where there are also vaults or filing rooms for the old documents, in some instances wooden shelving is used.

This investigation of the archives was begun in 1908, before the completion of the new capitol, but it soon became evident that it was impracticable to continue it at that time. The old capitol was literally stuffed with papers, and not only had orderly arrangement been abandoned in some of the offices, but many of the records were inaccessible in any shape.

Under such circumstances, it was not an easy task for the heads of the departments to transfer the records to their new quarters. It was difficult even to place some of them in the offices to which they belonged, to say nothing of arranging them systematically upon the shelves. Moreover, in a number of the offices, owing to the pressure of daily business, there was no one who had the leisure to arrange them except the negro boys whose duty it is to fetch and carry for the officials. However, the process of moving was apparently complete² before the meeting of the legislature in January, 1910, and the compiler of this report again began work. In reality it was incomplete, and in July, 1910, when this report was closed, many papers remained in the cellars of the old capitol; but no further moving had been undertaken, and the lights had been cut off in the building.

In the new capitol the archives are accessible to anyone interested in them, but with the exception of those in current use, they are systematically arranged in few of the offices. Moreover, the plan followed of making the head of each department custodian of all its records does not seem to be conducive to system in Kentucky any

¹ The State board of health was created by act of Mar. 16, 1878. It determines its own meeting place, and its secretary is custodian of all records. His residence at present is at Bowling Green; the State university and the agricultural experiment station are at Lexington. No complete file of reports of any one of these is to be found in the capitol.

² The librarian is still at intervals engaged in moving.

more than elsewhere. The officials, as a rule, hold office during only one administration, and their first duty is to master the machinery in everyday use. By the time they have accomplished this they usually give place to their successors. They have little opportunity to consider the historic values of the records they inherit, and frequently have little interest in them; consequently the documents, or those no longer in use, are turned over to their negro boys with the general instruction that they are to be kept in order on the shelves.

It is true that some of the lack of system at the present time may be charged to the recent moving, but not all of it. The disorder has been cumulative. The present administration inherited it, as did the preceding, and that which preceded it, and in most of the long-established departments, if the present incumbents were to place them in perfect order, they would have to begin with the records of the first administrations of the State. They do not have time to do this. Nevertheless, their successors will not have more time. The policy is one which does not improve with age.

Moreover, the miscellaneous mass accumulates very rapidly, and in the new capitol, as in the old, there will soon be a demand for more room. Then, as before the recent moving, the documents will be hurriedly sifted, and great masses sold for waste paper. At that time again there will be danger of misplacing or losing important records.

These facts emphasize the need of some definite, uniform plan for taking care of the records. They indicate that some intelligent, properly trained, interested person or persons should separate the valuable papers from the valueless, and should be responsible for their arrangement and preservation.

The writer of this report would make clear, if possible, that notwithstanding the fact that the Kentucky archives are housed in the beautiful new capitol, they are still in jeopardy.

In addition to neglect and indifferent guardianship, they have been subjected to several destructive accidents. The capitol was burned November 25, 1813, and November 4, 1824; the offices of the governor, the secretary of state, and the clerk of the court of appeals were burned November 21, 1865. During the troublous times of 1900, when Goebel and Taylor followers were arrayed against one another, the troops were quartered in the capitol, and made their beds of documents and lighted their pipes with leaves from the files.¹

In dealing with what remains of the records, the compiler has grouped them in two classes.

1. Pre-State: Relating to the period when Kentucky was still a part of Virginia.

¹ See librarian's supplementary report, 1902, and *Courier Journal* of Feb. 16, 1900.

2. State: Relating to the period between June 1, 1792, and July, 1910.

In some instances, records listed under one of these classes overlap the period of the other.

PRE-STATE RECORDS.

LAND OFFICE.¹

1774, May 28–June 8, 1795. Virginia surveys, 11 volumes.

1782, June 1–May 26, 1792. Virginia grants, 16 volumes.

There are indexes to both surveys and grants. The original papers are on file, labeled and indexed.

1774, June 7–February 6, 1776. Military surveys, 1 volume.

This volume contains certified copies of military surveys (with maps), 1774–1776, 150 entries; certified records of military warrants transcribed from the surveyor's office, Montgomery, Va., 1774, 78 pp.; certified entries transcribed from the surveyor's office, Montgomery, Va., 1773–1777.

1782, August 8–October 29, 1793. Military warrants, 2 volumes.

1784, August 2–October 7, 1788. Entry book for military warrants, 1 volume.

1779, November 3–December 13, 1784. Entries, 5 volumes.

1784, July 20–October 12, 1792. Richard Anderson's military entries, 1 volume.

These relate to the district near the mouth of the Cumberland River.

1782, November 28–June 15, 1817. Fayette County entries, 4 volumes.

1785, November 28–July 20, 1820. Nelson County entries, 1 volume.

1786, May 24–September 26, 1795. Bourbon County entries, 1 volume. May's entries. Index.

The survey by Daniel Boone, for himself, of 500 acres on Boones Creek, in Fayette County, February 10, 1784, is framed on the wall of the land office. There are numerous patents on file issued between 1782 and 1791 by Patrick Henry, Edmund and Beverly Randolph,² and Benjamin Harrison, governors of Virginia. Among these, of particular interest, is land-office warrant No. 3334:

"To the principal Surveyor of any County within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

This shall be your warrant to survey and lay off in one or more Surveys, for Abram Linkhorn, his Heirs and Assigns, the Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land, due unto the Said Linkhorn in Consideration of the Sum of one hundred and sixty pounds Current Money paid into the Publick Treasury; the payment whereof to the Treasurer hath been duly certified by the Auditors of Public Accounts, and their Certificates received into the Land Office. Given under my Hand, and the Seal of the Said Office, on this fourth Day of March in the Year One Thousand and Seven Hundred and eighty.

S. CARR, D. R. L. O.

On the outside of the warrant is written: "Entered 29th May, 1780." (?)

The survey accompanying this warrant is as follows:

"Surveyed for Abraham Lincoln 400 acres of land, by virtue of a Treasury Warrant, No. 3334, in the Fork of Floyd Fork now called the Long Run, in Jefferson County,

¹ The investigation of the land-office records, of the court of appeals records, and of the records of the department of education was largely the work of Mr. Isaac E. Reid, a student at Transylvania University. Lieutenant governor.

beginning about two miles up the said Fork from the mouth of a Fork of the same, formerly called Tice's (?) Fork at a sugar tree standing on the side of the same marked S\diamondB and extending thence east 300 poles to a poplar and sugar tree, north 213 poles to a beech and dogwood, west 300 poles to a white oak and hickory, south 213½ poles to the beginning.

ANANIA (?) LINCOLN } Chain
 ABRAHAM LINCOLN } men
 JOSIAH LINCOLN, Marker."

WILL SHANNON, D'p Sur.
 WILL MAY, S. J. C.

This Abraham Lincoln was the grandfather of the future President.

WAR RECORD OFFICE.

In the war record office are the "Certificates for military services performed against the Shawnee and Wabash Indians under the laws of Virginia in 1787," and also various other certificates for "frontier service," "sundry services," etc., for the period between 1785 and 1798, under Commanders Benjamin Logan and George R. Clark.

The record of payment for these services runs from 1800 to 1810. The lists of soldiers contain the names of D. Boone and Simon Kenton.

SUPREME COURT RECORDS.

In the Collins library (now a part of the State library) are to be found the following original MS. records:

- 1785, March–November, 1788. The ruled dockets and confirmed judgments of the supreme court, 1 volume.
- 1787, June–November, 1788. Orders,¹ 1 volume.
- 1789, March–March, 1790. Orders, 1 volume.
- 1790, June court. Orders, 1 volume.
- 1791, October–June, 1792. Orders, 1 volume.

MINUTES OF CONVENTIONS.

Of the various conventions held by the district of Kentucky from 1784 to 1792, to consider "the state of the district," as well as the desirability of separation from Virginia, the compiler found no trace in the capitol. In Col. Durrett's library, Louisville, the following records were found: Original MS. minutes of the conventions held in Danville, beginning July 28, 1788; November 3, 1788; July 20, 1789; July 26, 1790; April 2, 1792.

The "Minute de la première convention tenue dans le pays de Kentucky, le 27 Décembre, 1784," in the French edition (Paris, 1787) of "Letters from an American Farmer," by St. John de Crèvecoeur, is well known, but no record was found of the meetings between 1784 and 1788.

¹ "Of the supreme court held for the district of Kentucky at the courthouse in Danville."

STATE RECORDS.

LAND OFFICE.

The position of register of the land office was established by act June 27, 1792, and was abolished by act March 11, 1898, when the office was placed in charge of the auditor of public accounts.

1786, January 10–May 18, 1797. Kentucky surveys, 11 volumes. 7,589 surveys entered. Of the 146 packages of original papers, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 38, 39, 70, 71 are missing.

1794, May 17–March 6, 1856. Kentucky grants, 20 volumes. First two volumes partly devoted to surveys; 7,612 patents entered. Among these Kentucky grants are to be found military, seminary, treasury warrant, and preemption grants based upon warrants issued by Virginia and surveys made before Kentucky became a State.

These books are indexed and the original papers on file are also labeled and indexed.

1796, August 9–January 11, 1856. Surveys on headright claims (south of Green River), 18 volumes. Only 12 volumes found; 6 misplaced or lost in moving.

1797, May 4–April 30, 1866. Headright claims, 29 volumes. Both grants and surveys are indexed and the original papers on file in 323 packages; Nos. 40, 95, 164, 307 are missing.

1796, October–June 21, 1805. Register for the plats and certificates of surveys granted by the Commonwealth of Kentucky for the relief of settlers on the south side of Green River, 1 volume.

1796, August 7–August 31, 1798. Commissioners' certificates, 1 volume; 1,379 grants certified.

1803, November 9–October 23, 1863. Tellico grants, 2 volumes; 18 months interval between third and fourth entries, and the fourth entry is numbered 66. Only 14 pages in the second volume are filled. These grants apply to lands within the State of Kentucky ceded to the United States by the Cherokee Indians October 25, 1805. Indexed. 14 packages of original papers on file.

1816, January 26–May 15, 1873. Kentucky land warrants, 41 volumes; 2 series (A–Z; A₂–Z₂); 26,880 warrants entered. Indexed, as are also the original surveys upon which they are based.

1822, December 11–February 20, 1900. Grants west of Tennessee River, 11 volumes; 9,237 grants. Indexed.

Surveys on grants west of Tennessee River are on file and indexed in four volumes. These lands are Kentucky's share of the "Jackson purchase."

Register of certificates for lands west of Tennessee River, 1 volume.

1822, January 6–February 11, 1828. Military grants west of Tennessee River, 1 volume.

1825, May 3–May 5, 1908. Grants south of Walker's line, 8 volumes; 4,312 grants; 54 packages of surveys on the grants south of Walker's line are on file, and both grants and surveys are indexed.

1836, September 12–1910. County court orders, 123 volumes.

Surveys are on file. Both are indexed.

Caveat surveys. Unarranged.

The printed reports of the register of the land office are scattered through the early Senate and House journals and the collected documents. No attempt is made to have a complete file of these reports.

A helpful circular of suggestions is issued from the land office, giving its system of labeling and indexing.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

The adjutant general is appointed by the governor, to whom he reports annually. In his office are the current records, such as muster rolls, property lists, order books (general and special), expense accounts of active militia, reports of military fund, filed correspondence, etc.

In the war record office, which is a department of the adjutant general's, in addition to the records already noted,¹ are to be found the following manuscripts:

Union.—The muster-in and muster-out rolls of Kentucky volunteer infantry regiments, 1st to 64th; cavalry, 1st to 17th; heavy artillery (negro), 8th, 12th, 13th; infantry (negro), 100th to 109th, 114th to 119th, 122d to 125th; cavalry (negro), 5th and 6th.

There is also a list of the names of substitutes for drafts.

Confederate.—The muster-in rolls of infantry regiments, 1st to 9th; cavalry, 1st to 14th; battalions of cavalry, 1st to 3d; battalions of mounted rifles, 1st to 7th; Corbitt's battery; Grave's battery; Lyon and Cobb's battery; "Bull Pups" battery; Schoolfield's battery; Cumberland artillery.

There are also the muster-in rolls of 18 independent Confederate companies: Bell's company; Lauderdale's company; Jeter and Trousdale's company; Victor's partisan rangers; Cantrill's consolidated Morgan cavalry company; Quirk's scouts; Breckenridge's signal corps; Breck's partisan rangers; 33d Tennessee infantry independent company (made up of Kentuckians on the Tennessee line who crossed and joined the Tennessees, lest the war be over before they could get into it from Kentucky); Blackburn guards (Co. H, 3d Arkansas infantry), uniformed and armed by Governor Blackburn, joined Arkansas; Murphy's cavalry; Bolin's cavalry; Field's partisan rangers; Woodward's cavalry; Buckner's guards, first organization, one-year men; Buckner's guards, second organization, three-year men; Buckner's guides; Jenkins's company.

The records of the Union troops are published in two volumes, which constitute the adjutant general's report for 1865. A similar report of the Confederate troops is in process of preparation.

The records of the War of 1812, of the Mexican War, and of the Spanish-American War have been published. The compiler found no file of adjutant general's reports.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.

Few of the manuscript records in the office of the clerk of the court of appeals survived the fire of 1865.

At the present time the records are in excellent order, labeled and indexed, and apparently secure from fire. The report of the office follows:

Deed books, 1784-1845. Labeled from A to Z, with two additional volumes, 27 and 28. After 1845 the deeds are to be found recorded in the county clerks' offices. Book D, page 484, contains the record of a deed made in 1798 by Henry Lee, of Stratford, in the county of Westmoreland, to George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in the county of Fairfax, to 3,000 acres of land in the county of Jefferson, on the south side of Rough Creek waters of the Green River.

¹ Cf. above, p. 338.

Order books, 91 volumes; 1-46 burned; volume 47 records the winter term of 1865-66; volume 48 is missing; volume 91 is current.

Opinions of the court of appeals. Recorded by the clerk from 1884 to date; previous to 1884 they are not recorded, but the original papers back to 1865 are on file in the vault. The most important opinions are to be found in the law publications from June 3, 1886.

Execution books, 1865-1910, 26 volumes.

Order books of the superior court, 1882-1894, 6 volumes. By the constitution of 1891 the superior court was abolished upon the expiration of the terms of the judges then in office, and all cases pending were transferred to the court of appeals.

Opinions of the superior court, 1884-1890. Recorded in the office, and the original papers on file in the vault.

Fee books, September 9, 1874-1910.

Roster of attorneys at law, August 1, 1902-1910, 3 volumes.

Public moneys received, 1908-1910, 1 volume.

Land sold under execution, 1887-1910, 1 volume.

Lists of cases by counties, one each term, to 1910.

Dockets, one each term, to 1910.

General index to cases, 1857-1910, 7 volumes.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

The secretary of state is custodian of the governor's records; consequently in the governor's office are to be found only papers of recent date: Pardons not yet acted upon, arranged alphabetically; the last statements of the various departments, bureaus, commissions, inspectors, and boards which report to the governor; the roster of appointments; the opinions of the attorney general; the file of current correspondence.

An interesting paper in the office, ready with Gov. Willson's signature, for transmission to the auditor, was the pay roll of 66 men under Capt. J. L. Powers, of the Second Regiment of Kentucky State Guards, commanded by Roger D. Williams. They were in active service from January 10 to February 11, 1900. The paper had been complete with the exception of Gov. Taylor's signature.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

CONSTITUTIONS.

Kentucky is living under her fourth constitution. Of these the first—

1792 is to be found in the capitol only in printed form.¹ Article IX deals with slavery.²

Article XII declares for free speech, free press, free religion, free access to the

¹ The original MS. minutes, of which it forms a part, belong to Col. Durrett, Louisville. These minutes are signed by Thomas Todd, clerk, and Samuel McDowell, president of the convention, attests with his seal their authenticity. In the same MS. is an account of the expenses of members of the convention, e. g.:

For 17 days' attendance.....	£7 13 0
For 84 miles' travel.....	1 10 0

² It was decreed, among other things, that the legislature should have no power to emancipate slaves without consent of their owners or without paying a full money equivalent for them. On motion to strike out this article, the vote stood: Yeas, 16; nays, 26. Of the 16 yeas, 7 were clergymen No clergyman voted nay.

records of every branch of the government, free elections, freedom from unreasonable seizures and searches, trial by jury.

1799, enrolled manuscript copy; "A constitution or form of government for the State of Kentucky, 1799." Article VII deals with slavery.

1850, two enrolled manuscript copies. Article X deals with slavery; XI with education.

1891, an enrolled manuscript copy. There is also a typewritten copy signed Cassius M. Clay, jr., president; Thomas G. Poore, secretary. It is bound in boards with a syllabus of the constitution and the record of the vote by counties on its adoption.

The ledger of the constitutional convention contains also the vote by counties on its adoption, August 3, 1891.

There is a record book of the constitutional convention; the minutes of the constitutional convention; nine drawers of unassorted original papers of the constitutional convention (marked "Of no value whatever"), among which the compiler noted the daily journal, the amendments offered, the reports on municipalities, circuit courts, executive offices, etc.

1875, August 2, a paper-covered report of the officers of election of Fayette County, of the vote taken for and against the call for a constitutional convention.

An interesting portion of the oath administered to these officers was prescribed by the constitution of 1850 and is still administered to the officers of the State and to the members of the general assembly: "Since the adoption of the present constitution we, being citizens of this State, have not fought a duel with deadly weapons within this State nor out of it with a citizen of this State; nor have we, nor either of us, sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel with deadly weapons with a citizen of this State; nor have we acted as second in carrying a challenge or aided or assisted any person thus offending."

These documents are scattered; some of them are in the secretary of state's vault, some on the shelves of his filing room, and others in the filing cases.

EXECUTIVE JOURNALS, BLOTTERS, MINUTE BOOKS, INDEXES, AND LISTS.

The compiler groups together journals, blotters, and minute books because frequently a volume called blotter, or minute book, on the outside, is called journal within.

1792, June 4-May 23, 1796. Executive journal, Gov. Isaac Shelby. He approves various acts to protect the frontier counties and the salt makers against the Indians; also acts concerning the killing of wolves, squirrels, and crows; concerning the opening of wagon roads and the establishing of ferries; concerning the inspection of "flower and hemp"; concerning the trustees of Transylvania Seminary.

1796, May 25-October 23, 1799. Executive journal, Gov. James Garrard.

1800-1804. Executive journal, Gov. James Garrard. In his inaugural address he suggests State aid to manufactories. He approves an act to raise money by lottery for Jefferson Seminary and for establishing and endowing certain academies (1799); an act to incorporate the shareholders and directors of the Lexington, Georgetown, and Danville libraries (1800).

"Part the first, commencing with the year 1800 and comprehending civil transactions," comments on the too sanguinary laws; a man in Lexington, condemned to death for forgery, is pardoned; the death penalty is remitted on negro Jack for stealing a slave, James for burglary, negro Harry for attempted rape; Yellow John, a free man, is granted a reprieve for murdering a person who was

conveying him from Maryland to the Spanish dominions; fines are remitted for "two oaths" (Nov. 7, 1800) and for selling spirituous liquors without license.

"Part the second, commencing with December 23, 1799, and comprehending civil appointments," contains also the military appointments made by the executive, 1799-1808, and the "Record of arrangements made by the executive with relation to militia," 1799-1804. Indexed.

November 29, 1802, communication to the legislature that right of deposit has been suspended at New Orleans. Peaceable possession of New Orleans, he reports later, has rendered the warlike preparations unnecessary.

"Part the fifth, commencing with August, 1799, and comprehending a register of commissions issued to captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. N. B.—Some of the commissions, although issued after 1799, have an earlier date."

- 1804, August 23-August 31, 1808. Executive journal, Gov. Christopher Greenup. Paper-covered "Record of Gov. Greenup's appointments, remissions, etc.," 1806, March 5-September 26, 1808.
- 1808, September 1-August 25, 1812. Executive journal, Gov. Charles Scott. Strong warlike note in messages. "Let us manufacture arms and munitions." Militia urged to provide against encroachments of France and Great Britain.
- 1808, September 1-January 8, 1813. Executive minutes.
- 1812, August 25-September 4, 1816. Executive journal, Gov. Isaac Shelby. Indexed.
- 1812-1816. Blotter, Gov. Shelby. (Entries run from January 11, 1813, to June 10, 1818.)
- 1816, August 5-September 6, 1820. Executive journal, Lieut. Gov. Gabriel Slaughter. Indexed. (George Madison was elected governor August 22, 1816; died October 14, 1816.)
- 1820, August 24-September 2, 1824. Executive journal, Gov. John Adair.
- 1820, September 6-January 29, 1823. Blotter, Gov. John Adair.
- 1823, January 27-September 2, 1824. Blotter, Gov. John Adair.
- 1824, August 24-December 16, 1825. Executive journal, Gov. Joseph Desha. Partially indexed.
- 1825, December 14-September 2, 1828. Executive journal, Gov. Joseph Desha.
- 1828, August 22-August 28, 1832. Executive journal, Gov. Thomas Metcalfe.
- 1828, August 26-September 3, 1832. Minutes, Gov. Thomas Metcalfe.
- 1832, August 24-January 20, 1834. Executive journal, Gov. John Breathitt.
- 1832, September 4-February 15, 1834. Minutes, Gov. John Breathitt.
- 1834, February 21-July 26, 1834. Executive journal, Lieut. Gov. James T. Morehead. Incomplete.
- 1834, February 22-August 31, 1836. Minutes, Lieut. Gov. James T. Morehead.
- 1836, August 18-February 16, 1838. Minutes, volume 1, Gov. James Clark. Indexed.
- 1838, February 17-August 24, 1839. Minutes, volume 2, Gov. James Clark. Indexed.
- 1838, May 8-August 24, 1839. Blotter, Gov. James Clark. Gov. Clark died August 27, 1839.
- 1839, September 5-September 2, 1840. Minutes, Lieut. Gov. Charles A. Wickliffe. Indexed.
- 1840, August 22-December 31, 1841. Minutes, Gov. Robert P. Letcher. Indexed.
- 1840, September 3-August 9, 1841. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.
- 1841, January 23-January 30, 1841. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.
- 1841, August 10-June 7, 1842. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.
- 1842, January 1-December 31, 1842. Minutes, Gov. Robert P. Letcher. Indexed.
- 1842, July 7-December 31, 1842. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.
- 1843, January 2-December 30, 1843. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.
- 1843, January 2-December 30, 1843. Minutes, Gov. Robert P. Letcher. Separate index volume.
- 1844, January 1-September 3, 1844. Blotter, Gov. Robert P. Letcher.

- 1844, January 1–September 3, 1844. Minutes, Gov. Robert P. Letcher. Indexed.
- 1844, August 27–September 6, 1848. Executive journal, Gov. William Owsley. Indexed; 2 volumes. (Marked 1 and 2, 3 and 4.)
- 1844, September 21–January 1, 1845. Blotter. There is also, in a separate volume, a register of sheriffs, justices, etc.
- 1848, September 6–July 30, 1850. Executive journal, Gov. John J. Crittenden. Indexed.
- 1848, June 8–July 30, 1850. Blotter, Gov. John J. Crittenden.
- 1850, July 31–September 1, 1851. Executive journal, Lieut. Gov. John L. Helm. There is a separate volume of respites.
- 1851, September 2–September 3, 1855. Executive journal, Gov. Lazarus W. Powell. Separate index volume.
- 1851, September 2–March 11, 1854. Blotter, Gov. Lazarus W. Powell.
- 1852–1856. Blotter, Gov. Lazarus W. Powell.
- 1855, September 1–August 10, 1859. Executive journal, Gov. Charles S. Morehead. Separate index volumes. Also an index to accounts, respites, and commissions.
- 1855–October 1, 1858. Minutes, Gov. Charles S. Morehead. (Gov. Magoffin's journal was said by Custodian Lewis to have been moved from the old quarters to the new, but it was not in the secretary's office during the time this report was being compiled, and no trace of it could be found.) 1 volume respites, Gov. Magoffin. He resigned August 18, 1862. Lieut. Gov. Linn Boyd died December 17, 1859.
- 1862, August 18–August 31, 1863. Executive journal. James F. Robinson, speaker of the senate, is acting governor. Separate index volume.
- 1863, September 1–July 1, 1867. Executive journal, Gov. Thomas E. Bramlette.
- 1867, July 1–September 2, 1867. Executive journal, Gov. Thomas E. Bramlette. Alphabet B (A is missing) begins March 1, 1866; 1 volume of pardons, March 1, 1866–August 31, 1867; 1 volume respites, 1863–1867; 1 volume remissions, 1863–1867; 1 volume list of notaries and police judges.
- 1867, September 3–August 31, 1868. Executive journal, Lieut. Gov. John W. Stevenson. (Gov. John L. Helm died September 8, 1867.) Separate index volume; 1 volume of pardons and remissions.
- 1868, September 1–March 12, 1870. Executive journal, Gov. John W. Stevenson (elected governor August, 1868). Separate index volume.
- 1870, March 12–February 13, 1871. Executive journal, Gov. John W. Stevenson. 1 volume lists of notaries and judges, 1867–1874.
- 1871, March 13–September 4, 1871. Executive journal, Preston H. Leslie (speaker of senate).
- 1871, September 5–January 25, 1875. Executive journal, Gov. Preston H. Leslie. 2 volumes index; 1 volume pardons, remissions, and respites.
- 1875, February 1–August 30, 1875. Executive journal, Gov. Preston H. Leslie. 1 volume partial index to miscellaneous orders in executive journal; 1 volume index to executive journal, July, 1874–January, 1875.
- 1875, August 31–June 9, 1877. Executive journal, Gov. James B. McCreary.
- 1877, June 11–September 2, 1879. Executive journal, Gov. James B. McCreary. 2 volumes index.
- 1879, September 2–January 13, 1880. Executive journal, Gov. Luke P. Blackburn.
- 1881, December 1–September 4, 1883. Executive journal, Gov. Luke P. Blackburn. Separate volume index; 1 volume notaries public; 1 volume police judges; 1 volume justices of the peace; 1 volume proclamations, requisitions, rewards.
- 1883, September 4–June 26, 1886. Executive journal, Gov. J. Proctor Knott.
- 1886, July 1–August 30, 1887. Executive journal, Gov. J. Proctor Knott. Separate volume index; 1 volume police judges and mayors; 1 volume proclamations,

- requisitions, and rewards, 1 volume justices of peace; 1 volume remissions; 1 volume notaries public.
- 1887, August 30–December 31, 1889. Executive journal, Gov. Simon B. Buckner.
- 1890, January 1–May 27, 1890. Executive journal, Gov. Simon B. Buckner. 1 volume index; 1 volume notaries public; 1 volume pardons, remissions, and respites; 1 volume register and petitions; 1 volume justices of peace and police judges.
- 1890, September 1–December 30, 1892. Executive journal, Gov. John Young Brown.
- 1894, January 1–December 10, 1895. Executive journal, Gov. John Young Brown. Index; 1 volume pardons, remissions, and respites; 1 volume justices of peace and police judges; 1 volume notaries public.
- 1895, December 10–July 31, 1897. Executive journal, Gov. William O. Bradley. 2 volumes; 1 volume index; 1 volume pardons, remissions, etc.; 1 volume notaries public; 1 volume miscellaneous index; 1 volume justices of peace and police judges.
- 1899, December 12–May 21, 1900. Executive journal, Gov. W. S. Taylor. Separate index; 1 volume miscellaneous index; 1 volume notaries public; 1 volume pardons, remissions, and respites; 1 volume justices of peace and police judges.
- 1900, January 31–January 6, 1902. Executive journal, Gov. William Goebel. This journal contains only one entry under Gov. Goebel. It is continued under Lieut. Gov. Beckham, constituting volume 1 of his journal. Separate index; 1 volume justices of peace; 1 volume pardons and remissions; 1 volume notaries public.
- 1902, January 7–February 28, 1906. Executive journal, Gov. J. C. W. Beckham. 3 volumes. Separate volume index.
- 1907, December 10. Executive journal, Gov. Augustus E. Willson. 2 volumes. Separate volume index.

The journals are placed consecutively on the shelves of the filing room. The blotters, minute books, indexes, and supplementary lists are to be found unarranged, some in the filing room and some in the vault.

EXECUTIVE LETTER BOOKS.

1812. Letter book B. Copies of letters received by Gov. Shelby, from September 25, 1812. It contains also a letter from DeWitt Clinton to Gov. Gabriel Slaughter relative to the Erie Canal.
- 1820–1832. Letter book. 36 letters of Govs. Adair, Desha, and Metcalfe; among them two from Gov. Desha to Lafayette, and several relative to his visit to Kentucky, 1825.
- 1836–1839. Letter book, Gov. James Clark.
- 1839–40. Letter book, Gov. C. A. Wickliffe. Also one letter from John J. Crittenden to the directors of the Southern Bank of Kentucky, July 26, 1850.
- 1840–1844. Letter book, Gov. R. P. Letcher.
- 1840–1845. Letter book, Gov. R. P. Letcher.
- 1844–1848. Letter book, Gov. W. Owsley. Appendix contains two omitted letters, May, 1846.
- 1848–1850. Letter book, Gov. John J. Crittenden. Three letters.
- 1851–1855. Letter book, Gov. L. W. Powell.
- 1883–1885. Letter book, Gov. J. Proctor Knott.
- 1887–1889. Letter book, Gov. S. B. Buckner. 2 volumes (illegible); 1 volume register of letters (incomplete).

The letter books have not been placed consecutively or even together.

EXECUTIVE PAPERS.

The documents marked "Executive papers" fill 710 drawers in the filing cases.

Beginning with Gov. Preston H. Leslie's administration, 1871-1875, there is some effort made to classify them by drawers, e. g., as pardons, remissions, respites; rejected pardons, remissions, respites; rejected petitions; miscellaneous.

In some administrations there is a very meager showing of papers. It will be noticed that this is true of the period between 1792 and 1812; and there is only one drawer of Gov. Adair's papers (1820-1824); and one drawer each contains the papers of Govs. Breathitt, James Morehead, Clark, and Wickliffe (1832-1840).

To examine minutely the contents of all these drawers is too colossal a task for the present compiler, but the markings of the various packages are given down through the year 1816. These indicate fairly the contents of the drawers to 1840, which is as far as the examination has gone. The markings, however, are not wholly to be trusted either as to date or contents.

Executive papers, Gov. Isaac Shelby, 1792-1800. (Contains also papers of Gov. James Garrard.) 1 drawer, 7 packages marked (1) "Communications with senate and house, 1792, 3, 4;" (2) "Miscellaneous papers, Govs. Shelby and Garrard, 1792-1800;" (3) "Civil officers, 1792;" (4) "Justices of the peace in commission, 1792;" (5) "Recommendation of justices of the peace, 1793;" (6) "Justices of the peace, 1794;" (7) "Military appointments, 1800-1802."

Executive papers, Gov. James Garrard, 1796-1804. 3 drawers. Packages in first marked (1) "Pertaining to the militia, 1796-1804;" (2) "Regimental returns, 1800;" (3) "Regimental returns, 1802;" (4) "Sundry papers, 1796-1804." In package 4 are to be found also papers dated 1811, 1812, 1813, etc.

Packages in second drawer marked (1) "Election returns, 1798-99;" (2) "Pardons and remissions, 1800, 1804" (2 packages); (3) "Lists of justices, 1802-1803;" (4) "Military appointments, 1800-1801;" (5) "Regimental returns, 1800-1801."

Packages in third drawer marked (1) "Military appointments, 1797-1800" (3 packages); (2) "Regimental returns, 1804;" (3) "Recommendations of justices, surveyors, etc., 1798;" (4) "Applications for pardon of Henry Field, 1799;" (5) "Sheriffs and coroners, 1802-1804;" (6) "Sundry papers, 1796-1804."

Executive papers, Gov. C. Greenup, 1804-1808. 2 drawers. Packages in first drawer marked (1) "Militia, nominations company officers from September 1, 1804 to September 1, 1808, from Nos. 11 to 20, inclusive;" (2) "Military nominations, 1804-1808;" (3) "Papers pertaining to the militia, 1804-1808;" (4) "Recommendations of sheriffs, justices, etc., 1807-08."

Packages in second drawer marked (1) "Petitions for pardon, acted on, 1808;" (2) "Recommendations of circuit judges, 1804;" (3) "Sundry papers."

Executive papers, Gov. Charles Scott, 1808-1812. 1 drawer. Packages marked (1) "Military appointments, 1812;" (2) "Relating to volunteers, 1812;" (3) "Sundry papers;" (4) "Miscellaneous." Papers not of this date are included in these sundry and miscellaneous.

Executive papers, Gov. Isaac Shelby, 1812-1816. 8 drawers. Packages in first drawer marked (1) "Military nominations, company officers, 1812;" (2) "Military matters, 1813;" (3) "Civil officers, 1813;" (4) "Civil officers" (illegible).

Packages in second drawer marked (1) "Militia company officers, 1815-16;" (2) "Miscellaneous, 1812-1816."

Packages in third drawer marked (1) "Field and staff officers, 1815-16;" (2) "Military commissions, 1815;" (3) "Commissions of civil officers, 1815;" (4) "Recommendations for civil officers, 1816."

Packages in fourth drawer marked (1) "Regimental officers, 1814;" (2) "Nominations of various civil officers, 1812;" (3) "Miscellaneous papers, 1812-1816;" (4) "Miscellaneous papers, 1814;" (5) "Rejected petitions, 1814;" (6) "Resignation, nomination, etc., of civil officers, 1814."

Packages in fifth drawer marked (1) "Militia nominations, 1813-14;" (2) "Pardons and remissions, 1813;" (3) "Miscellaneous papers."

Packages in sixth drawer marked (1) "Election returns, 1814, 1815, 1816;" (2) "Letters, 1815;" (3) "Clerk's receipts for books, 1814-."

Packages in seventh drawer marked (1) "Pertaining to military matters, 1816;" (2) "Resignations and appointments of militia officers, January to September 1816;" (3) "Recommendation for civil officers, 1816;" (4) "Concerning a judge and attorney in the eleventh judicial district;" (5) "Petitions for pardons and remissions."

Packages in eighth drawer marked (1) "Respecting the division commanded by Gov. Shelby, 1813;" (2) "Letters relating to appointments, etc., 1814;" (3) "Letters P to R, inclusive, 1812-13 (Govs. Scott and Shelby);" (4) "Returns of sheriffs and justices of the peace, 1812;" (5) "Miscellaneous."

Gov. Blackburn's pardons, remissions, etc., fill 25 drawers.

Beside one of the filing cases stands a box about 2 feet square and 4 feet long, filled with petitions for the pardon of Caleb Powers and James Howard, under conviction of the murder of Gov. Goebel.

Of interest, among the executive papers of Gov. William S. Taylor, are a number of pardons before trial granted by Gov. Taylor to men accused of the murder of Gov. Goebel.

There are 25 drawers of unarranged papers marked "Miscellaneous papers of various administrations" and "Miscellaneous papers of various governors," from which the executive papers might be enriched. This is notably true in the case of Gov. Bramlette, to whose administration many of the packages belong. His papers sometimes have a peculiarly spicy flavor from the comments on the outside, apparently in his writing.

With the exception of this unassorted collection, the executive papers are filed consecutively by administrations.

LEGISLATIVE ACTS.

The manuscript acts of the legislature are on file from 1792 to 1908, except for the sessions of 1801, 1807, 1851, 1853, 1855. From 1792 to 1800 they are written on irregularly shaped pieces of parchment, or the volumes contain both parchment and paper. They are frequently not recorded consecutively.

The greater number of the volumes are in the filing room, arranged consecutively; the others are in the vault.

Of particular interest are the volumes containing the Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and the acts of the called sessions of 1861 and 1900.

The following lists, registers, titles, and indexes of acts are found in various places in the filing room and vault:

- 1823, November 5–January 29, 1829. List of acts.
 1830–31. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1832, December 10–February 24, 1834. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1833–34. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1835, January 6–July 28, 1835. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1835, December 30–March 1, 1836. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1836, December 14–February 23, 1837. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1837–38. Register of acts.
 1837, December 8–February 28, 1839. Register of acts.
 1839, December 10–August 21, 1840. Register of acts.
 Register of acts, R. P. Letcher, governor.
 1840–1844. Index to register of acts in senate and house.
 1845, January 1–January 14, 1845. Index to register of acts in senate and house.
 (Appendix covers chapters 455 to 593.)
 1847, December–September, 1849, 2 volumes. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1849, January 8–March 7, 1850. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1850, November 18–March 22, 1851. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1851, November 6–March 10, 1854. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1856, January 9–February 17, 1858. List of acts proposed in senate and house.
 1859–60. Register of acts.
 1860–1862. Register of acts.
 1863–64. Lists of enrolled bills.
 1863, December 10–June 5, 1865. Register of acts.
 1865–1867. Lists of senate and house bills.
 1865–66. Index to laws, chapters 1–969.
 1865–1867. Index to laws, begins chapter 970.
 1865. Index to laws, chapters 584–1455.
 1865. Index to laws, begins chapter 1455.
 1865, December 9–March 11, 1867. List of senate and house bills.
 1869. List of senate and house bills.
 1869–70. List of senate and house bills.
 1869. List of enrolled senate bills.
 1869. List of enrolled senate and house bills.
 1869–70. List of enrolled senate and house bills.
 1871. List of enrolled senate and house bills.
 1871–72. List of enrolled senate and house bills.
 1871–72. List of enrolled senate bills.
 1871–72. List of enrolled house bills.
 1873. List of enrolled senate and house bills. 2 volumes.
 1873. Index to bills. January adjourned session.
 1873. Index to bills. December session.
 1876. List of bills. Senate.
 1876. List of bills. House.
 1876. List of senate and house bills.
 1876. Register of acts.
 1877–78. Register of acts. Senate.
 1879–80. List of senate and house bills. 2 volumes.
 1880. List of senate and house bills.
 1881–82. Index to senate and house bills. 2 volumes.
 1883. List of senate and house bills.

- 1821, October 23–December 21, 1821. Bill book, senate and house. Contains a number of proposed acts relating to seminaries in various counties.
- 1823, November 8–January 8, 1824. Minute book, senate.
- 1824, November 3–January 11, 1825. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1824, November 4–December 4, 1824. Memorandum book, senate. Begins "On account of unfortunate burning of the capitol this morning the senate assembled in the seminary."
- 1825, November 15–December 21, 1825. Minute book, senate.
- 1826, December 4–January 25, 1827. Minute book, senate.
- 1826, December 5–January 25, 1827. Bill book, senate and house. Senate bill No. 4 is "More effectually to prevent the importation of slaves."
- 1827, December 10–February 12, 1828. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1827, December 3–February 12, 1828. Minute book, senate.
- 1828, December 1–January 9, 1829. Minute book, senate.
- 1828, December 3–January 28, 1829. Bill book, senate and house. First house bill is "to encourage the general diffusion of education in this Commonwealth by the establishment of a uniform system of public schools." Third senate bill is "more effectually to prevent the importation of slaves."
- 1829, December 8–January 28, 1830. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1829, December 11–January 29, 1830. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1830, December 10–January 15, 1831. } January 27, 1830, "A joint preamble and resolution declaring the power of Congress to pass tariff laws and to make internal improvements within the several States."
- 1831, November 9–December 23, 1831. } January 15, 1831, senate resolution to burn a portion of the notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth.
- 1830, December 6–January 15, 1831. Minute book, senate.
- 1830, December 8–January 14, 1831. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1831, November 7–December 23, 1831. Minute book, senate.
- 1831, November 7–December 23, 1831. Minute book, house.
- 1831 (?), January 2–February 29, 1831 (?). Bill book, house.
- 1831, November 7–December 22, 1831 (?). Bill book, senate and house.
- 1832, December 3–February 2, 1833. Minute book, senate.
- 1834, January 2–February 26, 1834 (?). Bill book, senate. (No year given within. On one cover marked 1834; on the other, 1835.)
- 1834, December 31–February 28, 1835. Minutes, senate.
- 1834 (?), November 8–December 20. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1835 (?), seems to begin January 1. (Imperfectly kept. Incomplete.)
- 1835, December 28–February 29, 1836. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1835, December 5–February 22, 1836. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1837, December 11–February 15, 1838. Bill book, senate and house.
- 1838, December 4–February 23, 1839. Minute book, house.
- 1841, January 1–March 3, 1842. Minute book, house.
- 1853, December 31–March 10, 1854. Minute book, house.
- 1853–1863. Minute book, senate.
- 1854, January–March. Bill book, senate and house.
1860. (No further date given.)
- 1863–1875. Minute book, senate and house.
1871. Minute book, senate and house.
1873. Bill book.
1875. Bill book, senate.
1875. Minute book, senate.
- 1877–1878. Bill book, senate.

- 1879-1880. Bill book, senate and house.
 1881-1882. Bill book, senate and house.
 1883. Bill book, senate and house.
 (No year given.) November 5-January 7. Bill book, senate and house.
 1887-1889. Bill book.
 1889-1890. Minute book, house.
 1894. Minute book, house.

It is impossible for the compiler to discriminate between bill books and minute books. The two titles seem to have been used interchangeably.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

These are found in the vault and in the filing room; sometimes a series will be partly in one and partly in the other.

- Ledger, 1888-1889.
 Ledger, 1891-1892. 2 volumes.
 Ledger, 1894. 2 volumes. Few entries.
 Register of justices, 1859-1867. 1 volume.
 Special orders, November session. House, 1881-82.
 Special orders, December session. House, 1883.
 Special orders. House, 1885-86.
 Special orders. Senate, 1889-90.
 Index to records of railroad equipment, etc. (Records not found.)
 List of commissioners of deeds. Undated.
 Minutes of the commissioners of the sinking fund, 1845-1863.
 Minutes of the commissioners of the sinking fund, 1863-1875.
 Alphabet to the minutes of the commissioners of the sinking fund. On a loose leaf is the resolution providing for compensation and expenses of the commissioners of Kentucky to Washington City to consider amendments to the Constitution of the United States, February 1, 1861.
 List of military bonds, 1864-1865.
 List of Kentucky State bonds.
 Treasurer's bond book, 1896.
 List of militia officers, 1812-1816.
 List of general and field officers, 1812-1816.
 List of commissioned officers, Kentucky State Guard, 1879-1883.
 List of commissioned officers, Kentucky State Guard, 1884-1887.
 Order book, Company B, Second Regiment, State Guard, 1894-1897.
 Clerk's book, Company B, Second Regiment, State Guard, 1894-1896.
 Enrolled militia of the city of Louisville, 1871.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Marion County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Lincoln County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Calloway County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Estill County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Hart County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Lewis County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Gallatin County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Pike County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Henderson County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Hopkins County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Ballard County.
 Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Knox County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Pendleton County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Mason County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Bourbon County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Logan County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Breckenridge County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Daviess County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Barren County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Carroll County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Cumberland County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Caldwell County.

Lists of qualified voters for 1847 in Nelson County.

Register of vote, governor's election, 1851, and sundry elections, 1851-52.

One volume, election returns; State officers and Congressmen, 1855-1872. Contains also votes on school tax; presidential elections of 1856 and 1860; a letter to Gov. Bramlette concerning the attitude to be taken towards the death of a candidate before the result of the election is known. Does this death create a vacancy?

One volume, election returns; presidential election; State officers and Congressmen, 1886-1894. The presidential election, 1888, shows one vote cast in Anderson County for the Woman's Rights ticket. Volume contains vote on constitution, 1891; in presidential election, 1892; in State elections, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1892, 1894.

One volume, election returns, 1896, 1900, 1903, 1904, 1907.

Record of the electoral colleges.

"Upon the assembling of the electors of President and Vice President for the State of Kentucky in 1836, and upon inquiry being made at the office of the secretary of state, it was ascertained that no record had been preserved among the archives of the State of the acts of the several electoral colleges which had assembled in the State since its formation; they therefore passed a resolution, requiring the secretary to provide a book, and record the proceedings of the several colleges, 'so far as authentic information can be obtained'. The secretary has at length, with the aid of the Hon. Garrett Davis, been enabled to comply with this requisition.

"The proceedings here recorded, up to the year 1832, were procured from the secretary of the Senate of the United States, as stated by Mr. Davis, and no doubt exists of the correctness of the transcript, which with this book is this day deposited with the secretary of state, Frankfort, August 19, 1840. John Payne, sec."

Electoral college, 1792-1864.

Record book of electoral college, 1868-1872.

Journal of State secretary of grand council, August 4, 1855. It contains also the printed proceedings of the grand council of the American order in Kentucky, at its session in Frankfort, January 23-24, 1856.

One volume, a negro list and property valuation for the southern district of Jefferson County, 1871.

One volume, a negro list and property valuation for the southern district of Jefferson County, 1872.

One volume, a negro list and property valuation for the northern district of Jefferson County, 1872.

Official copy of punishment records at Kentucky Penitentiary, June, 1880-April, 1886.

Statement of money paid the flood sufferers, as authorized by the legislature, 1884.

Interest on State debt, 1883.

Scrapbook partially filled with Gov. Bramlette's proclamations.

Register of justices, 1859-1867.

- Report of the A. and M. College commission, 1878.
 Reports from juvenile courts, 1907-
 Correspondence relating to the building of the penitentiary at Eddyville.
 Civil War claims of Kentucky *v.* United States Government.
 Spanish-American War claims.
 Deeds, contracts, and bonds for the new capitol.
 Thirteen drawers of unarranged board of internal improvement papers.
 Twenty-two drawers marked "Legislative papers."
 Late reports of banks, public printing, barber examiners, State inspector in settlements between auditor and treasurer, auditor's opinions on bonds, contracts, etc., official bonds and contracts, bids, and quarterly statements for the institution of deaf mutes.
 Report of the keeper of the Kentucky Penitentiary, 1876.

AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

The office of auditor was established by act June 22, 1792. By act December 20, 1794, the auditor was required to report to the general assembly on or before the sixth day of each annual session. The house journal, 1794, contains a detailed report from the joint committee appointed to examine the auditor's and treasurer's accounts, but the first report of the auditor found by the compiler is in house journal, 1795.

There is not a complete file of auditor's printed reports in the office. The first of those found there are in the collected documents (marked "Auditor's report"); from 1840 to 1862 complete (in 1849 and 1850 the reports are of the second auditor only); 1863 is missing; 1864-1868 complete; 1869-1877 missing; 1878-1881 complete; 1882-1886 missing; 1887-1909 complete.

From 1795 to 1839 the reports are to be found in the senate and house journals. By reference to the lists of journals to be found in the library, it will be seen how nearly complete a file is accessible in the capitol.

In Miss Hasse's "Index of economic material in documents of the State of Kentucky," pages 165-170, the location of the auditor's printed reports among the published documents of Kentucky is given fully.

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS.

It has been impossible for the compiler to make a satisfactory report of the original papers to be found in the auditor's vault.¹ A few things only can be given with definiteness:

- The opinions of the attorney general, 1848-1892.
- Treasurer's receipts beginning 1886-.
- Claim lists, alphabetical, 1893-.
- Turnpike reports, 1889-.

¹ The auditor's office suffered greatly during the quartering of the troops in the capitol at the time of the Taylor-Goebel struggle. See *Courier-Journal*, February 16, 1900.

Vouchers, 1899-.

County clerks' reports, 1893-.

Circuit judge reports, 1893-.

Sheriffs' revenue settlements, arranged by year and number, 1900-.

School fund receipts, 1882-.

It may be said that settlements of trustees of jury fund, reports of rectifiers, compounders and blenders of distilled spirits, of tobacco manufacturers, of land sales, of escheated property, of printers and binders, inquests of idiots and lunatics, reports from the penitentiary, from State and National banks, orders from court of appeals, day-books, cashbooks, ledgers, execution books, license registers, policies issued, register of bonds and coupons, railroad assessments, are filed in pasteboard boxes, or stacked on wooden shelves in the vault, but not by a system of arrangement clear to the compiler.

The paper sheets giving the "Recapitulation of real estate, personal property, and statistics by counties" back to 1906 were on the floor.

The gas has been turned off in the old capitol where yet remain many documents belonging to the auditor's office, consequently the compiler could do no more by the light of two candles than read the labels on the boxes there stored in the cellar. There were rows upon rows of vouchers, bank reports, taxes on corporations, licenses, reports on distilled spirits, and papers relating to the school fund. There were piles of recapitulation sheets and assessors' books, etc. These papers can not possibly be examined in their present quarters. Many of them are so dirty and in such a state of confusion that unusual care must be taken to insure their preservation. Some of them doubtless are not valuable, but their value should be passed upon by some one both intelligent and interested in preserving historical data.

The papers in current use in the auditor's office are kept in good order in metal filing cases.

INSURANCE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.

The insurance business of Kentucky was placed under Government supervision by act March 10, 1870. The commissioner sends annually to the auditor of public accounts two reports, one on fire insurance, the other on life insurance, etc.

The set of printed reports is incomplete in the auditor's office, but complete (1871-1910) in the commissioner's office. There are two volumes of insurance laws, issued, one in 1884, the other in 1908, at hand in the commission's office.

OFFICE OF THE STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

The State board of equalization was created by act May 4, 1888. It is required to publish an annual report. Its chairman and secretary certify to the auditor the rates determined by the board; he

makes out a certificate of the board's action and transmits it to the county clerks, to be by them affixed to the assessors' books as the warrant of authority to the sheriffs, or collectors, for the collection of taxes.

In the auditor's office are the printed reports from 1895 to 1910.

TREASURER'S OFFICE.

In Miss Hasse's Index, pages 167-169, the location of the treasurer's printed reports in the public documents is given.

There are no printed reports kept in the treasurer's office, and the file in the library is incomplete.

The manuscript records, except those in current use, are kept in the vault beneath the office. They are in confusion, on the shelves and on the floor, and many of them are covered with mold.

RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS' OFFICE.

The railroad commission was created by act of legislature April 21, 1880 (amended Apr. 29, 1880), which provided that the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint, for a term of two years, three commissioners; one to represent the agricultural interests, one the mercantile and manufacturing or mining, and one the railroad interests.

The reports are made to the governor annually or more frequently on or before December 1.

The file of printed reports in the office is not complete. Thirty volumes have been issued, 1880-1909. Of these 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 14 are missing. Of the manuscript reports the following are in the office:

- Minutes of the regular meetings, 1892-1910. Those preceding 1892 are missing.
- Testimony taken before the railroad commission at Campbellsburg, November 2, 1895.
- Proceedings of the railroad commission, Louisville, January 12, 1900. An investigation of various complaints filed by shippers.
- Proceedings of the railroad commission, Louisville, January 26, 1900, concerning local freight rates to Louisville.
- Investigation of L. & N. rates, February 6, 1902.
- Investigation of the operation and management of the affairs of the railroad corporations doing business in Kentucky (Louisville), September 2, 1902.
- Proceedings of the commission January 3, 1905, Mount Sterling. Coal rates. *Adkins Coal Co. et al v. C. & O. and Ashland Coal and Iron Railroads.*
- Proceedings of the commission, February 25, 1905, Ashland. Discussion and statements concerning A. C. & I. coal rates. Complaints, discussion, and statements concerning Paintsville rates.
- Proceedings of the commission, February 27, 1905, Owensboro. *W. A. Guenther & Sons v. L. & N., I. C., L. H. & St. L. Railroads.* Hearing runs through February, March, and April.
- Proceedings of the commission, March 10, 1905, Paris. Hemp and seed rates to the East. *E. F. Spears & Sons, complainants, L. & N. Railroad, defendant.*

- Hearing before the commission at Russellville, May 8, 1905. Russellville and Adairville coal and tobacco rates.
- Proceedings of the commission, May 23, 1905. Shelbyville express rates.
- Proceedings of the commission, August 10, 1905, Frankfort. Russellville coal rates, Bardstown Branch passenger rates, Ashland freight depot.
- Proceedings of the afternoon session of the commission, November 13, 1905. General rate case.
- Proceedings of the commission, April 12, 1908, Louisville. J. Ed. Guenther et al. and Norman Lumber Co. et al. v. L. & N. and I. C. Railroads.
- Undated proceedings of the commission. Case of the Railroad Commission v. The Atlantic Coast Line Co.

In the metal filing cases are accident reports, tariff sheets, and annual reports of each railroad within the State from 1900 to 1910.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF PRISON COMMISSIONERS.

The board of prison commissioners was created by act March 5, 1898, and reports annually to the governor. The printed reports, 1898-1909, are on file in the board's office. Of the manuscript documents, there are the minute books in two volumes, 1898-1910, and the weekly reports from the penitentiaries.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL OF CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

A board of control of charitable institutions was created by act March 10, 1894. Its function is to manage and govern the three asylums for the insane, and the institute for the feeble-minded. It consists of four members appointed by the governor by and with the consent of the senate. It was made a bipartisan board by act March 21, 1908. It reports to the governor, and through him to the legislature, annually to 1909, biennially thereafter. But three reports have been issued, 1906-1909, and these are on file in the office.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE.

The legislature of 1908 reorganized this department, and ordered a biennial report to be submitted from it to the governor.

Previous to that time the opinions delivered by the attorney general were not preserved in the office, and in only a few instances had they been preserved in the departments to which they specifically applied.

One printed biennial report has been issued, 1908-9. The correspondence and opinions are now indexed. All cases in different courts are now indexed.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The department of agriculture includes the bureau of agriculture, labor, and statistics, and the board of agriculture, forestry, and immigration.

The office of commissioner of agriculture, labor, and statistics was created by the constitution of 1891. The commissioner reports for the department biennially to the legislature.

By act March 17, 1902, he was authorized to appoint a labor inspector who should also act as statistician.

The board of agriculture, forestry, and immigration was created by act March 21, 1906. It consists of nine members, of whom two are the commissioner of agriculture, labor, and statistics and the director of the experiment station. The remainder of the board consists of "one intelligent citizen from each appellate court district." The commissioner is chairman of the board, and the board is advisory to the commissioner.

The board also acts as the forestry commission and the immigration committee of the State.

There are in the office—

1906-1910, a complete file of commissioners' printed reports since the organization of the board of agriculture, forestry, and immigration.

1903-1909, a complete file of labor inspectors' printed reports.

1906-1910, reports of farmers' State institutes, printed.

1896-1910 (Apr. 1-Dec. 1), monthly crop reports, printed.

The forestry reports are published, the first in the commissioner's sixteenth report, the second in the eighteenth, and the third is published separately.

The compiler did not find in the department of agriculture or the agricultural experiment station a complete file of reports of the department or of the reports of the old bureau of agriculture, horticulture, and statistics, 1877-1889, but the file of the bureau in the State library is almost complete. The report of the bureau was made annually to the governor. Neither were the reports made to the legislature by the State Agricultural Society found,¹ except the first and second, 1856-57 and 1858-59; the first is in the State library, and both are in the experiment station library. The first contains an account of the organization of a State agricultural society in 1838, which in annual meetings, 1838-1841, petitioned the legislature to provide for the establishing of a school of agriculture. The meeting of 1841 was its last.

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.

A complete file of the printed reports of the agricultural experiment station, 1885-1910, is in the station library in Lexington. The file of the bulletins issued by the station is also complete.

Neither the reports nor the bulletins are on file, either in the library or in the department of agriculture, at Frankfort.

¹ First report is to be found in "Collected documents," vol. 2, 1877, in the library.

STATE INSPECTOR AND EXAMINER'S OFFICE.

The office of State inspector and examiner was created by act January 13, 1893. The inspector investigates the charitable and penal institutions of the State, and all public offices which handle State revenues. He may report concerning officials at any time to the governor; he reports concerning institutions annually. His investigations of the accounts of the auditor and treasurer are published by the governor semiannually in two newspapers selected by him.

No reports are on file in the office.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

State provision for education in Kentucky dates from 1780, when Virginia vested in a board of trustees the control of 8,000 acres of escheated lands for a public school in Kentucky County.

1783, the State increased the number of trustees, named the school Transylvania Seminary,¹ and gave it additional lands.

1786, one-sixth of the surveyors' fees in Kentucky were granted to the seminary.

1791, a lottery was authorized for raising \$500 to erect an academy to Transylvania Seminary.

1798, February 10, the General Assembly of Kentucky passed "An act for the endowment of certain seminaries of learning," etc. The county courts in several counties were authorized to locate for each of these counties 6,000 acres of vacant lands for the establishment and support of county academies. It was further provided that all the unappropriated lands in Kentucky lying on the south side of Kentucky River below Obey's River be reserved by the general assembly, to be appropriated as they may hereafter, from time to time, think fit, to the use of seminaries of learning throughout the different parts of this Commonwealth. Following the passage of this act, 114,000 acres were donated to other seminaries.

1805, December 2, it was enacted "that the several county courts of counties in which academies have not been established, or for the benefit of which no appropriation of land has been made, shall and are hereby authorized to have located, surveyed, and patented, of any vacant lands in this Commonwealth, 6,000 acres for the use of such school as shall hereafter be established within either of the said counties."

1816-1821, every regular message of the governor urged the importance of general education, and the necessity of providing free schools, accessible to every child.

1821, December 18, an act was approved which provided "that one-half the clear profits that have arisen, or may hereafter arise, to the State from the operation of the Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky be, and the same is hereby, set apart and appropriated as a fund, which shall be known by the name of the "Literary fund," and forever maintained as such, for the establishment and support of a system of general education, to be distributed in just proportion to all the counties of this State, and applied to said purpose, under such regulations as the legislature may devise and adopt."

1822, William T. Barry, chairman of a committee appointed to recommend an educational policy, reported to the legislature the outline of a plan for a public-school system. It was accompanied by letters on the subject from John Adams,

¹ Transylvania Seminary was consolidated with Kentucky Academy under the name Transylvania University by act approved Dec. 22, 1798.

Thomas Jefferson, Ex-President Madison, Robert Y. Hayne, etc., and was enthusiastically adopted.

1822-1830, governors' messages continue annually to urge the establishing of a uniform system of public schools.

1830, January 29, an act was approved "to encourage the general diffusion of education" by establishing a uniform system of public schools.

1838, February 16, it was resolved to establish a common-school system. Section 2 of this act provides that the secretary of state, the attorney general, and "a superintendent of public instruction, to be nominated by the governor and approved by the Senate, shall be, and they are hereby, constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of the 'board of education for the State of Kentucky.'" The superintendent was to hold office for two years and to submit an annual report to the legislature.

1847, an act was passed which directed the governor to issue a new bond for all arrears of interest due on the school fund, and provided for a vote of the people on taxation for the schools. The people voted in favor of taxation.

1850, the new constitution provided for an inviolable school fund.

1859, Supt. Richardson reports that only one of the endowed county academies has survived the general wreck.

1865, the Agricultural and Mechanical College established as a college of Transylvania University.

1878, A. and M. College ceases to be a part of Transylvania University.

1893, May 22, an act was approved providing a normal school for colored people.

1908, March, an act was approved providing for two normal schools for whites.

1908, March 24, an act was approved requiring the establishment within two years of one or more county high schools by the boards of education in each county.

1908, March, an act was approved changing the name of the Agricultural and Mechanical College to the State University of Kentucky.

The following printed records are found in the superintendent's office:

School laws, 13 volumes. Issued at intervals between 1837 and 1908.

Legislative documents, 48 volumes, 1841-1895. From 1841 to 1848 the page upon which the education report begins is noted on the back of the volume. After 1848 the education report fills the volume. Reports for the following years are missing: 1876, 1881, 1891, 1892, 1893.

Reports of the superintendent¹ of public instruction for the years—

1859-1862. 1 volume.

1867, 1868, 1869. 1 volume each.

1871. 1 volume.

1871-1875. 1 volume.

1875. 1 volume.

1877-78. 1 volume.

1879. 1 volume.

1880-81. 1 volume.

1886-1888. 1 volume.

1891, 1893. 1 volume each.

1894-95, 1896-97. 1 volume each.

1900-1901, 1902-3, 1904-5, 1906-7, 1908-9. 1 volume each.

School census reports as follows: 1867, 1871, 1875, 1879, 1880-81, 1886-1888.

¹ The superintendent's first report is in senate journal, 1838-39, appendix, J. J. Bullock, first superintendent.

The second report is in the collected documents, 1840, B. B. Smith, superintendent. He recommends establishing normal schools. For succeeding reports see legislative documents as noted above.

Photographs of public schools. 2 volumes. No date, but apparently about 1895.
 Apportionment tables, white and colored children. 13 volumes. White, 1860-1909; colored, 1875-1909. From the white tables, 1860, 1866, 1875, 1877, 1882 are missing. From the colored tables, 1877 and 1888 are missing.

The superintendent's report, 1842, recommends "the organization by law of a profession of teachers, analogous to the other learned professions; also the elevation of a number of common schools to the rank of academies, so that they may furnish a thorough English education, including the sciences connected with agriculture."

The superintendent's report, 1843, recommends that the teachers form societies to meet quarterly in each county; that at least two normal schools be established, and district school libraries containing "books of history, biography, travel, natural history, agriculture, mechanics," etc., "to neutralize the effect of the light, ephemeral productions which are covering the country like the sere leaves in autumn."

He calls attention to the desirability of employing "female teachers," a class "which has been much overlooked in Kentucky." "They have been generally employed in the Eastern States to teach the summer common schools, and their salaries have been generally about one-third less than the salaries of male teachers. But observation and experience both combine to prove the worth of female instruction until she is now recognized not only as his equal, but in many instances his superior."

He comments upon the apparent connection between illiteracy and crime, as shown from the penitentiary records since 1839.

He suggests the arousing of general interest in the common schools by the appointment in each judicial district of a gentleman of influence, whose duty it shall be to bring together the people of the district and to address them upon the subject of common schools.

The superintendent's report, 1845, recommends better houses, more beautiful within and without, better equipment, improved sanitation, the beautifying of the school grounds. It is the language of the recent southern educational renaissance.

The superintendent's report, 1864, notes the loss to the teaching force of the young men who have entered the army and the consequent increase in the female teaching force. He deploras the tendency to pay these women "according to their sex," not according to the value of their services. "Why this depreciation of the value of the labor of women? Does it result from any principle of justice or right? Does it spring from any sentiment of humanity or religion? No; it is a relic of another and a barbarous age—a species of wrong which ought to be condemned by every enlightened man and woman in the land."

His report gives a table showing the progress of the schools, 1841-1864. A meeting is called at Lexington for the organization of the State teachers' association.

The following manuscript records are chiefly in the vault:

Correspondence, 11 volumes, March 7, 1872-October 19, 1893, with the following periods uncovered: September, 1880-February, 1886; December, 1886-July, 1888; November, 1888-April, 1889; February, 1891-August, 1891.

Undated correspondence, Superintendent Z. E. Smith. 1 volume.

Attorney General's opinions, 1880-1891. 2 volumes.

Annual settlements by counties, 1872-1899.

Annual settlements, 1900-1909. 9 volumes. Accounts before 1872 kept in loose manuscript.

Day book, white, 1875-1892. 3 volumes.

Day book, colored, 1871-1903. 4 volumes.

- Day book, accounts with counties.
- Day book, accounts with A. and M. College.
- Ledger, white, 1874-1898. 1 volume.
- Ledger, colored, 1870-1884. 1 volume.
- Ledger, by counties, 1870-1873. 1 volume.
- Census reports, white and colored, 1900-1907. 8 volumes.
- Cash book, 1873-74. 1 volume.
- Annual reports of county school superintendents, 1900-1908. 8 volumes.
- Annual reports of city school superintendents, 1900-1908. 2 volumes.
- County white and colored school statistics, 1892. 1 volume.
- Lists of common-school graduates, 1898.
- Lists of applicants for position of county superintendent, with examination grades of candidates, 1897.
- Similar lists of applicants for teachers' certificates, 1886-1890, 1901-2. 2 volumes.
- Money-refunded stubs, 1905-1907.
- Salary-warrant stubs, 1900-1908.
- Table of surpluses and delinquencies of school districts, 1864-1874.
- Record of items sent to county superintendents, 1891-92.
- Specimen examination papers of Ballard, Casey, and Woodford Counties, 1893.
- Samples of drawing, etc., from colored State Normal School and Chandler Normal School.

LIBRARY.

By act November 9, 1820, a public library was established under the supervision of the secretary of state, and in his office or in such other place as the general assembly should designate.

An act of January 25, 1833, provided that a librarian be elected annually at the same time and in the same manner as the treasurer. He was to report annually to the legislature.

By act of March 1, 1836, the librarian must make a catalogue of the books and report annually to the legislature within the first week of the session.

By act of February 16, 1838, the books were to be numbered; 50 copies of the acts and 25 of the journals of each session should be given to the library.¹

The duties of the librarian were complex from the beginning. He was "Superintendent of the public property of the Commonwealth at the seat of government"; he was to protect from depredation and injury the capitol and all other public property not placed in charge of others; he was to air, clean, and keep from injury the various rooms, carpeting, and furniture in the capitol; he was to keep the public square around the capitol clean and in good order.

In the report of 1881-1883, the librarian, Miss Cook, asks for a watchman, because of "idle men and boys who indulge in unseemly conduct on the State grounds and who resist the assistant librarian when he attempts to expel them. The local police have been vainly

¹ If this law were made applicable to the reports made by the various departments of the State, it would aid in preserving the records. But since there is no law requiring that they be furnished the librarian, nor that he collect them, any complete file to be found in the library is more the result of accident than design.

asked for assistance." She further protests against the requirement of the law that the librarian exercise semistewardship over the executive mansion, saying that "a man capable of taking his place at the helm of state should be trusted to manage his own household." These duties continued, however, until by act of February 24, 1902, the librarian was relieved by a custodian of buildings.

The library is uncatalogued except for a printed list of books, which is far from complete.

A complete file of librarian's reports was not found by the compiler. They appear irregularly in the early journals and legislative documents, and beginning with 1881 the following separate printed reports were found:

1881-1883. 1 volume.	1891-1895. 1 volume.
1883. 1 volume.	1895. 1 volume.
1885. 1 volume.	1897. 1 volume.
1886. 1 volume.	1899. 1 volume.
1887. 1 volume.	1902. 1 volume.
1888. 1 volume.	1903. 1 volume.
1889. 1 volume.	1906. 1 volume.
1891. 1 volume.	1908. 1 volume.

The compiler looked also for the following reports in the library and found the sets incomplete: Those of the auditor, treasurer, board of health, railroad commissioner, insurance commissioner, inspector and examiner, superintendent of public instruction, commissioner of agriculture, agricultural experiment station, State University of Kentucky (formerly the A. and M. College), the various penal and charitable institutions, board of equalization, adjutant general.

The reports of the prison commission were complete from 1898 to 1907; of the labor inspector, 1903, 1905, 1907; of the inspector of mines, 1884-1906, except the third; of the commissioner of agriculture, horticulture, and statistics, 1878-1907 (first to seventeenth), except the eighth (1888) and the thirteenth (1899).

The volumes are also noted in the sets of journals, legislative documents and acts, in the hope that from some source all the files may be made complete.

HOUSE JOURNALS.¹

1792, second session. MS. (Secretary of state's office.)

1793, November 4-December 21, 1793. MS.

1794, November 3-December 20, 1794. MS. (Secretary of state's office.)

1795, November 2-December 21, 1795.

¹ These lists may be supplemented by the following printed journals found in the library of Col. Reuben T. Durrett, Louisville: House and senate journals of the first session of the general assembly, held at Lexington, June 4, 1792-June 29, 1792, 1 volume; also 1 volume containing house and senate journals (Frankfort), Nov. 4, 1793-Dec. 21, 1793 (the senate journal closes Nov. 19 because of the small-pox); house and senate journals, Nov. 3, 1794-Dec. 20, 1794.

- 1796, November 7–December 19, 1796. (Secretary of state's office.)
 1797, February 6–March 1, 1797. (Secretary of state's office.)
 1797, November 27–February 13, 1798. MS. (Secretary of state's office.)
 1798, November 5–December 22, 1798.
 1801, November 2–December 19, 1801.
 1804, November 5–December 19, 1804. (Bound with senate journal.)

From 1805 to 1908 the house journals are to be found in the library.

SENATE JOURNALS.¹

- 1795, November 2–December 21, 1795.
 1798, January 1–February 13, 1798. (Secretary of state's office.)
 1801, November 2–December 19, 1801.
 1803, November 9 (begins p. 9)–December 27, 1803.

From 1803 to 1908 the senate journals are complete in the library.

COLLECTED DOCUMENTS.

- The collected documents, entitled "Reports, documents, or legislative documents," begin with 1840–41 and run down to 1906–7.
 The volume 1859–60 contains the history of the penitentiary from 1798 to 1860.
 The two volumes of 1865 contain the report of the Fisk investigating committee made to the governor (Gen. Clinton B. Fisk was head of the Freedman's Bureau in Kentucky) and many contested-election cases.
 The volume of 1872 contains the report of the committee on the "Interference of Federal authority with the Government of the State of Louisiana."
 1877, volume 2 contains the first annual report of the bureau of agriculture, horticulture, and statistics.
 1879, volume 3 contains the first annual report of the State board of health.
 One volume of the reports of 1881–82 (not numbered) contains Gov. Luke P. Blackburn's list of pardons.
 1888, volume 1 contains the correspondence between the governors of Kentucky and West Virginia concerning the Pike County troubles, the adjutant general's report concerning them, and the majority and minority reports and testimony taken by the Rowan County investigating committee.
 1903, volume 2 contains the first biennial report of the labor inspector.
 1906–7, volume 2 contains first and third annual reports of Kentucky State board of control.

ACTS.

1792. In one volume are the acts of the first and second sessions (the first following the second) of the first general assembly, and the acts of the first session of the second general assembly.²
 1792–1807. Littell's Statutes. 3 volumes. First volume, acts to 1797, inclusive; second volume, acts, 1798–1801; third volume, acts, 1802–1807; volume 3 contains act granting land to Transylvania Company.
 1792–1795. In one volume are bound acts of 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795. Contains also act of Virginia "erecting the district of Kentucky into an independent State," December 18, 1789; also the "Constitution, or form of government for the State of Kentucky," ordained and established by the convention at Danville, April 19, 1792.
 1802. 1 volume acts passed at first session of eleventh general assembly.

¹ See above, p. 362, note.

² There is also a volume of the acts passed at the first and second sessions of the first general assembly, of the second general assembly, and of the third in the superintendent of public instruction's office.

1808-1816. Littell's Statutes. Volumes IV and V.

1817-1874. Published annually by authority. Complete.

1874-1908. Published biennially. Complete.

There are no manuscript records in the library, with the exception of the following:

The old court records already mentioned.¹

Record book; contains "Pleas at Lexington before Hon. Geo. Muter and associate judges of the court of appeals," October 28, 1793, to June, 1795. The case of *Wilkinson v. Marshall* is given, and of *Campbell v. The Trustees of Transylvania University*, etc.

Order book. May term, 1793, to May term, 1795.

Orders, court of appeals held in statehouse, Frankfort, May 5, 1800-May 29, 1802.

One indexed volume of fees, February, 1793-November, 1793.

One indexed volume of fees, July, 1794-December, 1794.

One indexed volume of fees, April, 1807-March, 1809.

Fee book, 1830, April-December.

Index to order book for April term, 1820.

Index to order book for April term, 1821.

Index to order book for October term, 1821.

Index to order book for October term, 1825.

Index to order book for April term, 1826.

Index to order book for October term, 1826.

Index to order book for April term, 1827.

Index to order book for October term, 1827.

Index to order book for April term, 1828.

Index to order book for April term, 1837.

Index to order book for October term, 1837.

Court of appeals minute book, October term, 1825.

No claim is made that this first report on the Kentucky archives is exhaustive. On the contrary it is hoped that many missing documents may be found as the collections in the various offices are more systematically arranged and as the cellars are cleared in the old capitol. Moreover, the points of interest noted are those which came under the observation of the compiler during a necessarily rapid survey. Doubtless matters of equal interest have been overlooked.

In closing the compiler would acknowledge gratefully the uniform courtesy extended to her by the officials in the capitol. She was given every possible opportunity to examine the records, and in addition was frequently assisted by some one attached to the office in which she worked.

¹ Cf. above, p. 338.

ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

APPENDIX D.

REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE
OF NEBRASKA.

By ADDISON E. SHELDON,

*Director, Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau,
Lecturer, University of Nebraska,*

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

A. E. WARREN, W. H. HODGKIN, W. E. HANNAN,
AND ESTHER CRAWFORD.



CONTENTS.

	Page.
Introduction.....	369
Governor.....	372
Adjutant general.....	374
Attorney general.....	380
Auditor.....	384
Board of public lands and buildings.....	393
Bureau of labor census and industrial statistics.....	403
Food, dairy, and drug commission.....	403
Game and fish commission.....	403
Public library commission.....	404
Secretary of state.....	404
State banking board.....	411
State board of agriculture.....	411
State board of charities and correction.....	412
State board of health.....	412
State board of irrigation.....	412
State board of pharmacy.....	413
State Horticultural Society.....	413
State inspector of oils.....	413
State library.....	414
State railway commission.....	416
State treasurer.....	416
State veterinarian.....	418
Superintendent of public instruction.....	418
Supreme court.....	419



THE ARCHIVES OF NEBRASKA.

INTRODUCTION.

The earliest written documents we have existing in Nebraska are copies of commissions issued by the Spanish governors at St. Louis to Nebraska Indian chiefs—the first one dating from 1795, being in Spanish, the next in French, and still a third dating from the purchase by Jefferson, being in both French and English. These commissions are now in the possession of the Nebraska State Historical Society and were rescued from destruction by Gov. Robert W. Furnas while agent for the Omaha Indians in the years 1864–1866.

Following the purchase of Nebraska by President Jefferson in 1803 as a part of the Province of Louisiana, came the explorations by Lewis and Clark in 1804–1806, by Maj. Long in 1819–1820, by Col. Fremont in 1842–1845, and the establishment of fixed fur-trading posts by Manuel Lisa, the American Fur Co., and rival fur-trading companies in the period from 1807 to 1840. The archives for this period of Nebraska's history and exploration are partly in the papers of the American Fur Co. at St. Louis and New York City, and partly in the departments at Washington. They have been used by Washington Irving in his *Astoria and Adventures of Capt. Bonneville* and by Capt. H. M. Chittenden in his volumes upon the western fur trade and Missouri River steamboat navigation.

On May 30, 1854, President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, giving political organization and boundaries to the Territory of Nebraska. In the same year treaties with Nebraska Indian tribes opened up for white settlement a large part of the territory adjacent to the Missouri River.¹ There was an immediate rush across the river of ambitious squatters and town-site empire founders. Claims were staked out in what were considered the most eligible sites for cities. On October 7, 1854, Nebraska's first Territorial governor, Francis Burt, arrived at Bellevue, then the principal settlement of the Territory, consisting of a few log houses, an Indian trading-post, and a Presbyterian Indian mission. Gov. Burt arrived in Nebraska a sick man and died on October 18, 1854, two days after he had taken the oath of office. He was succeeded by Secretary of State Thomas B. Cuming. An immediate contest for the location of the Territorial

¹ Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th annual report, 1899, pt. 2 p. 791.

capital ensued between Bellevue and the new village of Omaha, just started 8 miles above Bellevue. By the proclamation of acting Gov. Cuming, December 20, 1854, Omaha was designated as the place of meeting for the first Territorial legislature.¹ The first Territorial archives were kept by Gov. Cuming wherever he chanced to be. The first legislature met in Omaha January 16, 1855, designated Omaha as the seat of government, and the Territorial archives were transferred to the first Territorial capitol building—a two-story brick building about 33 by 75 feet, costing about \$3,000. This building was near Ninth and Farnam Streets in the older part of the city. It was succeeded during the period of 1856–1864 by a later structure built upon the hill, where now stands the Omaha High School. These two buildings held the growing body of early Nebraska Territorial archives from 1855 until the relocation of the capital.

March 1, 1867, President Andrew Johnson made proclamation declaring the State of Nebraska admitted to the Union. On June 14, 1867, the legislature then assembled at Omaha passed an act to provide for the location of the seat of government and the erection of public buildings thereat. Three commissioners were appointed with authority to carry out the legislative will. On the 29th day of July of the same year these commissioners assembled in the log cabin of W. T. Donovan, on the site of the present city of Lincoln, then an open prairie, located the capital there, and on the 14th day of August, the surveys having been made, these commissioners designated the present statehouse square of four blocks as the site of the capitol building.

November 10, 1868, ground was broken for the construction of the statehouse, and December 3, 1868, Gov. David Butler issued a proclamation announcing the removal of the seat of government from Omaha to Lincoln, and ordering the transportation of the archives of the State to the new capitol.² The archives were boxed at Omaha, loaded in freight wagons and hauled overland, a distance of about 65 miles. Some of the teams were 10 days on the road. The moving of archives continued through the winter, for, on January 8, 1869, Gov. Butler, in his address to the legislature, said: "On the 4th of March next the State will have removed from the old statehouse at Omaha all its movable property and have ceased to occupy [the grounds] for the purpose originally designed."³

The old red sandstone capitol building served to house the archives of the State of Nebraska from 1869 until its gradual replacement by the present statehouse under the series of acts of the legislatures of 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, and 1887. The present building was completed

¹ Laws, resolutions, and memorials of the territorial and State legislatures of Nebraska, 1886, v. 1, p. 12.

² Nebraska, Senate journal, 1869, p. 309.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

about 1889, the old building having been torn down about 1884. In the long period of years between 1855 and 1900, in the transfer of the earliest archives from Bellevue to the old first capitol at Omaha and their transfer thence to the second capitol at Omaha, in the journey by ox team over rough roads from Omaha to Lincoln in 1868 and 1869, in the unloading into the old red sandstone capitol at Lincoln, in the tearing down of the old red sandstone capitol and its replacement by the present structure in the period of 1880-1889, in the process of the location of new offices and the taking over of part of the documents and duties of old offices—in all these, the early Territorial archives were badly mixed and lost.

In the year 1901 the writer began a search through the various vaults and deposits of rubbish in the present statehouse for the lost minutes of the constitutional convention of 1875. In the course of that search, lasting for a number of months, many of the earlier documents were found in out-of-the-way places, entirely removed from connection with the departments to which they belonged. In some cases they were badly damaged. Some of these were restored to the offices where they belonged, and others, including the minutes of the constitutional convention of 1871, were, by permission of the legislature, removed to the rooms of the State Historical Society, to be edited for publication.¹

The condition of the early archives still remains bad, with a few exceptions. Many of the records of the early State period are huddled into boxes and pigeonholes without adequate labels and so intermingled that it is impossible to give a correct list of all except with such wearisome detail of enumeration as would defeat the purpose of this reference list. A rapid examination has been made in these cases and the most important documents thus disclosed have been itemized. The remainder must await, for their recognition, the time of proper assortment.

In the catalogue which follows, the physical location of the different receptacles of papers is not revealed. It would not remain constant if it were revealed; for in the crowding of the statehouse with new offices and boards during the past 20 years there has been continual movement of archives from one part of the building to another, and this process is still going on. The catalogue has been arranged in alphabetic order of subjects, and the location of documents as shown in the list by various vaults and rooms is no index to their probable location a few months or years hence. In the main, one document or collection of documents has been entered once only in this list; but in a few cases, notably in the list headed board of public lands and buildings, the same entry has been duplicated under a second or even third subject when its importance seems to warrant

¹ Nebraska Constitutional Conventions, ed. by A. E. Sheldon, 1906 to date; v. 1, pp. 7-15.

such a course. The entire list has been limited to the manuscript archives in the capitol building.

A few words personal upon the work of preparation may serve to close this introductory sketch. The first search among Nebraska State archives, as already indicated, was made in the year 1901 by the writer. In the summer of 1903 several weeks were spent in making, with the aid of an assistant, a preliminary list of material in the statehouse basement vaults. The manuscript of that list was lost by the person having it in charge. In the preparation of the present list the assistance is acknowledged of Messrs. A. E. Warren and W. H. Hodgkin, students in the Law College of the University of Nebraska. Special acknowledgment is hereby made of the services of Mr. W. E. Hannan, of the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, and Miss Esther Crawford, of the same bureau, in the final arrangement of the material.

GOVERNOR.

Francis Burt, first territorial governor, began his term of office October 16, 1854. Most of the existing important records of transactions by the territorial governors are in the office of secretary of state. Some are in the adjutant general's office; a few are in possession of the Nebraska State Historical Society; others were carried away and scattered. The governor's office does not seem to have been one of record in territorial days.

David Butler, first governor of the State, entered upon his duties February 20, 1867, a few days prior to the proclamation of statehood. Not until 1879 do regular correspondence files of the governor's office appear in the records of that office and they remain incomplete until 1900. Since that date all the records are complete and systematically arranged.

The requisition files, extradition papers, and bond records are in existence, but in disorganized form prior to 1901. Even the existing earlier files of correspondence are in many cases illegible.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Auditor* of public accounts. Annual report, 1864. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")
 2. *Bartley*, J. S. Petition for pardon from sentence to State penitentiary for embezzlement of State funds. 1901.
 3. *Battleship Nebraska*. Correspondence, 1905-7, relative to dedication and launching.
 4. *Bonds*. State officers' bonds, 1901 to date. (No prior records known.)
 5. *Boundary* commission, 1899. Report relative to boundary disputes between Missouri and Nebraska.
 6. *Boundary* commission, 1901. Report relative to boundary disputes between Iowa and Nebraska.
- Convict* labor. See Penitentiary.

Correspondence:

7. General correspondence received, 1880 to date.
8. General correspondence sent, 1879 to date; copies. 1 volume.
9. Public letter files complete, 1900 to date. (Prior to 1900, files incomplete and ill-kept.)
10. *Deeds*. Records of the commissioner of deeds, 1879 to date. 1 volume.
11. *Delegates* to public conferences and congresses. Records, 1872 to date. File boxes.
12. *Election* corruptions. Burlington and Missouri River Railroad investigation, 1877; charges alleging corrupt practice in the election of United States Senator from Nebraska. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")
13. *Electoral* college. Proceedings, 1900 to date.
14. *Expositions*. Reports relative to the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark, Trans-Mississippi, and Buffalo Expositions.

Governor:

15. Annual message of Gov. Paddock, 1861, with accompanying documents.
16. Annual message of Gov. Saunders, January 5, 1865.
17. Appointments, 1872 to date. Bound volumes.
18. Proclamations in original handwriting, July 6, 1866, to date. Bound volumes.
19. *Insane* hospital, Hastings. Investigation, 1891; testimony. 1 volume.
20. *Insane* hospital, Norfolk. Investigation, 1906; testimony. Bound volumes.
21. *Irrigation*. State board of irrigation. Biennial report, 1901-1902. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")

Library. See State library.

Military and naval:

22. First regiment. Nebraska volunteers, 1898-99. Original vouchers and war claims. (Filed with item 9 above.)
23. Popular subscription lists for defraying expenses of transport from San Francisco to Lincoln. 1899.
24. Muster rolls of the various military organizations of the State, 1861 to date.
25. Spanish-American War reports, 1898-99. (Filed with item 9 above.)

Miscellaneous: Under this name are several documents, the individual items of which will be found under their specific subject headings.

26. *Notaries* public. Original applications, signatures, and cancellations, 1872 to date.
27. *Pardons* and commutations issued by the governor, 1899 to date. Bound volumes. (Prior to 1899, records of pardon and commutation are contained in the biennial messages of the governors. All original petitions are on file.)

Penitentiary:

28. Complete records, June 3, 1879 to date. File boxes.
29. Monthly reports of the warden, 1903 to date. (Records prior to 1903 in old vault.)
30. *Prison* labor contracts, 1905, 1909. File boxes.
31. *Railroad* rates. Letter from John L. Webster on the maximum rate law, January 4, 1894; also letter from Attorney General Churchill on same subject, December 18, 1894.
32. *Requisition* and extradition papers, 1877 to date. (Files of 1877-1900 disarranged; 1901 to date in orderly form.)

Resources of Nebraska:

33. Correspondence relative to coal finds in Nebraska.
34. Reports from 30 counties on resources of the State, 1869.
35. *San Francisco* relief, 1906. Complete record of Nebraska's contributions, with receipts for same.
36. *State* institutions. Semiannual reports, 1893 to date. Bound volumes.
37. State library. Annual report, 1864. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")

38. *Torrens* system. Report of commission to investigate the Torrens system of conveyancing, 1901.
39. *Treasurer*, territorial. Annual report, 1864. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")

ADJUTANT GENERAL.

The act of February 15, 1864, created the office of adjutant general for the Territory of Nebraska, with the magnificent salary of \$300 per annum. The occasion was the great Sioux and Cheyenne Indian war on the Nebraska border. The act of the State legislature of February 15, 1869, continued the office. On March 17, 1871, the legislature abolished the office and provided for the transfer of its archives to the custody of the secretary of state. By the act of February 28, 1881, the office was restored and has had continuous existence since that time.

There is a fairly complete record of the military history of the Territory and State in the archives of this office. No systematic arrangement for use has been made of the earlier papers. Buried in their pigeonholes and filing boxes is a most interesting mass of unpublished material on the Indian wars and the pioneer period of Nebraska history. The papers of more recent years, including the Spanish-American War period, are complete and well organized.

ARCHIVES.

Adjutant general:

1. Annual reports to the United States War Department, 1895-1908. 1 box.
2. Biennial reports, 1871, 1879-1884, 1887-1906, 1907-8. 13 volumes. (Printed proof sheets.)
3. Bills of transportation rendered to the State and paid by the United States Government, 1903-1905. 1 box.
4. Claims and bills paid, 1882-1893. 1 box.
5. Voucher record and distribution of expenditures, military department, 1905-1909. 1 volume.
6. *Civil War*. Battle flags of Nebraska regiments in the Civil War; contained in a large glass case.

Civil War Volunteers:

7. Letters relating to the first man slain in the Civil War. 1 box.
8. Requests for certificates of service, 1861-1866. 1 box.
9. Roster of Nebraska volunteers, 1861-1869, compiled by Edgar S. Dudley, first lieutenant, Second United States Artillery. 1 volume. (The work was done by authority of Gov. Thayer, under the direction of Gen. A. V. Cole, and on a basis of thorough investigation. The names have, as far as possible, been arranged alphabetically and dates corrected according to the best official data obtainable. This information often differs in the original records; in such cases the best authority is followed after careful research, or the record made nearest the event in question. Names have been carefully examined and the spelling corrected from original enlistment papers or from signatures found in clothing books.)
10. Cavalry, First Regiment. Muster roll and papers relating to the regiment in service at Fort Kearney, 1864-65. 2 boxes.
11. Regimental book No. 7; general and special orders, January 5-July 27, 1866.
12. Regimental book No. 8; special orders, October 22, 1864.
13. Regimental book No. 9; letters, January 8, 1862-May 23, 1864.

14. Cavalry, First Regiment, Company B. Clothing book, 1864; being company book No. 6. (Afterwards used by Company A, First Nebraska Cavalry, Militia, 1869.)
15. Clothing book No. 2, 1864-65.
16. Descriptive book, 1861-1864. 2 volumes.
17. Descriptive book, 1862-63.
18. Descriptive book, 1864-65.
19. Cavalry, First Regiment, Company C. Clothing book No. 7, 1865-66.
20. Morning report book, 1862-1865, 1865-66.
21. Order book No. 8, September 28, 1865 (?)—June 13, 1865.
22. Cavalry, First Regiment, Co. D. Morning reports, 1861-1864.
23. Cavalry, Second Regiment, Co. E. Descriptive book No. 7, 1862-63.
24. Cavalry, Second Regiment, Co. I. Descriptive book No. 8, 1862-63.
25. Infantry, First Regiment. Property account of noncommissioned staff and band, 1862-63.
26. Regimental book No. 1; consolidated morning report, December 2, 1861—June 1863.
27. Regimental book No. 2; consolidated morning report, June 11, 1863—July 28, 1864.
28. Regimental book No. 3; general orders, December 31, 1861—July 13, 1864.
29. Regimental book No. 4; order book, January 1, 1862—August 18, 1864.
30. Regimental book No. 5; company orders, July 7, 1861—May 31, 1864.
31. Regimental book No. 6; orders and copies of telegrams, June 6, 1864—August 7, 1865.
32. Regimental book No. 10; letter book, August 4, 1865—June 6, 1866.
33. Regimental book No. 11; descriptive book as consolidated, July 10, 1865.
34. Regimental book No. 12; descriptive, 1861-1865.
35. Regimental book No. 13; post guard reports, 1861-1863.
36. Regimental book No. 14; letters received and indorsements, 1864-1866.
37. Infantry, First Regiment, Company A. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 2 boxes.
38. Papers relating to Company A, 1864. 1 box.
39. Infantry Regiment, Companies A, B. Papers relative to Companies A and B, 1864-65. 1 box.
40. Infantry, First Regiment, Company B. Clothing book No. 3, June 1, 1861—July 11, 1863.
41. Company book No. 2; order book, January 1, 1862—January 7, 1864.
42. Muster roll and papers, 1861-1865. 1 box.
43. Infantry, First Regiment, Company C. Company book No. 3; order book, January 1, 1862—September 29, 1865.
44. Company book No. 6; clothing book, 1861-1864.
45. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 2 boxes.
46. Infantry, First Regiment, Company D. Clothing book No. 4, July 1, 1862—February 15, 1863.
47. Company book No. 2; order book, July 28, 1862—June 4, 1864.
48. Company book No. 3; descriptive, 1861-1864.
49. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.
50. Papers relating to Company D, 1861-1866. 1 box.
51. Infantry, First Regiment, Company E. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.
52. Infantry, First Regiment, Company F. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box. (Some of the papers are with item 51 above.)
53. Infantry, First Regiment, Company G. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.

54. Infantry, First Regiment, Company H. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.
55. Infantry, First Regiment, Company I. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.
56. Infantry, First Regiment, Company K. Muster rolls and papers, 1861-1866. 1 box.
57. Infantry, Second Regiment, Companies A, B, C. Papers relating to Companies A, B, C, 1864-65.

Correspondence:

58. Letters, 1898-1909. 37 filing cases.
59. Letters, written to the judge advocate, 1896-1901.
60. Miscellaneous correspondence, 1855-1900. 6 boxes. (The earlier letters relate to Indian depredations and petitions by the settlers for protection. The others relate to the organization of volunteers. Among these letters are some written by J. Sterling Morton, Isham Reavis, Gov. Alvin Saunders, and J. H. Mason.)
61. Miscellaneous correspondence, 1864-1877. 1 box.
62. Telegrams received, 1898-99, 1901-1903. 3 boxes.
63. *Courts-martial*. Papers relating to court-martial proceedings, 1901-1905. 1 box.
64. *Dudley*, Edgar S., compiler. Roster of Nebraska Volunteers, 1861-1869; compiled from books, records, and documents on file in the office of the adjutant general. 1888. (Printed; unbound.)
65. *Grand Army* of the Republic. Papers relating to G. A. R. posts, 1890-91. 1 box.
- Indian outbreaks:*
66. Battle flags of Nebraska regiments in Indian wars; contained in large glass case.
67. Checks and receipts in payment of claims due to the Indian wars of 1891. 1 box.
68. Communications relative to the Indian uprisings, 1864-65, 1873-74, 1890-91. 1 box.
69. Communications, telegrams, etc., relative to the Sioux Indian War, 1891. 1 box.
70. Letters relating to Indian depredations and petitions by settlers for protection, 1855-1870 (?). (In box with item 60 above.)
71. Report of Gen. Colby on the Indian War of 1890-91. (In collection marked "Miscel. repts.")
72. *Judge advocate general*. Miscellaneous letters written to the judge advocate, 1896-1901. 1 box.

Maneuvers. See National Guard—Encampments and maneuvers.

Military board:

73. Duplicate vouchers and accounts paid and acted upon, 1899-1903. 2 boxes.
74. Proceedings, 1888, 1894-1908. 1 volume and 1 box.

Military instruction:

75. Papers regarding applications to United States Army schools, 1906. 1 box.
76. Papers relating to military departments of schools, 1890-91. (In box with item 65 above.)
77. Papers relating to University of Nebraska cadets, 1900-1901. 1 box.

Militia:

78. Annual reports to the United States War Department of all goods received and on hand, 1878-1881, 1887-88, 1891-1901. 2 boxes.
79. Letters received pertaining to the militia, 1908-9. 3 filing cases.
80. Papers relating to the inspection of the State militia, 1881-1909. 1 box.
81. Petitions to organize militia companies, 1877-1905. 2 boxes.
82. Roll of all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 in the Nebraska Militia, 1908; by counties. 1 box.

Militia Cavalry:

83. First Regiment. Muster rolls and papers, 1867-1869: 1 box.

84. First Regiment, Company A. Clothing book, 1869. (Originally opened as book No. 6 of Company B, First Regiment Nebraska Volunteer Cavalry, 1864.)

85. Muster rolls and papers, 1867-1869. 1 box.

Militia Infantry:

86. Otoe Rifles. Muster rolls, Nebraska City, 1877. 1 box.

Miscellaneous: Under this name in its variations are several collections of documents the individual items of which will be found under their specific subject headings.

Muster rolls: These will be found under the specific regimental and company names.

National Guard:

87. Bills, claims, and duplicate vouchers for claims, 1899-1900. 1 box.

88. Bonds for arms, accouterments, etc., 1886, 1893-1899. 1 box.

89. General and special orders, 1894-1898, 1900-1909. 5 volumes.

90. General orders, 1906. 1 volume.

91. Oath of officers, 1892-1898. 2 boxes.

92. Original enlistment papers, 1881 to date. 14 boxes.

93. Papers relating to independent companies, 1877-1900. 1 box.

94. Proceedings of the board of elections, 1905-1909. 3 boxes.

95. Proceedings of the board of survey, 1903-4. 1 box.

96. Receipts for armory rent, etc., 1896-1898. 2 boxes.

97. Requisitions and receipts from commanders for property issued to the N. N. G. 1888-1898. 1 box.

98. Rosters, 1898-1909. 1 box.

99. Statements of accounts with the United States Government, 1888-1899, 1904-1909. 2 boxes.

National Guard—Ambulance Corps:

100. Papers relating to the Ambulance Corps camp at the State fair, 1906. (In box with item 103 below.)

101. Muster and pay rolls for the monthly drills and encampments, 1886-1901, 1903. 3 boxes and 1 package.

102. Papers relating to camps of instruction, 1888-1898, 1907. 2 boxes.

103. Papers relating to camps of instruction, 1906, at Fort Riley, Rushville, and the Ambulance Corps at the State fair. 1 box.

104. 1891. Report of Adj. Gen. A. V. Cole on the annual encampment of the First Brigade N. N. G. at Grand Island.

105. 1895. Report of Gen. Colby on the annual encampment of the First Brigade N. N. G. at Hastings.

106. 1898. Papers relating to Camp Alvin Saunders. 1 box.

107. Requisitions and receipts for subsistence issued to Camp Alvin Saunders. 1 box.

108. 1899. Papers relating to Camp Stotsenburg, at Lincoln Park, Lincoln. 1 box.

109. 1900-1901. Papers relating to Camp Lee Forby, at Hastings. 1 box.

110. 1901. Papers relating to Camp Omaha. 1 box.

111. 1902. Report of the officers attending maneuvers at Fort Riley, Kans. 1 box.

112. 1903. Papers relating to Camp Pershing, at York. 1 box.

113. Papers relating to Camp Sanger, at Fort Riley. 1 box.

114. 1904. Papers relating to Camp Vifquain, at David City. 1 box.

115. 1905-6. Papers relating to Camp Amasa Cobb, at Kearney. 1 box.

116. *National Guard—Hospital Corps.* Descriptive roll book, 1903 to date. 1 volume.

117. *National Guard—Inspection.* Papers to the United States War Department and to the State on inspection of N. N. G. 1904-1906. 1 box.

National Guard—Quartermaster:

118. Account of United States property, 1878-1893. 2 volumes.

119. Annual invoice of United States property in the hands of N. N. G. 1877-1910. 10 boxes.
120. Itemized list of all property received from the State, 1895-1899, with value fixed as a basis of charge to the enlisted men. 1 box.
121. Storekeeper's journal, 1901-1909. 1 volume.
122. *National Guard—Signal Corps*. Descriptive roll book, 1902 to date. 1 volume.
National Guard—Cavalry:
123. First Regiment, Troop A. Descriptive roll book, 1887-1906. 4 volumes.
124. Papers relating to Troop A, at Milford, 1887-1900. 1 box.
125. Troop South Omaha. Descriptive roll book, 1902-1904. 1 volume.
National Guard—Infantry:
126. Papers relating to the State rifle team, 1905-1907. 1 box.
127. First Regiment. Descriptive books, 1877-1909. 7 volumes.
128. Enlistment papers of discharged men, 1900. 1 box.
129. General and special orders, 1881-1893, 1887-1895. 2 volumes.
130. Muster and pay rolls of the field, staff, and band, April 27-May 10, 1898.
131. Papers relating to the field, staff, and band, 1888-1898. 1 box.
132. Company A. Papers relating to Company A, at York. 1887-1892. 1 box.
133. Company B. Papers relating to Company B, at Sutton, 1891; at Fullerton, 1891-1897; at Stanton, 1901-1903. 3 boxes. (Regiment mustered out.)
134. Company C. Papers relating to Company C, at Beatrice and Omaha, 1889-1892. 1 box.
135. Company D. Papers relating to Company D, at Columbus, 1881-1884; at Lincoln, 1894-1902. 2 boxes.
136. Company E. Muster-in roll at Wahoo, 1881. 1 box.
137. Papers relating to Company E, at Fremont, 1884-1891; at David City and Wilber, 1895-1897. 2 boxes.
138. Company F. Papers relating to Company F, at Juniata, 1891-1895; at Madison, 1895-1898. 2 boxes.
139. Company G. Papers relating to Company G, at Geneva and Beatrice, 1882-1898. 1 box.
140. Company H. Papers relating to Company H, at Nelson, 1887-1898. 1 box.
141. Company I. Papers relating to Company I, at Bennett, 1890-1895. 1 box.
142. Company K. Papers relating to Company K, at Central City, 1882-1896; at Columbus, 1896-97. 2 boxes.
143. Company L. Papers relating to Company L, at Omaha, 1898. 1 box.
144. Company M. Papers relating to Company M, at Broken Bow, 1898. 1 box.
145. First and Second Regiments. Account of clothing and equipage, 1900-1906. 2 volumes.
146. General and special orders, 1881-1900. 1 volume.
147. Letters pertaining to First and Second Regiments N. N. G., February 1-July 1, 1907. 2 boxes.
148. Second Regiment. Descriptive books, 1887-1909. 9 volumes.
149. Enlistment papers of discharged men, 1900. 1 box.
150. General and special orders, 1887-1891. 1 volume.
151. Papers relating to the Second Regiment, 1888-1896. 1 box.
152. Company A. Papers relating to Company A, at Kearney, 1888-1896. 1 box.
153. Company B. Papers relating to Company B, at Ord and St. Paul, 1887-1900. 1 box.
154. Company C. Papers relating to Company C, at Nebraska City, 1887-1894. 1 box.
155. Company D. Papers relating to Company D, at Fairbury, 1886-1898. 1 box.
156. Descriptive roll book, Hastings Rifles, 1906-7. 1 volume.

157. Second Regiment. Company E. Papers relating to Company E, at Tecumseh, North Platte, and Chadron, 1893-1899. 1 box.
158. Company F. Papers relating to Company F, at O'Neill and Hay Springs, 1891-1894. 1 box.
159. Company G. Papers relating to Company G, at Omaha and Long Pine, 1888-1897. 1 box.
160. Company H. Papers relating to Company H, at Aurora, Chadron, and Tekamah, 1892-1899. 1 box.
161. Company I. Papers relating to Company I, Millard Rifles, 1901. 1 box.
162. Papers relating to Company I, at Stromsburg, 1898-1902. 1 box.
163. Company K. Papers relating to Company K, at Schuyler, 1889-1898. 1 box.
164. Company L. Papers relating to Company L, at Norfolk, 1894-1898. 1 box.
165. Company M. Papers relating to Company M, at Grand Island and Albion, 1897-98. 1 box.

National Guard—Light Artillery:

166. Battery A. Descriptive roll books, 1878-1907. 2 volumes.
 167. Omaha riot, 1882. Dispatches pertaining to the riot. 1 volume.
- Philippine insurrection. See Spanish-American War.*
168. Railroads. State board of transportation. Old files. 1 package. (The State board of transportation was later replaced by the State railway commission.)
 169. San Francisco relief, 1906. Papers relating to the transfer of tents, blankets, etc., of the United States Government to the sufferers at San Francisco. 1 box.
 170. Sons of Veterans. Papers relating to Sons of Veterans, 1890-91. (In box with item 65 above.)

Spanish-American War—Claims:

171. Claims from railroads, etc. 1 box.
172. Letters relating to claims against the United States Government, 1898-99. 1 box.
173. Papers relating to the reimbursement of the State, 1898-99. 1 box.

Spanish-American War—Correspondence:

174. Miscellaneous letters relating to the Spanish-American War, 1898-99. 2 boxes.
175. Telegrams received by the adjutant-general's office, 1898-99. 2 boxes.
176. Spanish-American War—Medical service: Accounts for medical attendance, 1899-1900, 1908. 1 box.
177. Spanish-American War—Newspaper clippings. 2 volumes.
178. Spanish-American War—Quartermaster's department: Letters relating to supplies, 1898-99. 1 box.
179. Spanish-American War—United States Army, Department of the Pacific: Letters of the mustering officers containing copies of muster-out and muster-in rolls of the Department of the Pacific and Eighth Army Corps, 1899.

Spanish-American War—Volunteers:

180. Applications for medals. 1 box.
181. Letters of Col. Stark, 1898. 1 box.
182. Letters relating to officers' commissions issued, 1898. 1 box.
183. Letters relating to pensions. 1 box.
184. Letters relating to soldiers' pay. 1898. 1 box.
185. Letters relating to tender of service, 1898. 1 box.
186. Tenders of service and requests for commissions, 1898-99. 1 box.
187. Papers relating to the property of deceased soldiers in the Philippine Islands. 1 box.
188. Cavalry: Third regiment, Troop K. Muster roll and papers, 1898-99. 1 box.
189. Infantry: First regiment. Death list, 1898-99. 1 volume.
190. Estimate of killed and wounded, February 4-22, 1899, while suppressing the Philippine insurrection.
191. Field orders and memoranda, 1898-99; copies. 5 volumes.

192. Infantry: First Regiment. Invoices of the stores issued to the regiment, 1898-99. 2 boxes.
193. Letters pertaining to the remains of deceased soldiers, 1898-1900. 1 box.
194. Letters received, 1898-99; copies. 2 volumes.
195. Letters sent, 1898; copies. 1 volume.
196. List of men discharged before the regiment was mustered out of service.
197. Muster-in rolls, May 14 and August 31-October 31, 1898.
198. Muster-in roll of commissioned officers, May 9, 1898.
199. Muster-out roll, May 10, 1898.
200. Muster-out roll of the field, staff, and noncommissioned officers, April 26, 1898-August 23, 1899.
201. Muster roll of a detachment of recruits, September 1-October 31, 1898.
202. Orders issued from headquarters United States Army, May 10-August 31, 1898; copies.
203. Companies A, B, C, D. Papers relating to companies A, B, C, D, 1898-99. 2 boxes.
204. Companies G, H, I, K, L, M. Muster rolls and papers, 1898-99. 3 boxes.
205. First-Second Regiments. Muster rolls, individual, 1898-1899; also Roster of commissioned officers corrected to June 10, 1899. (Printed.)
206. First-Second-Third Regiments. Claims of rejected men, 1898. 1 box.
207. Field returns, 1898-1899. 1 vol.
208. Papers relative to back pay. 1 box.
209. Second Regiment. Muster-in roll. 1898.
210. Muster rolls and papers for Companies A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, 1898-1899. 6 boxes.
211. Muster rolls and papers relating to field, staff, and band, 1898-99. 1 box.
212. Second-Third Regiments. Names of men reported sick each day, 1898-99. 1 box.
213. Third Regiment. Correspondence with the regiment, 1898-99. 1 box.
214. Muster-in roll, 1898.
215. Muster rolls and papers of Companies A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, 1898-99. 6 boxes.
216. Muster rolls and papers of the field, staff, and band, 1898-99. 1 box.
- Telegrams.* See Correspondence.
- United States War Department:*
217. General orders, 1863-1865, 1865-1869, 1877-1879, 1881-1886. 2 packages and 2 boxes.
218. General orders, 1862, 1864, 1868, 1893, 1895-1897. 1 volume.
(Orders are printed and pasted in.)
219. *Vouchers.* Duplicate vouchers, 1900-1909. 2 boxes.
220. *War trophies and relics.* (These are contained in one large case, and include battle flags of Nebraska regiments in the Civil War and Indian wars.)
221. Wilhovey, George. Report on the accidental killing of Pvt. Geo. Wilhovey of Company K, First Brigade N. N. G., by Pvt. Percy Hooper at Gordon, Nebr., January 12, 1891.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The genesis of the office of the attorney general of Nebraska is obscure and a matter of some controversy.

By the Kansas-Nebraska act of May 30, 1854, there was provided an attorney for the Territory of Nebraska, to be appointed by the President for a term of four years, who should receive the same fees and salary as the attorney for the Territory of Utah. The same

organic act provided for the purchase of a territorial library "to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, legislative assembly, judges of the supreme court, secretary, marshal, and attorney for such Territory and for such other persons and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law."

In his message to the Territorial legislature on January 6, 1857, Gov. Mark W. Izard refers to this passage in the following terms:

The provisions in the organic act * * * confine the use of the library to the governor, secretary, judges of the territorial courts, attorney general, marshal, and members of the legislature.

It would appear from this that the attorney for the Territory and the attorney general were the same. Succeeding references in the territorial laws, however, indicate a contrary state of facts.

By the act of February 4, 1857, "for the relief of Experience Estabrook" there was granted from the territorial treasury \$100 for services in prosecuting cases for the State.

On October 8, 1858, there was introduced in the upper house of the territorial legislature "An act to prescribe the duties of attorney general." On the following day this bill was indefinitely postponed.

Instead of prescribing the duties of attorney general the same legislature, on October 12, 1858, passed "An act to abolish the office of attorney general," which reads as follows:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the council and house of representatives of the Territory of Nebraska, That all powers and duties of, belonging to, assumed or claimed by the attorney general of this Territory are hereby transformed (sic) and made to be the powers and duties of the district attorneys of the judicial districts in this Territory, respectively.*

SEC. 2. The office of attorney general is hereby abolished.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The plain inference from the action of the territorial legislature, as above set forth, is that some one was assuming or claiming functions not assigned him by law. No other reference to the office of attorney general appears in the statutes of the territorial period.

The first State constitution of 1866 made no provision for the office of attorney general. The first act upon the subject after Nebraska became a State was that of June 21, 1867, as follows:

"An act to authorize the governor to employ counsel in actions instituted by and against the State."

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Nebraska, That the governor be and is hereby authorized and empowered to retain and employ such attorney and counselor at law as he may select to prosecute any and all actions necessary and proper to be brought to secure the rights of the State in and to any property owned or claimed thereby.*

SEC. 2. In any action which may be brought against the State or any of its officers, in respect of the property mentioned in the first section of this act, process shall be

served upon the governor, and he shall have the same power in defending said action as is provided in said first section.

SEC. 3. The governor shall report to the succeeding legislature his action in the premises.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The next step in the evolution of the office of attorney general was the act of February 9, 1869, as follows:

An act to define the duties of the attorney for the State and provide for his payment.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Nebraska:* That until there shall be an attorney general for this State the duties of the attorney for the State, whose appointment is provided for by the act approved June 21, 1867, shall, in addition to those devolved upon him by said act, be such as are usually performed by the attorney general of a State.

SEC. 2. The said attorney for the State shall receive as compensation for his services such sum as the governor shall deem fair and just and as is paid in similar cases, to be audited and paid in same manner as the salary of State officers, and there is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sum as may be sufficient for the payment of said attorney as prescribed by this act.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

At the same session was passed an act, dated February 15, 1869, providing for the election of an attorney general at the general election, defining his duties, fixing his salary at \$1,000 per annum, and providing for appointment by the governor until election.

On February 27, 1873, a supplementary act was passed further enlarging and defining his duties.

In the convention of 1875 which framed the present constitution of Nebraska there was violent opposition to the continuance of the office of attorney general. This opposition was not strong enough to abolish the office, but did secure a provision inserted in section 24 of Article V of the constitution providing that "there shall be no allowance for clerk hire in the offices of the superintendent of public instruction and attorney general." The intent of this provision was to prevent the employment of any assistants in both these departments. Under the decision of the Nebraska supreme court (25 Nebr., 669), made in 1889, it was held, however, that "clerk" as here used had its common-law meaning and did not include deputy or stenographer. Numerous helpers are now employed in both departments.

The records of the attorney general's office are nearly complete since 1871 and are arranged in convenient form for use. The letter-press copies of correspondence for the earlier years are kept in a basement vault and have suffered some injury with lapse of time.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Appropriations.* Appropriation book, containing amounts appropriated for the office business and record of moneys expended, 1901-1910.
2. *Boyd County.* School-land cases, 1905. 1 box.

Briefs:

3. Bound volumes 1-34, 1897-1910.
4. Before Docket 5: A-Z, 1875-1890. 5 boxes.
5. Miscellaneous briefs, 1883-1897. 2 boxes.
6. State ex rel., 1874-1890. 1 box.
7. Docket 5: No. 1-599, 1891-1898. 9 boxes.
8. Docket 6: No. 1-135, 1899-1901. 3 boxes.
9. Docket 7: No. 1-304, 1901-1905. 15 boxes.
10. Extra briefs, No. 1-298, 1906-(?). 7 boxes.
11. Docket 8: No. 1-235, 1906-1910. 8 boxes.
12. Extra briefs, No. 1-119, 1907-8. 6 boxes.
13. Miscellaneous briefs and documents, 1889-1903. 2 boxes.
14. Miscellaneous papers: Letters, briefs, mortgages, 1879-1893. 19 boxes.
15. *Brown, Norris*. Docket 7, No. 235, marked "Receipts and vouchers, Norris Brown." (Filed in item 31 below.)
16. *Case decisions*. Cases argued and determined in the supreme court, January term, 1885. 1 package. (Opinion of court is in original handwriting.)
17. *Case journal*. Journal of cases in which the State is interested, giving citations and arguments, 1880. 1 volume.

Corporation cases—Foreign:

18. Cases against foreign corporations, 1906-1910. 2 boxes labeled A1-50.
19. Corporation record book, 1906-1910, containing reports from foreign corporations to the attorney general.
20. Corporation cases—Grain: Grain case, Omaha Elevator Co., 1905-6. 1 box.

Corporation cases—Railroads:

21. Case of the C., B. & Q. R. R. v. F. C. Babcock, treasurer of Adams County, 1906. (Basement vault. This case contains testimony of Hon. Peter Mortensen, State treasurer; Norris Brown, attorney general. The case is noted as marking the initial movement to rightly value the railroads of the State for more equable taxation.)
22. Testimony of John H. Mickey, governor. (Basement vault.)
23. Railroad matters, 1908. 1 box.
24. Railroad tax cases, 1905. 2 boxes.

Correspondence:

25. Letter files, 1907-1910.
26. Letter-press books of office correspondence, 1871-1876, 1890-1910. 25 volumes. (Basement vault.)
27. Miscellaneous papers: Letters, briefs, mortgages, 1879-1893. 19 boxes.

Docket filings:

28. Docket 1, containing office copies of court filings, etc., of cases in which the State is interested, 1875-1891. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
29. Docket 5: No. 1-570, 1893-1897. 14 filing cases.
30. Docket 6: No. 1-143, 1899-1900. 27 boxes.
31. Docket 7: No. 1-306, 1900-1906. 24 filing cases. (No. 235 marked "Receipts and vouchers, Norris Brown.")
32. Docket 8: No. 1-319, 1906-1911. 17 boxes.
33. Index to filing dockets, No. 5-8, 1891-1910.
34. *Governor*. Correspondence of the attorney general relative to furnishing executive mansion for the governor, 1907.
35. Index to filing dockets, No. 5-8, 1891-1910.
36. *Mortgages*. Miscellaneous papers: Letters, briefs, mortgages, 1879-1893. 19 boxes.
37. *Receipts* of attorney general, 1901-2. 1 box.

38. *Reports of attorney-general, 1903-4, 1907-8.* 2 boxes.
 39. *School land.* Boyd County school-land cases, 1905. 1 box.
 40. *Stenographers' shorthand notes in the office of attorney general, 1905-1908.* 47 notebooks. (Basement vault.)

AUDITOR.

The auditor's office was created by act of the first Territorial legislature approved March 16, 1855. The auditor was thereby made general accountant and revenue officer of the Territory, with a salary of \$200 per annum. Amendatory acts prescribing duties were passed by the Territorial legislature on January 26, 1856, February 15, 1864, February 9, 1865, and February 13, 1865. The act of February 15, 1864, combined the offices of auditor and school commissioner, with a salary of \$900 per annum.

The salary of the office was so small in the early days that its work was slighted. Papers accumulated without being organized, and on March 3, 1873, the legislature passed a joint resolution declaring the accounts, books, and records of the office to be in "an unintelligible condition," and appropriating the sum of \$500 for services of a skillful accountant to investigate and balance the accounts therein.

The records of the auditor's office are more numerous than any other in the statehouse. The office is one of the oldest. Its functions have been most extended and important. Its vast accumulations of records of former years are packed into basement vaults in disorder and dust.

The papers of the Territorial period are intermingled. Lack of room and pressure of work on the department in the later years have prevented any reorganization of these early documents. There is the most urgent need of special effort to save the archives of the auditor's office, which include some of the most valuable documents of the early years.

The papers for the past decade are kept on the first floor of the statehouse and are in systematic order. The State insurance bureau is a part of the auditor's department.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Agricultural college lands.* Statements by county treasurers showing receipts issued for principal, interest, lease, and premiums on endowment lands, 1888, 1900-1902. 3 packages and 1 box. (Basement vault; 1900 in box with item 185 below.)
 2. *Agricultural experiment station fund.* Vouchers paid, 1899-1906. 1 filing case.
- Appropriations:*
3. *Appropriation books, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1905-1910.* 18 volumes. (1875-1893, 10 volumes, in basement vault.)
 4. *Appropriation estimates of the various State institutions, 1877-1889.* 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)

5. Appropriation ledger, 1877-1887. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
6. Statement showing appropriations and expenditures of the 14th session of the State legislature, 1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Assessment:

7. Abstracts of assessments by counties, 1866-1909. 13 boxes. (1866-1878, 8 boxes, in basement vault.)
8. Consolidated abstracts of assessments in the State as returned by county clerks, 1866-1888. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
9. Letter blanks sent to business men of the State asking for statements on average value of land, horses, cattle, and hogs in their respective counties, 1906. 1 package.
10. Letters to county clerks relating to assessment of railroad, sleeping-car, and telegraph companies, 1895, 1897-98; copies. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)
11. Papers and letters by the tax agent of the railroads to the State board of equalization, relating to assessment of railroads, 1897-1900. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
12. Tax returns of railroads, telegraph, and sleeping-car companies, 1889-1907. 30 volumes. (Basement vault.)
13. *Attorney General*. Opinions, 1879-1882. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Auditor of public accounts:

14. Original bills paid for office expenses, 1873-1878, 1888-89. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)
15. Reports, 1873-1876, 1882. 3 packages. (Basement vault.)
16. Semiannual reports, 1897-1907. 1 filing case.
17. *Barbers*. Report of State barbers' examining board, 1899. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
18. *Blind*, institute for, Nebraska City. Articles of agreement between the trustees and the State for erection of building, 1875. 1 box.

Bonds:

19. Bond histories, 1887-1910. 3 filing cases.
20. Bond registers, 1875-1910. 6 volumes.
21. Histories of city and village bonds, 1903-1910. 6 volumes.
22. Letters received relating to bonds, 1897, 1900-1902, 1906. 3 volumes and 1 box. (Basement vault.)
23. Letters sent relating to bonds, 1885-1902; copies. 31 volumes. (Basement vault.)
24. Office records of city and village bonds, 1885-1910. 9 volumes.
25. Precinct bond record, A-F, 1885-1905. 6 volumes. (Volume C, 1885-1887, in basement vault; after 1905, records kept in bond register.)

Bonds of officials:

26. Official bond record and oath of office, 1885-1894. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
27. Official bonds of State officers, 1871, and for State boards of agriculture and of immigration, 1873. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
28. *Building fund*. Receipts of State treasurer to building fund, 1869-70. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
29. *Capital site*. Itemized account of expenses of the commission appointed to locate the State capital, 1867-1869. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Capitol building:

30. Accounts of moneys paid from building fund, 1867-1869. 10 boxes. (Basement vault.)
31. Warrants issued against the capitol building fund, 1883-1889. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
32. *Cash book*, 1897-1899. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)

Claims:

33. Claims made by individuals furnishing sustenance and support in the campaign against the Pawnee Indians, 1859. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
34. Claims rejected and vetoed and other miscellaneous papers of the legislatures, 1897, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909. 3 filing cases.
35. Claims rejected by the 18th session of the legislature, 1883. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
36. Old claims against the State; none prior to 1878. 1 filing case.
37. Register of claims, A-M, 1877-1910. 13 volumes. (A-G, 1877-1899, in basement vault.)
38. Register of claims of Nebraska Columbian Commission. (Basement vault; in boxes with item 71 below.)
39. *Commissioner* of common schools. Annual report of Commissioner W. E. Harvey, 1861-62. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
40. *Constitutional convention*, 1875. Itemized account of expenses. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Convict labor. See Penitentiary.

Correspondence:

41. Letters from county officials, 1877-78. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
42. Letters to county and State officials, 1873-1883; copies. 20 volumes. (Basement vault. Volume O missing.)
43. Letters to county clerks, 1898-1900. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
44. Miscellaneous letters received, 1870-1877, 1879-1899, 1905-1908. (Basement vault contains: 1870-1872 in packages, 1873-1882 in 18 volumes, 1883-1886 in 5 boxes, 1886-1899 in 21 volumes, 1897-1899 in 1 box, 1905-1908 in 2 boxes.)
45. Miscellaneous letters sent, 1867-1873, 1884-1900, 1903-1910; letter-press copies. 73 volumes. (Basement vault; except 1903 to date in office.)

County accounts with State:

46. Certificates by county clerks of amount of State taxes, 1860-1891. 2 boxes. (Incomplete.)
47. Certificates by county clerks of personal property tax uncollectible, errors in assessment and errors in footing tax lists for which the treasurer may be allowed credit, 1874-1898. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
48. Certificates by county clerks showing amount of State taxes for which the treasurer may be allowed credit through errors. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
49. Monthly statements by county treasurers of taxes collected, 1893-1896. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
50. Office records of the annual statements from county treasurers, 1882-1910. 5 volumes.
51. Statements by county treasurers showing receipts issued for principal, interest, lease, and premiums on school, university, agricultural college, and normal endowment lands, and the amount of moneys collected by the counties from all sources upon which fees were allowed, 1888, 1900-1902. 3 packages and 1 box. (Basement vault; 1900 in box with item 185 below.)
52. Statements by township treasurers of taxes collected, 1893-1900. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
53. Annual statements by county treasurers showing State taxes and moneys collected. 1893-1909. 45 filing cases.

County bonds:

54. Histories of the county bonds, dating from the first issue after organization of county to 1910. (Basement vault. 67 file boxes, 4 packages, and 2 wooden boxes of packages.)
55. Record of county bonds, 1869-1905. 5 volumes. (After 1905, record of county bonds kept in bond register.)

56. *County officials*: Letters written by county officials to the auditor, 1877-78. 1 package. (Basement vault.)

County treasurers:

57. Reports on examination of the cash of various county treasurers, 1893-1895. 1 box.

58. Reports on examination of county treasurers' offices, 1894-1910. 9 filing cases. (1894-1898, 13 boxes in basement vault.)

County treasurers' settlements:

59. Adjustment by county commissioners of accounts of county treasurers, 1863-1898. 1 box and 1 package. (Basement vault.)

60. Adjustment by county commissioners of accounts of treasurer of Rock County, 1885-1891. 1 box.

61. Papers relating to settlements, by the State board of equalization, with defaulting county treasurers. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

62. Settlement statements by county treasurers, from the organization of the various counties to 1893. 49 packages. (Basement vault.)

63. Unadjusted settlements of county treasurers, 1883-1896. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Depository banks:

64. Articles of incorporation, constitutions, and by-laws of State depository banks. 1 filing case.

65. Bonds of the State depository banks, 1894-1910. 4 filing cases.

66. Record of bonds of State depository banks, 1897-1905. 1 volume.

Education, State board of. See Normal school board, State:

67. *Embalming*, State board of examiners of. Reports, 1903, 1906-1909. (In filing case with item 79 below.)

Expositions:

68. Nebraska Columbian commission. Records of meetings, August 13, 1891-April 12, 1893. 1 volume.

69. Correspondence. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

70. Vouchers paid, Centennial exposition, 1876. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

71. Vouchers paid, Columbian exposition, 1893; also claim register of the Nebraska Columbian commission. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)

72. Vouchers paid, Lewis and Clark exposition. 1 filing case.

73. Vouchers paid, Louisiana Purchase exposition, 1904. 1 package. (Basement vault.)

74. *Feeble-minded youth*, institution for, Beatrice. Vouchers paid, 1887-1895. 22 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Fees:

75. Fee book, insurance department, 1906-1910. 1 volume.

76. Statements by county treasurers showing amount of moneys collected from all sources upon which fees were allowed, 1888, 1901-2. 3 packages. (Basement vault.)

77. Treasurers' receipts from fees for commencement of suits in district courts, 1867-1878. 6 boxes. (Basement vault.)

78. *Fiscal agencies*. Copy of the notices of the fiscal agencies in New York City, appointed by and for the State of Nebraska, 1875-6. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

79. *Food, dairy, and drug commission*. Reports, 1901-1903. 1 filing case.

Fraternal benefit societies. See Insurance.

Funds, State:

80. Miscellaneous fund register, 1894-1910. 5 volumes.

81. Record of proceedings of board providing for safe keeping of public moneys of the State, 1879-1882. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
 Same, original minutes. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Glanders. See Live-stock indemnity.

General fund:

82. Record, 1859-1865. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
 83. Vouchers paid, 1866-1910. 3,377 boxes. (1866-1905, 3,174 boxes, in basement vault.)
 84. Warrant registers, 1899-1910. 5 volumes.
 85. *Horticulture.* Assessment abstracts from county clerks, showing number of fruit and forest trees and grape vines grown, 1866-1888. 1 package. (Basement vault.)

Indian outbreaks:

86. Abstract of vouchers paid on account of money expended in suppressing Indian hostilities, 1867. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 87. Claims made by individuals furnishing sustenance and support in the campaign against the Pawnee Indians, 1859. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 88. *Inheritance tax.* Vouchers, refunding the inheritance tax, 1905. (In filing case with item 145 below.)
 89. *Insane hospital fund.* Vouchers paid, 1905-1910. (In filing case with item 145 below.)
 90. *Insane hospital, Hastings.* Quarterly reports showing amounts due from the several counties, 1888-1891. (Basement vault.)

Insane hospital, Lincoln:

91. Record, 1887-1890. 1 volume.
 92. Reports showing amounts due from the several counties, 1871-1890. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
 93. Vouchers, 1879-1884, 1894-1903. 35 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 94. Vouchers, erection of hospital, 1871-2. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 95. Vouchers, maintenance, 1870-1872. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 96. *Insane hospital, Norfolk.* Quarterly reports showing amounts due from the several counties, 1888-1891. (Basement vault.)
 97. *Insurance agents.* Lists of names of all insurance agents in Nebraska, 1886-1910. 12 volumes. (Volumes 1-8, 1886-1904 in basement vault.)

Insurance, articles of incorporation:

98. Articles of incorporation for Nebraska insurance companies, 1884-1910. 11 filing cases.
 99. Articles of incorporation, constitutions, and by-laws of the defunct farmers' mutual insurance companies, 1891-1898. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Insurance certificates:

100. Certificates of authority and compliance for all insurance companies doing business in Nebraska. Filing cases.
 101. Certificates of authority to fire-insurance agents in Nebraska, 1880-1884; letter-press copies. 25 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 102. Certificates of authority to insurance agents in Nebraska, 1897-1906. 104 stub-books. (Basement vault.)
 103. Orders and certificates of authority giving insurance agents the right to transact business in Nebraska, 1901-1907. 16 volumes and 7 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 104. Power of attorney issued to insurance agents authorizing them to transact business, 1873-1900. 1 filing case. (Basement vault.)
 105. *Insurance charters.* Certified copies of the charters of all insurance companies doing business in Nebraska. Filing cases.

Insurance, constitutions and by-laws:

106. Constitutions and by-laws and articles of incorporation of fraternal societies doing business in Nebraska, 1887-1897. 77 envelopes. (Basement vault.)
107. Constitutions and by-laws of insurance companies doing business in Nebraska, 1891-1897. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)

Insurance, correspondence:

108. Correspondence with all insurance companies doing business in Nebraska. Filing cases.
109. Letters from insurance companies and agents, 1889. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
110. Letters received relating to insurance, 1873-1878, 1884-1908. 1 package, 78 boxes, and 40 volumes. (Basement vault.)
111. Letters sent relating to insurance, 1873-1883, 1885-1908; copies. 73 volumes. (Basement vault; volume 36, May 4-September 12, 1907, missing.)

Insurance examiners:

112. Reports of examinations of insurance companies, 1893-1897. 13 boxes. (Basement vault.)
113. Reports of examinations of fire-insurance companies, 1901-1909. 1 filing case.
114. Reports of examinations of life-insurance companies, 1902-1909. 1 filing case.
115. Reports of examinations of miscellaneous insurance companies: Hail, accident, and health, 1902-1909. 1 filing case.
116. Letters and papers relating to the examination of the New York Life Insurance Co., 1906. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
117. *Insurance fees.* Fee book, 1906-1910. 1 volume.

Insurance invoices:

118. Affidavits of the publication in Nebraska newspapers of annual statements as to financial conditions of insurance companies, 1873-1905. 7 volumes and 4 packages. (Basement vault. Affidavits are pasted in with the newspaper abstracts.)
119. Annual statements of farm, city, and village mutual insurance companies, 1904-1906. 1 filing case.
120. Annual statements of farmers' mutual insurance companies, 1893-1897, 1900-1901. 2 boxes and 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
121. Annual statements of insurance companies doing business in Nebraska, 1906-1909. Filing cases. (1909 in 7 packages.)
122. *Insurance of hogs.* Articles of incorporation, constitutions and by-laws, and statements of the hog-insurance companies, 1899-1900. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Insurance registers:

123. Life and fire insurance register, 1873-1886; fire insurance only, 1887-1899. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
124. Life-insurance register containing data required by law, 1887-1898. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)

Insurance reports:

125. Annual reports of fire-insurance companies doing business in Nebraska. 28 packages. (Basement vault.)
126. Annual reports of life, accident, and health insurance companies doing business in Nebraska. 139 boxes. (Basement vault.)
127. *Insurance securities.* Register of securities deposited by insurance companies with the State, 1895-1910. 1 volume.
128. *Journals,* 1855-1904. 18 volumes. (Basement vault.)
129. Disbursement journal, 1896-1910. 1 volume.
130. *Judiciary fund.* Vouchers, 1872-1876. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

131. *Land entries.* Miscellaneous papers containing a statement of lands entered in the United States land office in Nebraska, by counties. 1874. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Ledgers:

132. General ledger of all funds, 1884-1910. 1 volume.
133. Miscellaneous accounts, 1867-1891. 11 volumes. (Basement vault.)

Legislative expenses:

134. Detailed report on expenditures of the fourteenth and fifteenth sessions of the State legislature, 1877-1879. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
135. Statement showing appropriations and expenditures of the fourteenth session of the State legislature, 1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
136. *Legislature.* Miscellaneous papers, 1897, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909. 4 filing cases.

Libraries. See Normal school at Peru, State library; University library.

137. *Live-stock indemnity.* Accounts of moneys paid from the live-stock indemnity fund, 1885-1889. 13 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Mortgages:

138. Correspondence of State board of equalization on adjustment of land mortgages, 1881. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
139. Monthly report by county clerks to the bureau of labor on the mortgage indebtedness, 1892-1899. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)
140. *National Guard.* Pay rolls and vouchers of the first and second regiments, 1898. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Normal school at Peru:

141. Report of the first year of school, 1868. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
142. Vouchers, erection of school building, 1872-1874. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
143. Vouchers, books for library, 1877-1899. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
144. *Normal-school board,* State. Report, 1868. (In box with item 141 above; basement vault.)
145. *Normal-school fund.* Vouchers paid from the State normal-school interest fund, 1871-1910. 1 filing case. (1871-1902, 7 boxes, in basement vault.)
146. *Normal-school lands.* Statements by county treasurers showing receipts issued for principal, interest, lease, and premiums on endowment lands, 1888, 1900-1902. 3 packages and 1 box. (Basement vault; 1900 in box with item 185 below.)

Oil inspectors:

147. Reports of deputy oil inspectors, 1891-1893. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)
148. Reports of State oil inspector, annual, 1901. 1 box.
149. Reports of State oil inspector, monthly, 1901-1905. 19 boxes.
150. Reports of State oil inspector, monthly and annual, 1893-1900, 1906-1910. 5 filing cases. (1893-1900, 13 boxes, in basement vault.)
151. Vouchers, State oil inspector, 1892. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Penitentiary:

152. Accounts rendered by the warden, 1875-1877, 1895-96. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
153. Certificates by the warden showing receipt of convicts, 1870-1877. (Basement vault.)
154. Reports from the warden showing amount due the State from convict labor, 1872-1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
155. Reports from the warden showing funds received and expended, 1897-1901. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
156. Requisitions and estimates of the warden and inspectors, 1873. 1 box. (Basement vaults.)
157. Vouchers paid, 1870-1876. 7 boxes. (Basement vault.)

158. Vouchers paid, convict-labor fund, 1897-1908. 23 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 159. Vouchers paid, support of convicts, 1871-72. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 160. *Pharmacy*, State board of. Reports, 1901-2, 1904-1909. (In filing case with item 79 above.)

Printing, State:

161. Bids to furnish books and blanks, to do printing, etc. 1872-73. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 162. Requisitions received for books and blanks, 1870-1879, 1903. 7 packages and 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 163. *Public lands* and buildings. Reports of the State land commissioner, 1871-72. 1 package. (Basement vault.)

Railroads:

164. Annual reports of railroads in Nebraska, including land-grant statistics, 1875-76, viz:
 (a) Sioux City & Pacific Railroad.
 (b) Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad.
 (c) Omaha & Northwestern Railroad; Burlington & Missouri River Railroad.
 165. Letters to county clerks relating to assessment of railroad, sleeping-car, and telegraph companies, 1895, 1897-98; copies. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 166. Papers and letters by the tax agents of the railroads to the State board of equalization, relating to assessment of railroads, 1887-1900. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 167. Statements showing earnings and operating expenses of railroads in Nebraska, 1873-1902. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 168. *Receipts*. Miscellaneous receipts prior to 1893. 2 packages. (Basement vault.)

Saline lands:

169. Reports by Tischener & Green, 1869-1870, upon salt manufactured on certain saline lands leased to them by the State for that purpose, and showing royalty due the State. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 170. Vouchers paid, development of saline lands. 1885-1887. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

School bonds:

171. Correspondence relative to school-district bonds, 1898-1900. 1 package. (Basement vault.)
 172. Histories of school-district bonds. 14 boxes.
 173. History of the compromise act school-district bonds, 1886-1897. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
 174. Printed history of the school-district bonds, 1880-1910. 19 volumes. (1880-1894, 12 volumes, in basement vault.)

School fund:

175. Accounts of county treasurers with school-land fund, 1879-1910. 19 volumes. (1879-1903, 16 volumes, in basement vault.)
 176. Accounts of moneys paid from temporary school fund, 1869-1896. 40 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 177. Certificates of indebtedness by the auditor to the permanent school fund, under acts of 1873 and 1875. (In box with item 181 below.)
 178. Certificates of school apportionment from State superintendent of public instruction, 1893-1909. 1 box.
 179. Record of investment of the permanent school fund, 1887-1909. 3 volumes. (1900-1909, 1 volume, in basement vault.)
 180. Reports on school moneys collected and disbursed, 1870, 1872-1876. 3 packages. (Basement vault.)

181. Reports on school moneys collected and disbursed. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 (a) Pawnee County, 1869-1870.
 (b) Richardson County, 1869.
 (c) Washington County, 1874-75.
182. Vouchers paid from the permanent school fund, relief of individuals who had formerly purchased land from the State. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
183. Vouchers, temporary school fund, 1896-1909. 2 filing cases. (1896-1900, 10 boxes, in basement vault.)
- School land:*
184. Letters to county officials relative to school lands, 1873-1877; copies. 2 volumes. (Basement vault.)
185. Statements by county treasurers showing receipts issued for principal, interest, lease, and premiums on school land, university, agricultural college, and normal endowment lands, 1888, 1900-1902. 3 packages and 1 box. (Basement vault; 1900 in box.)
186. Statistics of school land in each county; uncertain date prior to 1879. (In box with item 181 above; basement vault.)
187. *Sinking fund.* Vouchers paid, 1873-1882. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)
188. *Sleeping-car* companies. Letters to county clerks relating to assessment of railroad, sleeping-car, and telegraph companies, 1895, 1897-98; copies. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)
189. *State institutions.* Appropriation estimates of the various State institutions 1877-1889. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
190. *State land.* Abstracts, 1864-1901. 47 volumes. (Basement vault.)
- State library:*
191. Statement of expenditures, by State librarian, 1873. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
192. Vouchers, 1876-1898. 21 boxes. (Basement vault.)
- Superintendent of public instruction.* See Commissioner of common schools.
193. *Supreme court clerk.* Estimate of office expenditures, 1873-74. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
194. *Tax equalization:* State board of equalization. Record of proceedings, 1873-1902. 2 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 Same; typewritten reports. Filing boxes. (Basement vault.)
195. *Tax ledgers*, 1856-1910. 21 volumes. (1856-1876, 1884-1889, 8 volumes, in basement vault.)
196. *Tax levy.* Copies of statements to county clerks of the annual tax levy, 1901-2. 4 volumes. (Basement vault.)
197. *Telegraph* companies. Letters to county clerks relating to assessment of railroad, sleeping-car, and telegraph companies, 1895, 1897-98; copies. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)
198. *Townships.* Abstracts of names and boundaries of townships in the counties of Hall, Merrick, and Pawnee, 1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
- Treasurer, State:*
199. Miscellaneous receipts, 1893-1897. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
200. Receipts, 1898-1902. 46 volumes. (Basement vault.)
201. Receipts, 1903-1909. 84 stub books.
202. Statements showing receipts and disbursements, 1866, 1869-1888, 1893-1896, 1901-1909. 8 filing cases. (Basement vault; contains 1869-1888, 1893-1896, in 22 boxes.)
203. *University* buildings. Vouchers to contractors for erection of State university and agricultural college buildings, 1870; also vouchers to the architect; also final estimates of cost of buildings. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

University fund:

204. Duplicate receipts to the financial secretary of the university for moneys paid out, 1893-1895. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)
205. Vouchers paid, 1896-1900. 49 boxes. (Basement vault.)
206. Vouchers paid from cash fund of the university, 1897-1910. 11 filing cases.
207. Vouchers paid from special university fund, 1893-1895. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)
208. Vouchers paid from temporary university fund, 1875-1896, 1900-1910. 18 filing cases. (1875-1896, 96 boxes, in basement vault.)
209. Vouchers paid from temporary fund arising from university lands, 1905-1910. 1 filing case.
210. *University land.* Statements by county treasurers showing receipts issued for principal, interest, lease, and premiums on endowment lands, 1888, 1900-1902. 3 packages. (Basement vault; 1900 in box with item 185 above.)
211. *University library.* Vouchers paid for books, 1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Warrants:

212. Canceled warrants, 1871-1878, 1902-1907. 36 filing cases. (1871-1878, 1 box, in basement vault.)
213. Ledger of outstanding warrants, 1900-1910. 1 volume.
214. Monthly statements from the State treasurer of warrants issued, 1889-1901. 34 boxes. (Basement vault.)
215. Monthly statements from the State treasurer of warrants paid, 1901-1909. 3 filing cases.
216. Redeemed warrants, 1907-1910. 23 filing cases.
217. Register of warrants, 1866-1899. 8 volumes. (Basement vault.)
218. Register of warrants on the general fund, 1899-1910. 5 volumes.
219. Stub-books showing amounts drawn on various funds, 1867-1909. 324 books. (Basement vault.)

Wolf bounties:

220. Correspondence relating to wolf bounty claims, 1899-1900. 1 volume and 1 package. (Basement vault.)
221. Correspondence relating to wolf bounties, 1903-1909; letter-press copies. 14 volumes.
222. Deficiency vouchers for wolf bounties, 1907-1909. 10 packages.
223. Rejected claims, 1899-1903. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)

BOARD OF PUBLIC LANDS AND BUILDINGS.

The office of commissioner of public lands and buildings was created and made an executive office by the constitution of 1875. The board of public lands and buildings was created at the same time and consists of the commissioner of public lands and buildings, the secretary of state, State treasurer, and attorney general. The duties and functions of this board were prescribed by act of the legislature of 1877. Prior to the creation of this office the educational lands of the State were under the charge of the auditor of public accounts, and the State buildings were under the supervision of appointed commissioners.

The records in this office, especially the field notes and the correspondence pertaining to the early surveys, are well arranged and preserved. Other material in the office vault is not so well arranged because of the lack of space and the crowded condition of the vault.

The bound volumes of correspondence kept in the basement vault are mildewed and in a state of decay. In both vaults maps and charts are bundled in a confused heap. The present State surveyor, Mr. Robert Harvey, has rescued the correspondence pertaining to the early surveys of the State, arranged it chronologically, and bound it in volumes. This work he is continuing as time permits from his other duties.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Attorney General*. Opinions. 1 box.

Bids and contracts:

2. Accepted contracts, 1887-1909. 24 boxes. (Basement vault.)

3. Contracts for 1909. 2 boxes.

4. Rejected bids, 1898-1909. 41 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Blind, Institute for, Omaha:

5. Invoice, 1886. (In box marked "Miscel. inventories," basement vault.)

6. Papers relating to the institute, 1875-1883. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)

7. Record of accounts, 1877-1886. 1 volume.

8. Vouchers, 1884-1886. 10 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Blue prints:

9. Blind, Institute for, 1899; specifications. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)

10. Boiler-house additions and alterations. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

11. Capitol Building, 1900; building and grounds. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)

12. 1909; floor plan. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

13. Plans and specifications for boiler house. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

14. Steam-heating plans. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

15. Vault for board of public lands and buildings. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

16. Deaf and Dumb, Institute for, 1899; new engine, boiler and pump house. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

17. 1899; specifications for engine, boiler and pump house, original and revised. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

18. 1899; specifications for school building. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

19. Feeble-minded Youth, Institution for, 1899. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)

20. 1899; dam for waterworks system. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

21. Insane Hospital, Hastings, 1900; plans and specifications for main buildings. 3 rolls. (Basement vault.)

22. Insane Hospital, Lincoln, 1902; platform railway scales. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

23. Plans and specifications for main building. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)

24. Penitentiary, 1901. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

25. 1904; Pauly system of cells. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

26. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Grand Island, 1895; plans and specifications. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

27. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Milford, 1899; specifications for new building and additions. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)

28. *Bonds*. Correspondence relating to sale of bonds, 1884-1889. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Boundaries, State:

29. Letters relating to the Missouri River "Cut-off," among which is a letter to Gov. Mickey marked "History of the Missouri River Cut-off." 1 box.

30. Report of commission appointed to survey the boundary between Union County, S. Dak., and Dakota County, Nebr., 1904, with field notes; also report of com-

mission appointed to survey the boundary between Nemaha County, Nebr., and Atchison County, Mo. 1905, with field notes; also decree of United States Supreme Court. 1 volume.

31. Resurvey and reestablishment of boundary line between Wyoming and Nebraska, by E. F. Stahle, 1908. 1 volume.
32. Survey of State boundaries, standard parallels, guide meridians, and township exterior lines. (8 large leather cases in basement vault.)

Capitol site lots:

33. Certificates of final payments on Lincoln lots. 1 box.
34. Deeds to Lincoln lots sold by the State. 1 box.
35. Record of deeds to Lincoln lots sold by the State, 1868-1901. 1 volume.

Capitol Building:

36. Blue prints of building and grounds, 1900. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)
37. Blue print of floor plan, 1909. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
38. Blue print of steam-heating plans. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
39. Blue print of vault for use of board of public lands and buildings. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
40. Capitol Building board. Records, 1879-1881. 1 volume.
41. Details of plans for dome. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
42. Details of steam fitting, 1900. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
43. Final report on the east wing by the contractor and superintendent of construction. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
44. Papers relating to the east wing, 1881. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
45. Plans and specifications. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)
46. Plans and specifications for boiler house. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
47. *Capitol grounds.* Miscellaneous papers. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
48. *Coal.* Letters of T. A. Healey and G. S. Harris, 1871, relative to discovery of coal near Milford. (In box with item 155 below.)

Correspondence:

49. Letter files, 1876-1900. 207 volumes. (Basement vault.)
50. Letters by surveyor general, 1854-1886. 5 volumes.
51. Letters by commissioner of public lands and buildings, 1901-1909; copies. 44 volumes.
52. Letters from Commissioner of the United States General Land Office to the surveyor general, 1854-1889. 11 volumes.

Indexes, 1855-1886. 1 box.

53. Letters from Commissioner of the United States General Land Office to the commissioner of public lands and buildings, 1886-1910. 3 boxes.
54. Letters from register of the United States General Land Office, 1855-1886. 1 box.
55. Letters from United States Treasurer to the surveyor general, 1879-1886. (In box with item 244 below.)
56. Letters of deputy surveyors to the surveyor general, 1855-1886. 3 volumes. (Letters arranged chronologically under each writer, with alphabetic index to their names.)
57. Letters to commissioner of public lands and buildings, 1876-1908. 45 volumes. (Letters 1889-1908 in 67 packages. All in basement vault.)
58. Miscellaneous letters, some containing reports of the deputy surveyors and some being political, 1856-1861. 1 box.
59. Miscellaneous letters to the surveyor general, 1856-1886. 2 boxes.
60. Old papers containing miscellaneous letters, none dated earlier than 1877. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Deaf and Dumb, Institute for, Omaha:

61. Contract of W. L. Aylstone for erection of home for deaf and dumb, 1881; also other bids and proposals. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

62. Record of accounts, 1877-1886. 1 volume.
 63. Vouchers, 1884-1886. 25 boxes. (Basement vault.)
Educational lands. See School lands; University lands.
 64. *Feeble-minded* Youth, Institution for, Beatrice. Vouchers, 1885-86. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 65. *Home* for the Friendless, Lincoln. Contract of John Lanham for erection of the home, 1885. 1 box.
 66. *Insane hospitals.* Record of accounts, 1877-1886. 3 volumes.
 67. *Insane Hospital, Hastings.* Papers and specifications, 1889. (One large roll containing other rolls, basement vault.)

Insane Hospital, Lincoln:

68. Inventory of property, 1877, 1885-86. 2 boxes and 1 envelope. (1885, 1 box, in basement vault.)
 69. Papers relating to the asylum, 1873-1880. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 70. Reports of deaths, 1885-86. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 71. Vouchers, 1884-1886. 24 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 72. *Insane Hospital, Norfolk.* Papers relating to the Norfolk Hospital, 1886; also letter of Gov. Furnas, 1873, setting apart certain lands for the benefit of the State insane asylums. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Internal improvement lands:

73. List of State lands for internal improvements, 1866-1872. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 74. Record of deeds to lands sold for internal improvement, 1869-1872. 1 volume.
 75. *Lincoln.* Street grades established by act of legislature, February 15, 1869; A. F. Harvey, engineer. 1 box.

Maps:

76. Diagram of west boundary of Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation, resurveyed October, 1855. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
 77. Fort Kearny Military Reservation, 1859. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
 78. Fort McPherson Military Reservation, 1866. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
 79. Lots and irregular tracts left from surveys. 2 boxes.
 80. Plat of saline springs. (In box with item 180 below.)
 81. Plats, with field notes, of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation under the treaty of September 24, 1857; also maps, with field notes, of the Sac and Fox Reservation. 1 box.
 82. Ponca Reservation, 1860. (In box with item 260 below.)
 83. Reconnoissance of routes within and leading out from the Department of the Platte, 1876-77. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
 84. Right of way plats. 1 box.
 85. Sioux City & Nebraska Railroad, Omaha branch, showing location of road across the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
 86. Township plats. 25 volumes and 59 files. (25 volumes in basement vault.)
 87. *Missouri River "Cut-off."* Letters relating to the Missouri River "Cut-off," one being a letter to Gov. Mickey marked "History of the Missouri River Cut-off." 1 box.
 88. *National cemetery, Fort McPherson.* Corrected survey by W. W. Alt, 1897. (In volume with item 268 below.)

Penitentiary:

89. Invoice of property, 1887. (In box marked "Miscel. inventories," basement vault.)
 90. Invoice, 1895; also appropriations, 1877-1893; also report of inspector on condition of penitentiary, 1873-74. 2 boxes.
 91. Prison board. Record of meetings, 1870-1877. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
 92. Record of accounts, 1877-1886. 1 volume.
 93. Reports of inspectors, 1870-1874. (In box with item 183 below.)

94. Vouchers, 1885-86. 6 boxes. (Basement vault.)
95. Vouchers for inspectors, 1870-1874. 7 boxes. (Basement vault.)
- Penitentiary lands:*
96. Receipt book stubs showing amount of lands sold. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
97. Record of deeds to penitentiary lands sold, 1870-1892. 1 volume.
98. Records of sale. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
- Plans and specifications:*
99. Blind, Institute for, 1899. 2 rolls blue print. (Basement vault.)
100. 1879; main building and boiler house. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
101. Boiler house additions and alterations. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
102. Stable plans. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
103. Capitol building, 1900. 2 rolls blue print. (Basement vault.)
104. 1900; details of steam fitting. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
105. 1909; floor plan. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
106. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)
107. Boiler house. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
108. Dome. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
109. Steam-heating plant. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
110. Vault for use of board of public lands and buildings. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
111. Deaf and Dumb, Institute for, 1899; engine, boiler and pump house, original and revised. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
112. 1899; new engine, boiler and pump house. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
113. 1899; school building. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
114. Main building. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
115. Feeble-minded Youth, Institution for, 1898; complete system of waterworks. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
- 1899; dam for waterworks. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
116. 1899. 2 rolls blue print. (Basement vault.)
117. 1905; girls' dormitory. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
118. main building. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
119. steam heating and plumbing. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
120. Girls' Industrial School; boiler house, laundry, storage room, heating and plumbing. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
121. Home for the Friendless; main building. 6 rolls. (Basement vault.)
122. Industrial Home; main building. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
123. Insane Hospital, Hastings, 1889; specifications and papers. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
124. 1900; main buildings. 3 rolls blue prints. (Basement vault.)
125. Insane Hospital, Lincoln, 1902; platform railway scales. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
126. Main building. 1 package blue print rolls. (Basement vault.)
127. Insane Hospital, Norfolk; ice house. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
128. Miscellaneous specifications, 1870-1874. (In box with item 183 below.)
129. Normal school, Peru; engine and boiler house. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
130. Main building. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
131. Penitentiary, 1870-1873; building material. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
132. 1901. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
133. 1903; cell house plans. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
134. 1904; Pauly system of cells. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
135. Main building. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
136. Specifications for changes in house of warden. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
137. Specifications for dining room and kitchen. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

138. Reform School, Kearney; main building. 2 rolls and 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
139. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Grand Island, 1895. 1 roll blue print. (Basement vault.)
140. 1899; main building. 1 package of rolls. (Basement vault.)
141. 1905; hospital. 2 rolls. (Basement vault.)
142. Boiler house and smokestack. 1 roll (Basement vault.)
143. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Milford, 1899; new building and additions. 2 rolls blue print. (Basement vault.)
144. *Platte*, Military Department of the. Reconnaissance of routes within and leading out from the Department of the *Platte*, 1876-77. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

Prison inspectors. See Penitentiary.

145. *Public lands* and buildings, board of. Inventory of books and records transferred to the board, 1876. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Purchase and supplies:

146. Accepted contracts, 1887-1909. 24 boxes. (Basement vault.)
147. Bids rejected, 1909. 5 boxes.
148. Board of purchase and supplies. Papers. 1 box.
149. Record, 1877-1909. 2 volumes.
150. Contract for supplies, 1909. 2 boxes.
151. Estimates for State institutions, 1897-1910. 12 boxes. (1897-1909, 10 boxes, in basement vault.)
152. Permits approved for State institutions, 1901-1909. 5 boxes. (1901-1908, 4 boxes, in basement vault.)
153. Rejected bids, 1898-1909. 41 boxes. (Basement vault.)
154. Statements of groceries and supplies purchased by State institutions, 1902. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

Railroad lands:

155. Burlington & Missouri River Railroad. 1 box.
- (a) Estimates of cost of survey, 1872-1881.
- (b) Correspondence relating to lands, 1870-1883.
- (c) Report of chief engineer and superintendent of B. & M. R. R. R., 1871-72.
- (d) List of the lands under act of July 2, 1864.
- (e) Two letters dated 1871, relative to discovery of coal near Milford, written by Thomas A. Healey, deputy county clerk of Seward County, and by George S. Harris, land commissioner of B. & M. R. R. R.
156. List of lands of Union Pacific Railroad and of St. Joseph & Denver Railroad; with correspondence relating thereto, 1867-1886.
157. Right-of-way plats. 1 box.
158. *Railroads.* Sioux City & Nebraska Railroad, Omaha branch; map showing location of road across the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)

Reform School, Kearney:

159. Invoice, 1887. (In box marked "Miscel. inventories," basement vault.)
160. Papers relating to the school, 1880-1886. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
161. Record of accounts, 1879-1886.
162. Vouchers, 1884-1886. 23 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Reservations:

163. Executive orders from the Secretary of the Interior relating to military and Indian reservations, 1866-1873. 1 box.
164. Surveys of islands, military reservations, and Indian reservations. 1 box.

Reservations, Indian:

165. Appeal papers relating to Big Sioux Reservation from settlers of Boyd County. 2 boxes.
166. Boundaries and field notes of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation surveyed by Isaac McCoy, 1837; also general description of the boundaries, signed by McCoy, September 17, 1838; also field notes, October, 1855, of J. L. Cozad's retracement of the western boundary of McCoy's survey; also field notes by Alexander Oliphant, September-October, 1858, on the reestablishment of McCoy's western boundary under act of Congress passed June 12, 1858. 1 volume.
167. Diagram of the west boundary of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation, resurveyed October, 1855. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
168. Field notes and plats of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation under the treaty of September 24, 1857; also field notes and maps of the Sac and Fox Reservation; also letters from settlers inquiring as to boundary, 1855-1861. 1 box.
169. Letter from E. L. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to W. L. Otto, Acting Secretary of Interior, proposing changes in the Santee Sioux Reservation, 1869. 1 box. (The suggested changes were approved by President Grant August 31, 1869.)
170. Letter from Special Agent S. S. Gregory to Supt. Robinson, concerning the boundary of Ponca Reservation, 1860; copy. (In box with item 169 above.)
171. Letter of Superintendent Robinson to Acting Commissioner C. E. Mix, concerning a mistake in the boundary of Ponca Reservation, 1860. (In box with item 169 above.)
172. Map of Ponca Reservation, 1860. (In box with item 260 below.)
173. Survey of boundaries of Sac and Fox Reservation by J. S. Leonard, 1854. 1 volume.
174. Survey of the Iowa Indian Reservation by D. D. Reavis and F. W. Miller, 1890. 1 volume.
175. Survey of the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations, 1866-67. 3 volumes.

Reservations, military:

176. Appeal cases relating to Fort Randall Reservation. 1 box.
177. Map of Fort Kearney Military Reservation, 1859. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
178. Map of Fort McPherson Military Reservation, 1866. 1 roll. (Basement vault.)
179. Road. Right-of-way plats. 1 box.

Saline lands:

180. Papers relating to the saline lands, including plat of the springs; also letters, 1856-1886. 1 box.
181. Record of deeds to saline lands sold, 1869-1892. 1 volume.
182. Record of leases, 1889-1909. 1 volume.
183. School bonds. Bond proposals, 1870-1874. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

School fund:

184. Abstracts of the school fund and of school land sales, 1869 to date. 21 volumes and 33 documents. (1881-1905, 2 volumes, in basement vault.)
185. Abstracts of the school fund and of school land and lot sales in Buffalo County, 1874-75. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
186. State treasurers' reports on the permanent school funds, 1877-1884. 55 boxes. (Basement vault.)

School land:

187. Board of educational lands and funds. Miscellaneous papers filed with the board, 1877-1886. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
188. Record, 1877-1909. 3 volumes.
189. Digest of supreme court decisions relative to school land contracts, 1902. 1 box.
190. Ledger, 1868-1877. (Basement vault.)

191. Miscellaneous papers, 1873-1877. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)
192. Papers relating to Boyd County school land, 1890-1903. 2 boxes.
193. Records of lease and sale for the counties of Gage, Merrick, Nemaha, and Platte. 4 volumes. (Basement vault.)
194. Records of school lands as shown by county clerks, 1869-1876. 59 volumes. (Basement vault.)

School land indemnity:

195. Correspondence from the United States General Land Office pertaining to indemnity school lands and selections under various grants, 1869-1886. 1 box.
196. Memoranda of Fort Randall indemnity, Boyd County. 1 box.
197. Gage County lease, 1870. 1 record.
198. Leases to school lands, by counties. 74 boxes.
199. Ledgers of lease. 58 volumes.
200. Rejected applications for lease, 1882-1884. 16 boxes. (Basement vault.)

School land leases:

201. Treasurers' receipts for rent paid on school lands leased in the various counties, 1868-1905. 96 packages. (Basement vault.)

School land sales:

202. Abstracts of the school fund and of school land sales, 1869 to date. 21 volumes and 33 documents. (1881-1905, 2 volumes, in basement vault.)
203. Abstract of the school fund and of school land and lot sales in Buffalo County, 1874-75. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
204. Ledger of sales. 22 volumes.
205. Notes given in payment for school lands. 10 boxes.
206. Receipt registers. 11 volumes.
207. Receipts, 1884-1897. 6 volumes. (Basement vault.)
208. Record of certificates, 1887-1909. 11 volumes.
209. Record of deeds, 1868-1909. 9 volumes.
210. Record of interest on notes taken as part payment, 1869-1874. 1 volume.
211. Record of school land reverting to the State, 1881-1900. 2 volumes. (Basement vault.)
212. Reports of county treasurers on amount of school lands sold and unsold at public sales. 82 boxes.
213. *Simonds, H. W., v. County of Sherman.* Petition in the United States district court, 1881. (In box with item 28 above.)

Specifications. See Plans and specifications.

State institutions:

214. Estimates, 1897-1909. 10 boxes. (Basement vault.)
215. Invoices, 1901-1903. 1 box.
216. Permits approved, 1901-1908. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)
217. Statements of groceries and supplies purchased, 1902. 1 box. (Basement vault.)

State land:

218. Affidavits for copies of contracts lost, ?-1900. 4 boxes.
219. Appraisement by counties. 74 boxes.
220. Certificates, by county clerks, showing lands patent from the United States to the State of Nebraska. 1 box.
221. Delinquent notices, by counties, to holders of lease or contracts of sale. 74 boxes.
222. Statements showing description of lands and area of same for which township plats and descriptive lists were furnished to the State by United States land officers for years ending September 30, 1857-1867, as follows: Nemaha, South Platte, Omaha and Dakota. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)

State land leases:

223. Applications for lease. 97 boxes.
224. Assignment records, 1871-1910. 31 volumes.

225. Assignments of leases. 4 boxes.
 226. Delinquent lease list, 1901-1906. 6 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 227. Lease contracts surrendered. 19 boxes.
 228. Receipts from county treasurers of rentals on leased lands; copies, arranged by counties. 118 boxes.
 229. Recorded leases, 1887-1909. 40 volumes.
 230. Records of leases, 1877-1902. 9 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 231. Reports from counties showing amounts of rentals received. 1 box.
- State land sales:*
232. Applications for extension of sale contracts. 1 box.
 233. Applications for purchase; arranged by counties. 96 boxes.
 234. Contracts of sale, 1869-1897. 2 boxes.
 235. Receipts of final and part payments, 1869 to date. 144 boxes.
- Supplies.* See Purchase and supplies.

Surveyor general. NOTE.—Since 1889 the office has been discontinued as such, the work being continued under the direction of the commissioner of public lands and buildings; all the records pertaining to the survey are kept in the office of the commissioner.

236. Account books, 1867-1886. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)
 237. Accounts and receipts for rents, salaries and lists of assistants, 1867-1886. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 238. Ledger, 1874-1883. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
 239. Letters by the surveyor general, 1854-1886; copies. 5 volumes.
 240. Letters of instruction to deputy surveyors, 1855-1884. 1 volume.
 241. Miscellaneous letters to the surveyor general, 1856-1886. 2 boxes.
 242. Reports on account, 1879-1885. 1 box.
 243. Statement and expense bills of surveys, 1854-1886. 2 volumes.
 244. Statements of Omaha National Bank concerning account with surveyor general, 1879-1886; also letters from United States Treasurer, 1879-1886. 1 box.

Surveyors:

245. Applications for contracts. 1 box.
 246. Commissions of United States deputy surveyors, 1855-1866. 1 box.
 247. Contracts and bonds, 1854-1886. 2 boxes.
 248. Letters from surveyors relative to forwarding their drafts, 1855-1864. 1 box.
 249. Letters of instruction from the surveyor general to the deputy surveyors, 1855-1884. 1 volume.
 250. Letters relative to military escorts for surveyors, 1867-1874. 1 box.
 251. Letters from deputy surveyors to the surveyor general, 1855-1886. 3 volumes. (Letters arranged chronologically under each writer with alphabetic index to their names.)
 252. Miscellaneous letters, some containing reports of deputy surveyors, 1856-1861. 1 box.
 253. Preliminary oaths of assistants, 1867-1878. 1 box.

Surveys:

254. Applications for surveys, 1908-9. 1 box.
 255. Boundaries and field notes of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation, surveyed by Isaac McCoy, 1837; also general description of the boundaries signed by McCoy September 17, 1838; also field notes, October, 1855, of J. L. Cozad's retracement of the western boundary of McCoy's survey; also field notes by Alex. Oliphant, September-October, 1858, on the reestablishment of McCoy's western boundary under act of Congress passed June 12, 1858. 1 volume.

256. Examination of the surveys made by James L. Bradford, Charles W. Pierce, Thomas J. Merkey, White and Clopper. 2 boxes.
257. Field notes. 727 volumes.
258. Field notes and plats of the Pawnee Half-Breed Indian Reservation under treaty of September 24, 1857; also field notes and maps of the Sac and Fox Reservation; also letters from settlers inquiring as to boundary, 1855-1861. 1 box.
259. Inventory of property and estimates of surveys, 1868-1871. 1 box.
260. Letters from the Interior Department relating to resurvey, among which is a copy of a letter by Surveyor Thomas J. Stone, 1860, with a map of the Ponca Reservation. 1 box.
261. Letters of complaint and inquiry concerning United States surveys, 1869-1886. 1 box.
262. Maps of lots and irregular tracts. 2 boxes.
263. Private applications for United States survey under the special deposit system. 2 boxes.
264. Report of commission appointed to survey the boundary between Union County, S. Dak., and Dakota County, Nebr., 1904, with field notes; also report of commission appointed to survey the boundary between Nemaha County, Nebr., and Atchison County, Mo., 1905, with field notes; also decree of the supreme court. 1 volume.
265. Resurvey and reestablishment of the boundary line between Wyoming and Nebraska, by E. F. Stahle, 1908. 1 volume.
266. Resurvey of exterior lines, Grant and Hooker counties, 1894-1899. 2 volumes.
267. Resurvey of subdivision and claim lines, Grant and Hooker counties, 1895-1900. 6 volumes.
268. Resurvey of the third standard parallel and exterior boundaries; also survey of subdivision lines and corrected survey of the national cemetery at Fort McPherson and islands in the Platte River; by W. W. Alt, 1897. 1 volume.
269. Resurvey of the fourth and fifth guide meridian, 1895, through townships 21, 22, 23, 24, and 30. 1 volume.
270. Resurvey of the fifth standard parallel through ranges 31-40 and 47 west, and of the sixth standard parallel through ranges 31-40 west, 1895-96, 1900. 1 volume.
271. Settlers' applications for United States survey under the special deposit system. 1 box.
272. Statements and estimates of districts proposed for advanced survey in order to procure needed appropriation for that purpose, 1854-1886. 1 volume.
273. Statements and expense bills of surveys, 1854-1886. 2 volumes. (Basement vault.)
274. Street grades of Lincoln, established by act of legislature, February 15, 1869; A. F. Harvey, engineer. 1 box.
275. Survey of boundaries of Sac and Fox Reservation by J. S. Leonard, 1854. 1 volume.
276. Survey of Dismal River correction line, 1899, by W. W. Alt. 1 volume.
277. Survey of subdivisions, 1890-1895. Boyd and Keyapaha counties, in Big Sioux Reserve. 5 volumes.
278. Survey of the Iowa Indian Reservation by D. D. Reavis and F. W. Miller, 1890. 1 volume.
279. Survey of the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations, 1866-67. 3 volumes.
280. Surveys of islands in the Loup, Platte, and Niobrara Rivers by Robert Harvey, 1892. 1 volume.
281. Miscellaneous material relating to surveys of islands, military reserves, and Indian reserves. 1 box.
282. Maps of original surveys of State boundaries, standard parallels, guide meridians, and township exterior lines. About 700.

284. Townsites. Letters of Territorial officers on location of towns, 1856-1875. 1 box.
 285. Township plats. 25 volumes and 59 files. (25 volumes in basement vault.)
 286. *Transportation*, State board of. Applications for secretaryship, 1894. 1 box.
 (Basement vault.)

United States Land Office:

287. Letters from the commissioner of public lands and buildings, 1886-1910. 3 boxes.
 288. Letters from the Commissioner General of the Land Office to the surveyor general, 1854-1889. 11 volumes.
 Indexes, 1855-1886. 1 box.
 289. Letters from the register, United States land office, 1855-1886. 1 box.
 290. *University buildings*. Contract of John Lanham for the erection of the scientific and industrial building, 1885. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 291. University lands. Abstracts. 3 volumes.

Vouchers:

292. Miscellaneous old vouchers. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 293. Miscellaneous vouchers, 1885-1890. 38 boxes. (Basement vault.)
 294. Record of vouchers approved by the president of the board of public lands and buildings, 1907-8. 1 volume.

BUREAU OF LABOR CENSUS AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS.

This office was created by the legislature in 1887. The governor was made the commissioner, to comply with the requirements of the Nebraska constitution forbidding the creation of more executive offices. A deputy appointed by the governor is the acting commissioner.

There is an almost total absence of archives in the office. The correspondence of former incumbents has not been preserved.

ARCHIVES.

1. Correspondence. Letter files are preserved only so far as suits the needs of respective incumbents of the office.

FOOD, DAIRY, AND DRUG COMMISSION.

The Nebraska Legislature of 1907, responding to the general movement for food inspection, created this commission. Its files are preserved and are in good order.

ARCHIVES.

1. Analyses. Records of analyses of paints, oils, drugs, and dairy products, 1903-1910. 7 volumes.
2. Correspondence. Letters written and letters received, 1908-9. 16 boxes.

GAME AND FISH COMMISSION.

The act of February 24, 1879, created the fish commission of three citizens to serve without pay. Subsequent amendments enlarged its powers to cover protection of game as well as fish and provided a paid chief deputy.

The act of 1901 rewrote the law on the subject and numerous amendments have since been made. The files since 1901 are complete and in good order.

ARCHIVES.

1. Correspondence. Letters and answers, 1901-1910.

PUBLIC LIBRARY COMMISSION.

The commission was created by act of the legislature in 1901. Its files are complete and in good order.

ARCHIVES.

Correspondence:

1. Letters from library commissions of other States, with copies of replies, 1901-1910. 3 filing cases.
2. Letters from traveling library commissions, clubs, and school., with copies of replies, 1901-1910. 16 filing cases.
3. Miscellaneous letters received, with copies of replies, 1901-1910. 3 filing cases.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

The secretary of state's office was the original Territorial office of record. Its archives are the most complete for the Territorial and early State period and are, for the most part, in excellent condition for use. Accumulations of little used material belonging to former years are stored in basement vaults in a condition not easily accessible. Some of the most important papers relating to early Nebraska history, such as the records of the Settlers' Relief Commissions of 1875, 1891, and 1895, are in these vaults, needing care and organization.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Agricultural college.* Papers on location of agricultural college at Lincoln, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Agriculture:

2. Letters giving crop statistics, 1875. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")
3. Report to Morton on test of growth of sugar beet, 1873. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")
4. State board of agriculture. Annual report, 1874.
5. Report of the president of the board, 1874.
6. Reports received from county and district agricultural societies, 1872-1874. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")
7. *Arbor day.* Affidavits in proof of tree planting on Arbor day, 1873.

Attorney general:

8. Invoice of office, 1875.
9. Opinions, 1857-1906. 1 box.
10. *Auditor of public accounts.* Invoice of office, 1879.

Automobiles. See Motor vehicles.

11. *Banking board, State.* Certificates granted, 1897-1909. 1 box.
12. *Beet-sugar bounty.* Reports of the State sugar inspector on beet sugar manufactured at Grand Island and Norfolk, 1891, 1895-1897. 2 boxes.
13. *Bids and contracts.* State contracts, 1902-1909. 32 boxes. (Bids and contracts for specific purposes will be found under the specific names, as: Printing; Purchase and supplies; State institutions, etc.)

Blind, Institute for, Nebraska City:

14. Invoice, 1877.

15. Vouchers, 1887-1895. 3 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Bonds of officials:

16. Local officers' bond record, 1874-1909: County, precinct, village, city, school district, and miscellaneous. 14 volumes.

17. State officers' bond records. 5 volumes.

18. Territorial and State officers' official bonds, 1854-1909. 28 boxes.

19. *Boys'* industrial school, Kearney, 1887-1900, 1902-1909. 17 boxes. (Vouchers for 1887-1900, 7 boxes, in basement vault.)

20. *Brands* on live stock. Register of live-stock brands, 1899-1909. 18 volumes.

21. *Budget*. Letter from secretary of state to the governor giving estimate of expenses of the State, June, 1866-June, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

22. *Capital site, Lincoln*. Papers on location of the capital at Lincoln, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Capital site, Omaha:

23. Description of the capital of the Territory of Nebraska; taken from the *Nebraskian* published at Omaha city, Nebr. (Territory), October 30, 1855. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

24. Letter to the governor by James C. Mitchell, sole commissioner, locating the capital of the Territory of Nebraska at Omaha city in 1855. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Capitol building:

25. Plans and specifications for waterworks system, 1901.

26. Vouchers, 1901-1909. 9 boxes.

27. *Census* returns. Dakota County, October 18, 1855. (With item 48 below.)

Claims:

28. House committee on claims, 1907. Evidence taken relative to claims of heirs of Herman Goedde and Allen G. Fisher for value of escheated lands in Sioux County. 1 box.

29. Register of claims for purchase and supplies, 1877-1910. (1877-1895, 7 volumes, in basement vault.)

30. *Compiled statutes*, 1881. Protest of Messrs. Woolsley and Wheaton against Guy A. Brown relative to payment for Compiled Statutes of 1881. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

31. *Constitutional amendment*, 1886. List of newspapers publishing the governor's proclamation on the constitutional amendment of 1886. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

32. *Constitutional convention*, 1875. Original journals of the convention. (This office contains no records of the journals for 1866 and 1871. The original journals of all three conventions are now in process of publication.—Ed.)

33. *Constitution* of 1866. Original document, with certificate of statehood attached, signed by William H. Seward. Also newspaper clipping containing proclamation of statehood by President Andrew Johnson. Bound volume.

34. *Constitution* of 1871. Original document, with signatures of the members of the convention. Bound volume.

35. *Constitution* of 1875. Original document, with signatures of the members of the convention.

Contracts. See Bids and contracts.

Corporations—Articles of incorporation:

36. Articles of incorporation filed, 1869-1871. (Bound with item 114 below.)

37. Articles of incorporation filed by agents of foreign corporations, 1907-1909. 2 boxes.

38. Auditors' certificates of incorporation for insurance companies, 1897-1901. 1 volume.
39. Miscellaneous corporations:
- (a) Original articles, typewritten, 1857-1909. (151 complete systematic files.
 - (b) Same, copied in longhand, 1873-1909. 34 volumes.
40. Railroads:
- (a) Original articles, typewritten, 1857-1909. Complete in 18 boxes.
 - (b) Same, in longhand, 1857-1872. 1 volume. (Unsystematic.)
 - (c) Same, in longhand, 1873-1909. 4 volumes. (Complete and systematic.)
41. *Corporations—Inactive*. List of corporations that have quit business, 1909-10. 1 box.
- Corporations—Permits:*
42. Miscellaneous corporation permits, 1909-10. 21 boxes.
43. Miscellaneous permits paid under protest, 1909-10. 2 boxes.
44. Permits canceled. 1 box.
45. Railroad corporation permits, 1909. 1 box.
46. Correspondence. Public letters, 1874-1909; copies. 60 volumes.
- County officials:*
47. Annual reports, 1857-1910, containing lists of county officials from organization of each county to date. 22 boxes.
48. Lists of officials for the following counties, 1859: Dixon, Douglas, Hall, Burt, Monroe, Platte.
49. *Deaf and dumb*, Institute for, Omaha. Vouchers, 1887-1897. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
- Deeds:*
50. Copies of deeds from the State to private individuals and corporations.
51. Deeds to the State for grounds for public buildings, 1867-68, 1870. 1 box.
52. Notices of appointment of commissioner of deeds, 1855 to date. 6 boxes.
53. Deficiencies. Deficiency claims, 1896-97. 1 box.
- Election contests:*
54. Brown and Rock Counties, representative for district 51, 1904 (*Cortyll v. Carlin*); evidence, exhibits, and papers. 1 box.
55. Butler, Saunders, and Seward Counties, 1868. (In box with item 56 below.)
56. Cass County, 1870. 1 box.
57. Fillmore County representative, 1898. 1 box. (Complete record, 700 typewritten pages.)
58. Forney County, 1854; papers in contested election.
59. Merrick County, 1866. (In box with item 56 above.)
60. Otoe County, 1871. (In box with item 56 above.)
61. Richardson County, 1871; votes on the new constitution. (In box with item 56 above.)
62. Tenth senatorial district, 1870: Cuming, Cedar, Pierce, Dakota, Dodge, L'Eau qui Court, and Stanton Counties. (In box with item 56 above.)
63. *Election expenses*. Reports of election expenses of candidates, 1899-1909. 3 boxes.
- Election primaries:*
64. Abstract of primary election returns by counties, 1907-8. 1 box and 1 package. (1908, package, in basement vault.)
65. Filings of candidates' nomination papers, 1907-1909. 3 boxes.
- Election returns:*
66. Abstract registers for election returns, 1879-1910. 2 volumes.
67. Abstracts of votes by counties at territorial elections, 1854-55. 1 box.

68. Abstracts of votes by counties at territorial elections, 1861-1866. (Bound with item 177 below.)
69. Abstracts of votes by counties at State elections, 1857-1910. Filing cases. (1908, package, in basement vault.)
70. Abstracts of votes for and against the constitutions of 1866, 1871, and 1875.
71. Abstracts of votes for presidential electors, 1908. 1 box.
72. Abstracts of votes for State and congressional officers, 1884, 1887-1908. 22 boxes.
73. Abstracts of votes in Burt County, 1870. (In box with item 56 above.)
74. County votes on question of organization of counties, 1868-1908.
75. Members of the legislature, 1854.
76. Popular vote on senatorial preferences, 1900.
77. Soldiers' vote from the field, 1866.
78. Soldiers' vote from the field for Burt County, 1864.
79. State canvassing board. Reports, 1880-1909. 1 box.

Extraditions. See Requisitions.

Feeble-minded Youth, Institution for, Beatrice:

80. Reports and receipts, 1888-1890. (Basement vault.)
81. Vouchers, 1887-1900, 1902-1909. 14 boxes. (1887-1900, 4 boxes, in basement vault.)

Fees:

82. Fee books, 1895-1910.
83. State treasurers' receipts for office fees from the secretary of state, 1881-1897. 1 box.
84. *Game wardens.* Oath of office of deputy game wardens, 1903-1909. 1 box.
85. *Girls' Industrial School, Geneva.* Vouchers, 1893-1909. 12 boxes. (1893-1900, 3 boxes, in basement vault.)

Governor:

86. Acts vetoed by the governors, 1869-1899. Bound volume. (Vetoed bills, 1899-1909, are bound with enrolled bills, item 104 below.)
87. Impeachment of David Butler, governor of Nebraska, 1871:
 - (a) Correspondence between William H. James, secretary of state, and Gov. David Butler, 1871.
 - (b) Original papers of the trial and the printed book; with the opinion of Senator Geo. P. Tucker on his vote in the impeachment proceedings; also the certified copy of the judgment and order removing Gov. Butler from office.
88. Invoice of office furniture, 1871.

Home for the friendless, Lincoln:

89. Reports and receipts, 1889-1905. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
90. Vouchers, 1887-1909. 14 boxes. (1887-1901, 8 boxes, in basement vault.)
91. *Horticulture.* State horticultural society. Reports and odd papers, 1872-1874. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")
92. *Immigration.* State superintendent of immigration. Annual report, 1872-1874. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")

Industrial home, Milford:

93. Reports and receipts, 1890-1894. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
94. Vouchers, 1887-1900, 1902-1909. 113 boxes. (1887-1900, 3 boxes, in basement vault.)

Insane hospital, Hastings:

95. Invoice, 1895.
96. Plans and specifications for deep well and air lift. No date.
97. Vouchers, 1889-1900, 1902-1909. 23 boxes. (1889-1900, 7 boxes, in basement vault.)

98. *Insane hospital, Lincoln*: Vouchers, 1887-1900, 1903-1909. 26 boxes. (1887-1900, 11 boxes, in basement vault.)

Insane hospital, Norfolk:

99. Reports and receipts, 1887-1895. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
 100. Vouchers, 1887-1909. 16 boxes. (1887-1900, 8 boxes, in basement vault.)
 101. *Irrigation*. Plats, 1861-1906, showing rights of way for Nebraska railroads and irrigation canals and the courses of streams. 4 boxes.

Legislative acts and bills:

102. Original and engrossed bills of the house and senate, 1855-1909. (Complete and well arranged.)
 103. House rolls and senate files, 1877 to date. Bound volumes. (Printed.)
 104. Enrolled bills, 1855 to date. Bound volumes.

Legislative journals.

105. Senate and house journals, 1855 to date.
 106. Territorial council, 1857. Journal of the third session. 1 package in pigeonhole.

Legislative lobbyists:

107. List of corporation lobbyists, thirty-first session, 1908. Bound volume.
 108. List of registered lobbyists, thirty-first session, 1908. 1 box.
 109. *Legislative salaries*. Abstracts of the amounts paid to members of the house of representatives of the Territory of Nebraska. January 5-February 13, 1857.
 110. *Maps*. Plats, 1861-1906, showing rights of way for Nebraska railroads and irrigation canals and courses of streams. 4 boxes.

Military and naval:

111. Assessors' returns on soldiers and sailors living in Nebraska. 1890 to date. 1 box.
 112. Correspondence relative to roster of Ohio soldiers and sailors resident in Nebraska in 1885; also one copy of the complete printed roster. 1 box.
 113. Roster of soldiers and sailors residing in the several counties of Nebraska in 1885, on certification of the county clerks. 8 boxes. (Published in 1 vol., 1885.)
 114. Volunteers, 1861: First and second brigades. Commissions issued to officers. 1 volume.

Miscellaneous: Under this heading in its variations are several collections of documents, the individual items of which will be found under their specific subject headings.

Motor vehicles:

115. Registration applications, No. 1-8510, 1905-1909. 23 boxes.
 116. Registration permits record, 1906-1909. 2 volumes.
Nebraska State relief commission. See Relief commission, 1891-1895.
 117. *Newspapers*, official. List of newspapers publishing the proclamation of the governor on the constitutional amendment of 1886. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Notaries public:

118. Commissions, 1858-1867. (Bound with item 114 above.)
 119. List of notaries public, 1855-1858. 1 box.
 120. Notification of notaries qualifying, 1857-1910.
 121. Petitions for notaries public, 1857-1910. 106 boxes.
 122. Resignations of notaries public, 1882-1910. 3 boxes.

Officials:

123. Certificates of nomination of State and congressional officers, 1901-1906. 4 boxes.
 124. List of names of those filing nominations for State office, 1908. 1 box.
 125. List of Territorial officers, 1855. File boxes.
 126. *Orthopedic Hospital, Lincoln*, 1895-1909. 4 boxes.

Pardons and commutations:

127. Commutations of sentence, 1876-1909; reports from officers in charge of prisoners. 3 boxes.
128. Pardons, 1866-1896; reports from officers in charge of prisoners. 1 box.

Penitentiary:

129. Invoice, 1895.
130. Plans and specifications for 84 additional cells and for 60 cells in the east wing, 1904.
131. Reports and receipts, 1887-1902. 5 boxes. (Basement vault.)
132. Vouchers, 1896-1909. 113 boxes. (1896-1900, 3 boxes, in basement vault.)
133. Penitentiary site. Report of commissioner locating the State penitentiary site, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Plans and specifications:

134. Capitol building, 1901; waterworks system.
135. Insane Hospital, Hastings; deep well and air lift. No date.
136. Penitentiary; 84 additional cells and 60 cells in the east wing. 1904.
137. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Grand Island; water supply, fire protection, and sewerage. No date.
138. Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Milford; water tower. No date.

Printing, State:

139. Bids on State printing and awards by the State printing board, 1903-1908. 1 volume.
140. Contracts for State printing, 1903-1909. 7 boxes.
141. *Printing board.* Records of meetings, 1879-1909. 2 volumes.

Public lands and buildings, board of:

142. Official records of meetings, 1877-1909. 7 volumes.
143. Papers and documents of meetings, 1892-1905. 5 boxes.
144. Reports of special meetings, 1897. 1 box.
145. Vouchers, 1887-1900. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Purchase and supplies:

146. Bids, accepted and rejected, on supplies for State institutions, 1907-8.
147. Receipts, reports, proposals, and estimates relative to the various State institutions, 1870-1877, 1887-1890. 2 boxes.
148. Register of claims for supplies, etc., 1877-1910. (1877-1895, 7 volumes, in basement vault.)

Railroads:

149. Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. Power of attorney given by stockholders, for July and August, 1888. Bound volume.
- 149½. Plats, 1861-1906, showing rights of way for Nebraska railroads and irrigation canals and the courses of streams. 4 boxes.

Relief commission, 1891-1895. NOTE.—This commission—the second one of its kind for the State as a whole, the first being organized in 1875—had for its purpose the relief of the State's sufferers during the period of drought and grasshoppers from 1891 to 1895. All the documents that follow are housed in the basement vault. The papers of the grasshopper relief commission of 1875 are in the State treasurer's office vault.

150. Applications for relief. 61 packages.
151. Applications for seed grain. 1 package.
152. Bids on supplies. 1 package.
153. Bills of lading and miscellaneous matter. 9 packages.
154. Express receipts. 1 package.
155. Itemized invoices of goods purchased by the commission in 1891. 6 packages.

156. Itemized record of goods distributed by counties from donated supplies, and of goods purchased with State funds appropriated by the twenty-second and twenty-fourth sessions of the legislature. 5 volumes. (Vols. 1-3 contain no dates; vols. 4-5 contain dates for 1895.)
157. Itemized record of goods received and distributed. 1 package.
158. Letters. 5 packages.
159. Letters and telegrams from the manager; copies.
160. Letters to the commission, 1893-1895. 59 boxes.
161. Letters from county officers. 1 package.
162. Railroad expense bills. 1 package.
163. Receipts, copies and originals. 8 packages and 1 large wooden box.
164. Receipts, duplicate. 2 packages.
165. Receipts for goods, by counties. 2 large packages.
166. Receipts, originals. 4 packages.
167. Reports from county clerks relative to relief work. 2 packages.
168. Reports of grain inspectors. 1 package.
169. Reports of railway agents on distribution of coal. 1 package.
170. Report to the governor, 1895, giving inventory of goods received and disbursed by various counties; also minutes of meetings. 1 volume. (Typewritten.)
171. Reports to the legislature. 4 packages.
172. Stenographer's notes on work of the commission. 5 packages.
173. Stubs of original order books for relief. 1 package.
174. Vouchers, duplicate. 1 package.
175. Vouchers, original receipts for. 3 packages.
176. *Requisitions* from various States to the governor of Nebraska Territory, 1861-1867. 1 volume.
177. *Resources* of Nebraska. Report of committee awarding prizes for best essays on "Nebraska, her natural advantages and resources," 1874.
178. *School* bonds. School district bonds, 1880-1900. 9 volumes. (Basement vault.)
179. School fund. Apportionments of State school funds, 1883-1909. 1 box.
180. *Seals*. Impressions from the various great seals of State. 1 box.
- Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Grand Island:*
181. Plans and specifications for water supply, fire protection, and sewerage. No date.
182. Reports and receipts, 1889-1894. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
183. Vouchers, 1888-1909. 17 boxes. (1885-1902, 6 boxes, in basement vault.)
- Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Milford:*
184. Plans and specifications for water tower. No date.
185. Vouchers, 1897-1900, 1902-1909. 12 boxes. (1897-1900, 2 boxes, in basement vault.)
186. *State document* distribution. Requisitions and receipts from each county for session laws, statutes, etc., 1859 to date. 6 boxes.
- State institutions:*
187. Bids, accepted and rejected, on supplies for State institutions, 1907-8.
188. Receipts, reports, proposals, and estimates, 1870-1877, 1887-1890. 2 boxes.
189. Rules and regulations governing State institutions, 1901. 1 box.
190. *Superintendent of public instruction*. Invoice of office, 1872.
191. *Supreme court* reports. State copyrights, 1904-1909. 1 box.
192. *Telephone* rates: Senate special committee, 1903. Testimony taken at investigation. 2 boxes.
- Treasurer, State:*
193. Invoice of office, 1872.
194. Report, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

195. *University* site. Papers on location of State university at Lincoln, 1867. (In collection marked "Miscel. papers and docs.")

Vouchers:

196. Duplicate of vouchers held up by the board of public lands and buildings. 1 box.
 197. Duplicate of vouchers not found on record in register A. 1 box.
 198. *Weather*. Report on rainfall, eastern part of Cass County, 1865-1873. (In collection marked "Miscel. agr'l and hort. repts.")

STATE BANKING BOARD.

Prior to 1895 the supervision of the banks of this State was in the hands of the auditor of public accounts and a board whose powers were somewhat loosely defined. By legislative enactment of 1895 the State banking board was created. Since that date the records of this office have been carefully preserved. There are a few records antedating 1895. The records of this office are in good condition and systematically arranged.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Banking* board, State. Record of meetings, 1895-1910. 3 volumes.
Building and loan associations:
 2. Annual reports, 1895-1910. 76 boxes.
 3. Records of certificates issued to associations, 1895-1910. 1 volume.
 4. *Charter* records, 1895-1910. 2 volumes.
 5. *Closures*. Papers containing histories of all banks closed by order of the board, 1889-1910. 122 papers.
Correspondence:
 6. Letters received, 1892-1910. 52 boxes.
 7. Letters sent, 1892-1910; copies. 68 volumes.
 8. *Examiner*, State. Annual reports, 1895-1910. 667 boxes.
Incorporation, articles of:
 9. State banks, 1895-1910. 667 boxes.
 10. Building and loan associations, 1895-1910. 70 boxes.
State banks:
 11. Annual reports to the State auditor, summarized, 1884-1894. 7 volumes.
 12. Quarterly reports, 1895-1910. 895 boxes.
 13. Records of State banks, containing names of banks, officers, stockholders, location, capital stock, date of organization, names of examiners, and dates of examination. 2 volumes.
State banks discontinued:
 14. Papers from banks voluntarily ceasing business, 1892-1910, consisting of articles of incorporation, reports to the board, and surrendered charters. 395 boxes.
 15. Reports of the State bank examiners on defunct banks, 1889-1910. 276 boxes.

STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

This board was created a body corporate with perpetual succession under the name and style of the Nebraska Territorial Board of Agriculture, by legislative enactment, approved October 14, 1858. Funds for its support are furnished by the legislature. The correspondence records in the office do not date earlier than 1905, but the reports of the board are complete.

ARCHIVES.

1. Correspondence files, 1905-1910. 115 boxes. (1905-1907, 77 boxes, in basement vault.)
2. Photographs of all presidents of the State board of agriculture, 1859-1910. 20 photos.

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

This board was created by an act of the legislature of 1901, and is composed of the governor, the commissioner of public lands and buildings, and the superintendent of public instruction. The governor is chairman of the board. The board appoints two advisory secretaries and a chief clerk. There are no records prior to 1907.

ARCHIVES.

1. Correspondence. Letters written and letters received by the secretary, 1907-1910. Filing case.

STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The original State board of health law was enacted in 1891. In 1903 the law was amended and a State health inspector provided. The files from 1905 are complete and well arranged.

ARCHIVES.

1. Birth records. Records of births reported by local registrars, 1905 to date. 6 volumes. (Unbound current records in filing cases.)
2. Contagious diseases. Reports from attending physicians, 1904-1910. 7 filing cases.

Correspondence:

3. Letters received, 1905-1910. 5 boxes. (Arranged under: 1, Registrars' letters; 2, Miscellaneous, relating to contagious diseases.)
4. Letters sent, 1907-1910; copies. 2 volumes.
5. Death records. Certificates of death, 1904-1910. 191 volumes.

STATE BOARD OF IRRIGATION.

The State irrigation board was created by the act of 1895. Its correspondence, applications, maps, and records are complete and in good order.

ARCHIVES.

Correspondence:

1. Letters received, 1895 to date. 27 boxes.
2. Letters written, 1895 to date; copies. 26 volumes.
3. Index of all the work pertaining to the office. 1 volume.

Irrigation, State board of:

4. Opinions and adjudications, 1895 to date. 16 volumes.
5. Records of meetings, 1896-1910. 1 volume.
6. Reports, 1898-1910. 5 volumes.

Maps:

7. Plans and maps of land filed with applicants for water rights. In map case.
8. Township plats of all lands involved where application has been made for water rights. Filing case.

9. *Miscellaneous* records. 1 volume.
10. *Plans* and specifications for culverts and bridges. Filing cases.
Water rights and appropriations:
11. Certificates of the appropriation of water, giving priority of the appropriation, 1895-1910. 1 volume.
12. Records of application to appropriate waters of the State, 1895-1910. 5 volumes.
13. Records of claims for water rights, containing all the evidence in the case; No. 1-1021, 1895-1910. Bound volumes.

STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY.

This board was established by act of legislature in 1887. Its record of meetings is complete and well kept. No correspondence files in statehouse.

ARCHIVES.

1. State board of pharmacy. Minutes of meetings, 1889 to date. 1 volume. (This record is kept in the office of the secretary of the board, located with the office of the board of public lands and buildings.)
2. State board of examiners. Records of registrations and all other records are kept by the secretary of the State board of examiners at his place of residence. The location of these records changes therefore with each change in the office incumbent.

STATE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

The Nebraska State Horticultural Society was organized on the State fair grounds at Nebraska City, September 29, 1869. Appropriation was made by the legislature of 1872 and each subsequent legislature to aid this society in its work. The records were kept by Hon. R. W. Furnas at Brownville, Nebr., for many years. Some of these records are now in the custody of the Nebraska State Historical Society. The complete reports of the Horticultural Society are in the office of the governor; these reports date from 1872-1909.

ARCHIVES.

1. Arbor Day. Correspondence and newspaper clippings relative to tree planting on Arbor Day, 1884-1886. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
2. Correspondence, 1900-1909. 80 boxes. (Basement vault.)
3. Medals and trophies won by members, for fruit displays, as follows:
 - 1869, Massachusetts Horticultural Society, 1 silver medal.
 - 1871, New Jersey State Agricultural Society, 1 bronze medal.
 - 1871, American Pomological Society, 1 bronze medal.
 - 1876, Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1 gold medal, 1 silver, 1 bronze.
 - 1878, Nebraska State Board of Agriculture, 1 bronze medal.
 - 1893, Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 2 bronze medals.
 - 1898, Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha, 2 bronze medals.
 - 1909, National Horticultural Congress, Council Bluffs, 1 gold medal and 1 loving cup.

State fair:

4. Entry applications, 1908. 12 boxes. (Basement vault.)
5. Entry books, 1904-1907. 174 volumes. (Basement vault.)
6. Premium pay rolls, 1896, 1903-4. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)

STATE INSPECTOR OF OILS

In 1875 an act was passed regulating the sale of illuminating oils. In 1887 the department of oil inspection was established. The record books are complete since 1887. Correspondence files have not been kept. The material is in good order and accessible.

ARCHIVES.

1. Cash books, 1887-1910. 3 volumes.
2. Correspondence files of letters sent and received, 1909-10. 2 filing cases.
3. Inspection certificates, 1908-1910. 2 boxes.
4. Inspection notices. Post-card notices of cars of oil ready for inspection, 1907-1910. 3 boxes.
5. Inspection records. Records of oil inspection by districts, number of barrels inspected, brands and whether rejected or approved, 1887-1910. 9 volumes.

Reports:

6. Annual and semiannual reports of the inspector to the governor, 1901-1909.
7. Monthly reports of the inspector, 1904-1909. 4 boxes.

STATE LIBRARY.

The library of this State has its origin in the earliest territorial days. The Kansas-Nebraska act of May 30, 1854, provided for the purchase of a territorial library to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the executive departments and the general officials of the Territory under certain regulations. By legislative enactment approved November 4, 1858, it was made a misdemeanor to take any books or records out of the library. In an act creating the office of territorial librarian, approved March 16, 1855, it was provided that "The said librarian, auditor, and treasurer shall be elected at the first general election to be held in the year 1855, and biennially thereafter, and shall hold their offices, respectively, until the 1st day of January, 1857, and until their successors are elected and qualified: *Provided*, That those officers when first appointed by the governor shall hold their offices until the 1st day of January, 1857."

The librarian by an act approved January 26, 1856, had to give a bond in the sum of \$10,000 for the faithful performance of his duty. Among these numerous duties was the keeping of a file of each of the newspapers published in the Territory. This was not done, and had it not been for a few private individuals who collected and preserved the territorial newspapers the present generation would have but meager knowledge of the political and social conditions of that period.

By an act approved January 13, 1860, the duties of the territorial librarian were further defined, and more drastic restrictions enacted concerning the taking of books from the library. At this time the salary of the librarian was fixed at \$400 per annum. By an act approved January 11, 1861, the office of territorial librarian was

abolished, and the duties and records of the office placed under the supervision and control of the territorial auditor.

This was later changed by an act approved February 13, 1865, which created anew the office of territorial librarian and declared that "the governor of this Territory is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint some suitable person to discharge the duties of said office until the next general election for Delegate in Congress; and at said general election, a territorial librarian shall be elected, and every two years thereafter." The Revised Statutes of 1866 contained a provision for an elective librarian.

By an act approved June 22, 1867, the office of State librarian was created, and the secretary of state was designated, *ex officio*, State librarian. The act of March 3, 1871, made two divisions of the State library, one to be under the charge of the secretary of state, the other to be in the charge of the clerk of the supreme court. The governor, secretary of state, and auditor constituted a board of directors for the miscellaneous division, under the supervision of the secretary of state, and the judges of the supreme court constituted a board of directors of the law division of the State library, under the supervision of the clerk of the supreme court. The act of June 5, 1871, authorized the librarian of the law division of the State library to send reports and laws of this State to other States for the use of their respective libraries. The constitution of 1875 provided that "There shall be appointed by the supreme court a reporter, who shall also act as clerk of the supreme court, and librarian of the law and miscellaneous library of the State, whose term of office shall be four years, unless sooner removed by the court, whose salary shall be fixed by law, not to exceed \$1,500 per annum."

The records of the library, outside of the books and pamphlets, consist merely in the correspondence for the purchase and interchange of books. The present library is not catalogued. It ranks among the best libraries in the West as to value and completeness of material, but it is in constant danger of fire, as the shelves and cases are of wood. The legislature has thus far refused to remedy this condition.

ARCHIVES.

1. Accessions records:

(a) In the same register with item 3 below is a record made under the librarianship of Guy A. Brown, evidently attempting to open a list of accessions. It is numbered 1-2505, with intermittent gaps and a few unnumbered additions; it bears no date.

(b) Accessions books, No. 28601 to date, December 1, 1892, to date. 8 volumes.

2. Correspondence. Not separated from the files of legal correspondence in the office of the clerk of the supreme court, the latter officer being also State librarian.

3. Register of books issued, 1871-1890. 1 volume.

STATE RAILWAY COMMISSION.

This office was first created by an act of the legislature approved March 5, 1885. It was afterwards declared unconstitutional by the State supreme court. The present railway commission was created by a constitutional amendment adopted November, 1906. The records in this office are complete from 1907 to date, and are in good order.

ARCHIVES.

1. *Attorney general*. Opinions, 1907-1910. 1 filing case.
2. *Car* reports; being a record of the car situation on every railroad in Nebraska, 1907-1910. 1 volume.
- Complaints, formal:*
 3. Complaint docket, 1907-1910, containing a condensed record of all the formal complaints lodged with the commission. 1 volume.
 4. Formal complaints pending, 1907 to date. 1 filing case.
 5. Formal complaints withdrawn or settled, 1907-1910. 2 filing cases.
- Complaints, informal:*
 6. Informal complaints filed with the commission, 1907-1910. 4 transfer cases.
 7. Documents sustaining informal complaints, 1907-1910. 4 filing cases.
 8. Informal complaints pending, 1907 to date. 2 filing cases.
 9. Informal complaints withdrawn, 1907 to date. 1 filing case.
10. *Correspondence*, 1907-1910:
 - (a) Telephone. 3 filing cases.
 - (b) Railroad. 1 filing case.
 - (c) Miscellaneous. 1 filing case.
 - (d) Railroad and railway commission affairs, miscellaneous matters. 3 transfer cases.
11. *Express*. Annual reports from all express companies in Nebraska, 1907-1910.
12. *Freight*. Monthly summary of freight statistics for every railroad station in Nebraska, 1907-1910. 4 volumes.
13. *Orders* issued. General orders issued, 1907-1910. 1 filing case.
14. *Passes*. Monthly reports from all railroads and street-car companies in Nebraska, giving lists of all persons to whom free passes were issued, 1907-1910.
15. *Railroads*. Annual reports from all railroads in Nebraska, 1907-1910.
- Railway commission, State:*
 16. Annual reports, 1908 to date.
 17. Secretary's records, containing records of all meetings, 1907-1910. 1 volume.
- Rates and schedules:*
 18. Applications for permission to change schedules and rates, 1907-1910. 5 filing cases.
 19. Files of all rates and schedules from common carriers subject to the railway commission act, 1907 to date.
 20. *Special orders* authorizing change of rates, 1907-1910. 6 filing cases.
 21. *Sleeping cars*. Annual reports from all sleeping-car companies in Nebraska, 1907-1910.
 22. *Telegraph*. Annual reports from all telegraph companies in Nebraska, 1907-1910.
 23. *Telephone*. Annual reports from all telephone companies in Nebraska, 1907-1910.

STATE TREASURER.

By the organic act of May 30, 1854, the governor and the secretary of the Territory were made the medium through which the funds appropriated by the United States Government for the Territory were

expended. An act of the Territorial assembly approved March 16, 1855, created the office of treasurer of the Territory. The constitution of 1875 provided for this office. The records of this office are well cared for in the office vault, but the basement vault being damp the records were in a state of decay and badly disarranged. Part of the latter records are now in the custody of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

ARCHIVES.

Appropriations:

1. Appropriation accounts, 1889-1897. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)
2. Appropriation records, 1884-1910. 15 volumes.

Bonds:

3. Bids for the 8 per cent State bonds issued under legislative act of 1877. 2 boxes. (Basement vault.)
4. Bond records, 1873-1910. 3 volumes.
5. Paid coupons on bonds issued by the Territory of Nebraska, payable 1869-70. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
6. Redeemed funding bonds issued under legislative act of 1877. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)
7. Redeemed Territorial bonds, issued 1865 and redeemed 1872. 4 boxes. (Basement vault.)
8. "Relief bonds" canceled, 1896, 1897-1900. 1 filing case and 1 package in basement vault. (These bonds, totaling \$468,267.35, were issued by the State in 1891 and 1895 to provide supplies and seed grain for its citizens who had lost their crops.)
9. *Capital* site lots. Statement of the sale of State lots in Lincoln under legislative act of March 1, 1887; also exhibit showing the amount of sales and amounts paid in cash and in notes. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
10. *Cash* books, 1868-1897; partial files. 15 volumes. (Basement vault.)
11. 1871-1910. 11 volumes.

Convict labor. See Penitentiary.

County accounts with State:

12. Auditors' statements of moneys due the State from counties, 1908-9. 91 boxes.
13. Statements of county treasurers, showing accounts between the counties and the State, 1871-1909. 4 volumes. (Basement vault; 1871-1877, in boxes.)
14. *Deaf* and dumb, Institute for, Omaha. Statements of accounts, 1877-78. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
15. *Interest* on State deposits. Statements, 1894-1896. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
16. *Journal*, 1855-1863. 1 volume. (Basement vault.)

Ledgers:

17. General ledgers, 1871-1910. 7 volumes.
18. Ledgers, 1873-1888. 3 volumes. (Basement vault.)

Penitentiary:

19. Statement of accounts, 1877-78. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
20. Statements of amounts received on convict labor contracts, 1896. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
21. *Relief* and aid society, 1875. Papers, including vouchers, correspondence, bills and warrants, concerning relief work during grasshopper years. 28 boxes. (Basement vault.)

Relief bonds, 1891-1895. See Bonds.

22. *Remittance* register of negotiable paper received, 1897 to date. 9 volumes. (Basement vault.)

23. *School fund.* Apportionable lists of school funds, 1871-1896. 2 volumes. (Basement vault.)
24. *Tax receipts, 1899-1909.* 183 volumes.
Warrants:
25. Redeemed warrants, 1864-1901. 434 boxes. (Basement vault.)
26. Warrant records, 1870-1878, 1881-1910. 16 volumes. (1870-1878, 2 volumes; in basement vault.)

STATE VETERINARIAN.

The office of State veterinarian was created by the act of 1895. The subsequent act of 1901 first placed the department in position to take up systematic work. Its early files are lacking. Since 1903 they are nearly complete and in good order.

ARCHIVES.

1. Correspondence, 1903 to date. 20 boxes. (Filed by subjects and subarranged alphabetically by names of correspondents.)
2. Glanders. Record of all cases of glanders noted in the State.
3. Tuberculin tests. Detailed records of all tuberculin tests made since August, 1909.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The functions of this office were exercised by the auditor prior to the adoption of the constitution of 1875. Most of the earlier archives relating thereto are buried in the accumulations of the auditor's basement vaults.

The correspondence files of the past 20 years and the records for that period are practically complete and in good order.

ARCHIVES.

1. Commissioner of common schools. Annual report to the Territorial council and house of representatives, 1860. Bound volume.
- Correspondence:*
2. Letters from within the State. 36 boxes labeled "Counties."
 3. Letters from outside the State. 5 boxes.
 4. Letters sent, 1891-1909; copies. 141 volumes.
 5. County superintendents. Annual reports, 1869-1909. 36 volumes.
 6. High schools. Annual reports, 1907-8. 2 filing cases.
 7. Newspaper clippings. Miscellaneous items of educational interest, 1878-1880. 1 scrapbook.
 8. Normal schools, junior. Reports of student work from Alliance, Alma, Broken Bow, Geneva, McCook, North Platte, O'Neill, and Valentine, 1907-1909. 8 volumes.
 9. School fund. Reports from the State treasurer regarding apportionable school funds, 1869-1876. Bound volumes.
 10. State Teachers' Association. Minutes of meetings, 1867-1902; also constitution adopted in 1867, with names and addresses of signers. 2 volumes.
- Teachers' certificates:*
11. Records of examinations for teachers' certificates, 1905-1909. 6 volumes.
 12. Reports on certificates issued, extended, and indorsed, 1905-1907; by counties. 17 filing cases labeled "Transfer."

SUPREME COURT.

The supreme court had its origin in the organic act creating the Territory May 30, 1854, which declared that "The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and two associate justices." The constitution of 1875 provided for three judges. The cases before the supreme court became so numerous that the legislature of 1901 authorized the supreme court to appoint nine commissioners to aid them in clearing up the docket. The legislature of 1905 reduced the number of supreme court commissioners to six. By constitutional amendment adopted November, 1908, the supreme court was increased from three to seven judges.

The records in this department date from 1854. The correspondence, while scattered about in the several vaults, is arranged by years and accessible. All the records are well preserved.

CLERK'S RECORDS.

1. *Appeal*. Notices of appeal and summons in error, No. 1-16809, 1869-1910. 18 boxes. (Second-floor vault.)
2. *Attorneys*. List of attorneys admitted to practice before the Nebraska supreme court and copies of oaths taken. Admitted on motion July 6, 1880-1885, 3 volumes; admitted on recommendation of bar commission, 1895-1904, 2 volumes. (Second-floor vault.)
3. *Bailiffs*. Oaths of bailiffs. (In box with item 18 below, second-floor vault.)
- Bar admissions:*
4. Applications for admission to practice at the bar, No. 1-1314, 1895-1910. 6 boxes. (Second-floor vault.)
5. Miscellaneous papers. (In box with item 18 below, second floor vault.)
- Bar examinations:*
6. Miscellaneous papers. (In box with item 18 below, second floor vault.)
7. Vouchers, 1899-1910. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
- Bonds:*
8. Bonds given in costs for suits, No. 2272-16814, 1885-1910. 8 boxes. (Second floor vault.)
9. Bonds of receivers, 1889-1895. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
- Briefs:*
10. Nebraska briefs containing arguments of counsel, 1873-1911. Volumes 1-462. (Second floor vault.)
11. Extra and incomplete sets, No. 4000 to date. (Basement vault.)
12. *Brown, Guy A.* Correspondence with Brown while clerk of the supreme court, 1881-1884. 4 boxes. (Railway commission vault.)
13. *Calendar*. Supreme court calendar, January, 1878-January, 1908. 36 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
14. *Case exhibits*. Bundle of exhibits containing architectural drawings, survey plats, photographs, etc., accompanying the regular documents in various suits, 1880-1895. (Railway commission vault.)
- Cases:*
15. List of cases with fees paid, 1891-1896. 1 volume. (Second floor vault.)
16. List of reported and unreported cases, 1901-1904. 1 volume. (Second floor vault.)
17. *Cobb, Amasa*. Addresses on his death. (In box with item 18 below, second floor vault.)

18. *Commissioners* of supreme court. Resignation papers. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
- Correspondence:*
19. Correspondence with Guy A. Brown, clerk of supreme court, 1881-1884. 4 boxes. (Railway commission vault.)
20. Letter files, 1890-1910. 220 boxes. (Basement vault; 1907-1910, 43 boxes, in second floor vault.)
21. Office correspondence, 1877. 1 box. (Railway commission vault.)
22. Miscellaneous correspondence of D. A. Campbell, clerk of supreme court, 1891-92. (Packages in wooden boxes, basement vault.)
- Dockets:*
23. Appearance dockets, No. 1-13400, June, 1857-1905. 26 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
24. Consultation room docket, department 1-2, September, 1907-January, 1908. (Second floor vault.)
25. Motion docket, 1908-1910. 3 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
26. Trial docket, July, 1873-July, 1883. 2 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
- Error, summons in.* See Appeal.
- Fees:*
27. Fee bills, No. 3373-15713, 1898-1908. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
28. Fee books containing records of fees. 35 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
29. List of cases with fees paid, 1891-1896. 1 volume. (Second floor vault.)
30. Miscellaneous fee receipts. 1 box. (Basement vault.)
31. Receipts for brief fees, 1908-1910. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
32. *Gaslin*, William. Resolutions on his death. (In box with item 18 above, second floor vault.)
33. *Index* to cases, No. 1-11001. 4 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
34. *Journals* of the Nebraska supreme court, containing minutes of the sessions and places of convening, June 8, 1858-September, 1910. 27 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
35. *Law reports*. Stereotype plates of Nebraska law reports, official and unofficial. 1,255 wooden boxes. (Basement vault.)
36. *Law students*. Registration of law students, No. 1-218, 1903-1910. 1 box. (Second floor vault.)
37. *Naturalization*. Final papers declaring intention to become citizens of the United States, 1876-1901. 1 volume. (Second floor vault.)
- Opinions:*
38. Original opinions of the supreme court, volumes 1-60. (Railway commission vault.)
39. Record journals complete, containing the full opinion of the court in each case, January 13, 1868-March 29, 1893. 122 volumes. (Second floor vault.)
40. Unreported opinions, 1909-10. 1 volume. (Second floor vault.)
41. *Power of attorney*. Miscellaneous papers. (In box with item 18 above, second floor vault.)
42. *Records* of suits. Receipts for records of suits in supreme court upon which attorneys obtaining the records either make no reply or the records can not be obtained. Receipt No. 317-14778, 1901-1907. 1 box. (Second floor vault; earlier receipts missing.)
43. *Stenographers*. Oath of court stenographers. (In box with item 18 above, second floor vault.)
- Transcripts:*
44. Miscellaneous transcripts. (In box with item 30 above, basement vault.)
45. Transcripts of cases before the supreme court, No. 1-16818, 1857-1910. 415 packages. (No. 1-6000 in railway commission vault; 6001-16818 in second floor vault.)

APPENDIX E.

NOTES ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

By JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON,
Librarian of the Philippine Library, Manila.



NOTES ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES.¹

The old Spanish archives of the Philippines came into the possession of the United States in consequence of a treaty with a foreign power, as did the East Florida, the New Mexico, and the California papers. But, whereas the two former collections are now conserved in the Library of Congress, only a drastic change of policy, and one detrimental to the islands in every way, would cause the transfer of the Philippine archives to the United States. These papers belong peculiarly to the Philippine Islands, in fact, are a part of the very web and woof of their whole history, and a decidedly active asset at the present time in land questions and other matters which are productive of lawsuits.

This is by far the largest collection that has come into our possession through foreign sources. It is estimated that the main section contains five millions of papers. It is probable that they number many more, and this although many have been destroyed through the wanton fortune of war, by the insect pests so much to be dreaded out here, and by the tropical climate which is so hostile to the preservation of documents. This "main section" is housed in the walled city in the Ayuntamiento building. The archives, together with copyrights, patents, and brands, form a bureau under the department of public instruction, and are in charge of Manuel de Iriarte, who is almost entirely Spanish in blood. The entire right wing of the ground floor of the Ayuntamiento building is devoted to the use of the archives. Formerly, part of the storerooms of the left wing was given over to the archives, but the space was needed for other things, and consequently the valuable papers had to suffer. They were transferred to the right wing and placed with the other papers in rooms already filled to overflowing. So congested is the archive department that many thousands of these valuable papers are actually piled up in the open air under the gallery of the inner court of the Ayuntamiento, where they are exposed to the dangers of a driving tropical rain, and where many of them are already partially destroyed or illegible.

This was the third transfer of these papers since American occupation, and although bad enough, not to be compared with the transfer from other locations. It is recorded that when the documents were

¹ These notes may be regarded as supplementary to, and as bringing down to the present time, the remarks made on the subject by Mr. Worthington C. Ford in his paper on the archives of our dependencies, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1904.

transferred to the Ayuntamiento they were loaded higgledy-piggledy into wagons like so much dirt shoveled off the streets. Many precious manuscripts were torn and mutilated, many parts were lost, and many suffered in other ways. It is said that in the old days ignorant soldiers rendered many valuable manuscripts almost useless by tearing off the upper parts of many pages in order to secure the Spanish seal stamped at the head of each sheet. There is now no danger of such losses from any future transfer or from any such ungentle handling by ignorant persons.

The most crying need of the archives at the present time is an efficient classification, and room in which to conserve them properly. Some of them have been arranged, at least roughly. The royal decrees, for instance, are all nicely arranged in tin boxes that have kept them safe from the destructive influences of the climate. The very practical use of the archives demands that they be adequately housed, and that they be arranged as rapidly as possible. The work of classification is going on slowly under charge of Señor Guzman, a Filipino, and a real enthusiast in his work. But as yet conditions as to space and a small and not thoroughly trained force prevent much advance in the work. As it is, Señor Guzman is likely to be called upon at any time to make research in any direction of Philippine history for immediate use, a procedure that makes it well nigh impossible to keep even the arrangement that has been previously wrought out.

These documents cover almost the entire period of the Spanish régime in the Philippines, and contain much that is of the utmost value. Many of the papers will be found also in Mexico and Spain, but there are many others of which the only copy exists here. They touch on all phases of Philippine history, and the historical student will be richly rewarded by a few months of diligent research.

Another collection of papers that is included in the archives of the Philippines is that of the old records of the Audiencia or Spanish supreme court. These papers are housed very inadequately in an old stable across from the building used by the present supreme court. They are piled without order on shelves from floor to ceiling. Some have fallen on the floor and been trodden under foot. They are in as great disorder as the papers in the Ayuntamiento. And yet, these papers are of very great value.

There is still one other collection of old Spanish papers in Manila. They are located in a small side room of the Supreme Court Building, and probably are court records. They are in a safer place than either of the other two collections, but are, like them, without any decent arrangement, and a prey to the dust and to insects that might at any moment attack them. All three collections are kept in buildings that are not fireproof. To them must be added the

numerous provincial archives—what is still left of them—scattered throughout the various Provinces of the islands, and which should some day, so far as possible, be transferred to Manila.

Finally, the Philippines library has obtained from the bureau of prisons the old Spanish prison records, all in manuscript.

It is good to know that the next few years will see provisions made for the efficient conservation of these precious manuscripts, and that not many years hence will see them as carefully housed as those in the unequalled division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The Filipinos appreciate thoroughly the importance of preserving these priceless records, and Americans are bringing enlightened means to bear for their future care. It is a serious question. If anything should happen to blot out these papers, the Filipinos could only turn to Spain and Mexico with their incomplete records for the history of the islands beyond what is already embodied in books. Every measure looking toward the preservation of the manuscripts of the Philippine archives will redound to the glory of the Philippine Legislature; and every dollar expended wisely for that end will be a monument to the legislators.



XVII. WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1910.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON UNITED STATES AND
CANADIAN HISTORY PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1910, WITH
SOME MEMORANDA ON OTHER PORTIONS OF AMERICA.

COMPILED BY
GRACE GARDNER GRIFFIN.



PREFACE.

The annual bibliography which follows is the fifth number of a continuous series opening with 1906. A volume entitled "Writings on American History, 1902," prepared by Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, and Mr. Anson Ely Morse, was published at Princeton in 1904. A volume of a plan more like the present, "Writings on American History, 1903," prepared by Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Mr. William A. Slade, and Mr. Ernest D. Lewis, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was published by that institution at Washington in 1905. After an interval followed the series, "Writings on American History, 1906, 1907, and 1908," prepared by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin and originally published by the Macmillan Company (New York, 1908, 1909, 1910). From the beginning of this new series the enterprise was sustained by a group of subscribers consisting of the American Historical Association, the Buffalo Historical Society, the Chicago Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Missouri Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Oregon Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Western Reserve Historical Society, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Mr. William K. Bixby, Mr. Clarence M. Burton, Mr. Adrian H. Joline, and Hon. George L. Rives. The preparation of the material for 1909 and 1910 has been carried out through the continued aid afforded by the same generous subscribers. Independent publication, however, ceased with the volume for 1908. Beginning with the volume for 1909, though the preparation of the material has continued to be provided for by such a subscription, the printing and publication of the annual bibliography has been assumed by the American Historical Association. In its Annual Report for 1909 a bibliography of the material published in that year was included. The present list continues the matter through the issues of the calendar year 1910.

To those who desire to have complete sets of the volumes hitherto published, it may be useful to know that the volume for 1902 can still be obtained from the library of Princeton University, that for 1903 from the Carnegie Institution of Washington, while those for 1906, 1907, 1908 (independent volumes), and "separates" of those for 1909 and 1910, can be obtained from the secretary of the American Historical Association.

The ensuing pages have been prepared upon the same system as the volumes for 1906, 1907, and 1908. The intention of the compiler has been to include all books and articles, however brief, which contain anything of value to the history of the United States and of British North America. With respect to the regions lying south of the continental United States, however, and to the Pacific islands, the intention has been to include all writings on the history of these regions published in the United States or Europe; but the product (not relating to the United States) of South America and other southward regions has been left to their own bibliographers. New editions of books, if they contain no new material, have not been noticed. When no other date of publication is given, the date is 1910. The annotations have been confined to explanations of titles which seem to need explanation; to analyses of contents (in many cases taken from the catalogue cards of the Library of Congress), when analyses seemed requisite; and to mention of critical appraisals in a few journals whose criticisms have value.

A topical arrangement has been followed. As a rule the books and articles in any division are arranged alphabetically by the authors' names. In a few cases another arrangement appeared to be more helpful; in the case of biography and genealogy the subject of the book or article determines the alphabetical arrangement. Attention is called to the special index, which serves as an alphabetical guide to the material here presented in a methodical classification, and which precedes the general index of this volume.

In the compilation of the material, performed at the Library of Congress, Miss Griffin has had most obliging assistance from Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and from Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, Chief Assistant Librarian.

CONTENTS.

GENERALITIES:	Page.
Bibliography.....	449
Archives and manuscript collections.....	453
Historiography, methodology, study, and teaching.....	455
AMERICA IN GENERAL:	
Aboriginal America—	
Antiquities.....	456
Indians.....	460
Mexico, Central America, West Indies, and South America.....	464
Discovery and exploration.....	469
Later discovery and exploration.....	470
UNITED STATES:	
Description and travel.....	472
Comprehensive.....	473
Text-books, outlines, etc.....	474
Territorial expansion.....	475
Colonial history to 1763—	
General.....	476
French and Indian war.....	477
Regional colonial (arranged geographically).....	477
1763-1783—	
Sources and documents.....	483
General.....	486
Special.....	486
Revolutionary soldiers: Names.....	490
Revolutionary societies.....	491
1783-1789.....	491
1789-1829—	
Sources and documents.....	491
War of 1812.....	492
1829-1861—	
Miscellaneous.....	493
Mexican war.....	494
Slavery.....	494
1861-1865—	
General.....	495
Regimental histories.....	501
1865-1910—	
General.....	502
Spanish-American war.....	503
Miscellaneous.....	503
Regional (local) history—	
General.....	504
Alabama.....	505

UNITED STATES—Continued.

Regional (local) history—Continued.

	Page.
Alaska.....	505
Arkansas.....	505
California.....	506
Connecticut.....	506
Delaware.....	507
District of Columbia.....	507
Florida.....	507
Georgia.....	507
Idaho.....	508
Illinois.....	508
Indiana.....	510
Iowa.....	511
Kansas.....	511
Kentucky.....	512
Louisiana.....	513
Maine.....	513
Maryland.....	514
Massachusetts.....	515
Michigan.....	519
Minnesota.....	519
Mississippi.....	520
Missouri.....	520
Montana.....	521
Nebraska.....	521
New Hampshire.....	521
New Jersey.....	522
New Mexico.....	522
New York.....	522
North Carolina.....	524
North Dakota.....	525
Ohio.....	526
Oklahoma.....	527
Oregon.....	527
Pennsylvania.....	527
Rhode Island.....	531
South Carolina.....	531
South Dakota.....	532
Tennessee.....	532
Texas.....	532
Utah.....	533
Vermont.....	533
Virginia.....	533
Washington.....	534
West Virginia.....	535
Wisconsin.....	535
Biography—	
Comprehensive.....	536
Individual (arranged alphabetically by subject).....	538
Genealogy—	
General.....	560
Collected genealogy.....	560
Individual families.....	562
Regional genealogy, vital records, etc.....	572

UNITED STATES—Continued.	Page.
Military and naval history.....	577
Politics, government, and law—	
Diplomatic history and foreign relations.....	580
Monroe doctrine.....	584
Constitutional history and discussion.....	584
Politics.....	585
Law.....	587
National government and administration.....	588
State and local government and administration.....	589
Municipal government.....	592
Social and economic history—	
Generalities.....	593
Agriculture; forestry; land.....	594
Commerce and industry.....	594
Communication; transportation; public works.....	596
Finance; money.....	599
Labor.....	602
Libraries, societies, institutions.....	603
Life and manners.....	604
Philanthropy.....	605
Population and race elements.....	606
Printing and publishing.....	608
Religious history—	
General.....	609
Particular denominations (arranged alphabetically by denominations).....	610
Biography.....	616
Educational history—	
General.....	619
Regional.....	620
Particular institutions.....	621
Biography.....	626
Fine arts—	
General.....	629
Biography.....	629
Literature—	
General.....	630
Regional.....	631
Biographical and critical.....	631
Music.....	634
BRITISH AMERICA.....	635
LATIN AMERICA:	
General.....	646
Mexico.....	647
Central America.....	648
West Indies.....	649
South America—	
General.....	651
Argentine Republic.....	652
Bolivia.....	652
Brazil.....	653
Chile.....	653
Colombia.....	653

LATIN AMERICA—Continued.

	Page.
South America—Continued.	
Ecuador	653
Guiana	654
Paraguay	654
Peru	654
Uruguay	655
Venezuela	655
PACIFIC ISLANDS:	
Hawaiian Islands	657
Philippine Islands	657
INDEX	659

PUBLISHERS REPRESENTED, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED.¹

- Abbatt. William Abbatt, 141 E. 25th st., N. Y.
Alemana. Impr. Alemana, Fuencarral 137, Madrid.
Allaben geneal. co. Frank Allaben genealogical co., 3 W. 42d st., N. Y.
Allen and sons. George Allen and sons, Ruskin House, 44 and 45 Rathbone Place, Oxford st., W., London.
Altemus. Henry Altemus co., 513 Cherry st., Phila.
Am. bk. co. American book company, 100 Washington square, E., N. Y.
America press. The America press, 59 E. 83d st., N. Y.
Anchor linotype print. co., 41 India st., Boston.
Appleton. D. Appleton and co., 29-35 W. 32d st., N. Y., and 25 Bedford st., W. C., London.
Arrault. E. Arrault et cie., Tours.
Baker. Baker and Taylor co., 33 E. 17th st., N. Y.
Baker, Voorhis and co., 45 John st., N. Y.
Barnes. O. P. Barnes, 623 S. Wabash ave., Chicago.
Barry co. James H. Barry co., 1122-1124 Mission st., San Francisco, Cal.
Beauchemin. Librairie Beauchemin limitée, 81 St. James st., Montreal.
Bell and sons. George Bell and sons, York House, 6 Portugal st., Lincoln's Inn Fields, W. C., London.
Benziger bros. Benziger brothers, 36 Barclay st., N. Y.
Böhm. Gebrüder Böhm, Kattowitz.
Boston bk. co. Boston book company, 83-91 Francis st., Boston.
Broadway pub. co. Broadway publishing co., 835 Broadway, N. Y.
Bruckmann. F. Bruckmann a.-g., Lützowstr. 84, Berlin.
Burrows. Burrows brothers co., 633-635 Euclid ave., Cleveland, O.
Callaghan. Callaghan and co., 401-409 E. Ohio st., Chicago.
Campbell. W. J. Campbell, 1623 Chestnut st., Phila.
Cazenove. Cazenove and son, 26 Henrietta st., W. C., London.
Century co. The Century co., 33 E. 17th st., N. Y.
Champion. H. Champion, 5 quai Malaquais, Paris.
Chapman and Hall, 11 Henrietta st., Covent Garden, W. C., London.
Chapple pub. co. Chapple publishing co., 944 Dorchester ave., Boston.
Chiswick press, 20 and 21 Took's Court, Chancery Lane, E. C., London.
Clapp. David Clapp and son, 291 Congress st., Boston.
Clarendon press. *See* Frowde.
A. H. Clark. Arthur H. Clark co., 209 Caxton bldg., Cleveland, O.
C. M. Clark. C. M. Clark publishing co., 211 Tremont st., Boston.
S. J. Clarke. S. J. Clarke publishing co., 542 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
W. B. Clarke. W. B. Clarke co., 28 Tremont st., Boston.
Clarkson co. D. B. Clarkson co., 624 S. Wabash ave., Chicago.
Cobden pub. co. Cobden publishing co., Colorado bldg., Washington.
Cochrane pub. co. Cochrane publishing co., 154 Nassau st., N. Y.
Colin. Armand Colin et cie., 5 rue de Mézières, Paris.

¹ And with citation of addresses when deemed needful.

- Collier. P. F. Collier and son, 373 Fourth ave., N. Y.
 Columbia univ. press. Columbia university press, Lemcke and Buechner, agents, N. Y.
 Compton and co. F. E. Compton and co., 215 S. Market st., Chicago.
 Cooper. C. F. Cooper and co., 184 Dearborn st., Chicago.
 Cotta. J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, Schönebergerufer 39, Berlin; Cottastr. 13, Stuttgart.
 Cree pub. co. Cree publishing co., 606 S. Michigan st., Chicago; 122 S. 6th st., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Crowell. Thomas Y. Crowell co., 426 W. Broadway, N. Y.
 Darling. Press of H. B. Darling, 414 9th st., N. W., Washington.
 De La Mare pub. co. De La Mare printing and publishing co., 4 Duane st., N. Y.
 De Vinne press, 395 Lafayette st., N. Y.
 Dickey and co. L. S. Dickey and co., 79 Dearborn st., Chicago.
 Diederichs. Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Carl Zeissplatz 5, Jena.
 Dillingham. G. W. Dillingham co., 12 E. 22d st., N. Y.
 Dixon-Hanson co., 431 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
 Dodd. Dodd, Mead and co., 443 Fourth ave., N. Y.
 Dodge and co. F. W. Dodge and co., 11 E. 24th st., N. Y.
 Dodge pub. co. Dodge publishing co., 220 E. 23d st., N. Y.
 Donnelley. R. R. Donnelley and sons co., Plymouth Court, Chicago.
 Doubleday. Doubleday, Page and co., Garden City, N. Y.
 Duc et cie. L. Duc et cie., 125 rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.
 Duncker und Humblot, Dresdnerstr. 17, Leipzig.
 Dutton. E. P. Dutton and co., 31 W. 23d st., N. Y.
 Eaton. Eaton and co., 623 S. Wabash ave., Chicago.
 Ebering. E. Ebering, Verlagsbuchhandlung und Buchdruckerei, Mittelstr. 29, Berlin.
 La Editorial española americana, Mesonero Romanos 42, Madrid.
 Educational pub. co. Educational publishing co., 50 Bromfield st., Boston; 18 E. 17th st., N. Y.
 Ellis. G. H. Ellis co., 272 Congress st., Boston.
 Enke. Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart.
 Equity press, 97 Reade st., N. Y.
 Estes. Dana Estes and co., 212 Summer st., Boston.
 Farm implement news co., 701 Masonic Temple, Chicago.
 Flammarion. E. Flammarion, 25 rue Racine, Paris.
 Flanagan co. A. Flanagan co., 521 S. Wabash ave., Chicago.
 Forbes. Forbes and co., 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
 Fordham univ. press. Fordham university press, 110 W. 74th st., N. Y.
 Fortanet. Imprenta de Fortanet, Libertad 29, Madrid.
 Frowde. H. Frowde, Clarendon press, Amen Corner, E. C., London.
 Frowde. H. Frowde, 25 Richmond st., West, Toronto.
 Funk. Funk and Wagnalls co., 44 E. 23d st., N. Y.; 133 and 134 Salisbury square, E. C., London.
 Furst co. Press of J. H. Furst co., 23 S. Hanover st., Baltimore, Md.
 Ginn. Ginn and co., 29 Beacon st., Boston; 70 Fifth ave., N. Y.
 González Rojas. Felipe González Rojas, Rodríguez San Pedro 9, Madrid.
 Gov. print. bureau. Government printing bureau, Ottawa, Can.
 Gov. print. off. Government printing office, Washington.
 Grafton press, 105 W. 40th st., N. Y.
 Grafton pub. co. Grafton publishing co., 223 E. 4th st., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Griffiths. Francis Griffiths, 34 Maiden Lane, Strand, W. C., London.
 Groom and co. Forster Groom and co., 15 Charing Cross, S. W., London.
 Hahn and Harmon. Hahn and Harmon co., 410 Fifth ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.

- Hamersly. L. R. Hamersly and co., 1 W. 34th st., N. Y.
- Harper. Harper and brothers, 331 Pearl st., N. Y.; 45 Albemarle st., W., London.
- Harrison. Harrison and sons, 45 Pall Mall, S. W., London.
- Hartleben. A. Hartleben's Verlag, Seilerstätte 19, Vienna; Rossplatz 16, Leipzig.
- Heath. D. C. Heath and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston.
- Hecker. E. J. Hecker, 5241 E. Washington st., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Heer. F. J. Heer printing co., 55 E. Main st., Columbus, O.
- Hendler. C. J. Hendler, 1107 Betz bldg., Phila.
- Hernández. Impr. de los hijos de M. S. Hernández, Madrid.
- Historical review pub. co. Historical review publishing co., 505 Phoenix bldg., Baltimore, Md.
- Holt. Henry Holt and co., 34 W. 33d st., N. Y.
- Houghton Mifflin. Houghton Mifflin co., 4 Park st., Boston.
- Hudson pub. co. F. Hudson publishing co., Gillham Boulevard, 22d and Oak sts., Kansas City, Mo.
- Human life pub. co. Human life publishing co., 530 Atlantic ave., Boston.
- Hurst. Hurst and co., 395 Broadway, N. Y.
- Hutchinson. Hutchinson and co., 34-36 Paternoster Row, E. C., London.
- Impr. del Patronato de Huérfanos de Administración militar, Tr. de San Mateo, 1 dupl., Madrid.
- Irving press, 121 E. 31st st., N. Y.
- Jacobs. George W. Jacobs and co., 1210 Walnut st., Phila.
- James. Richard J. James, 3 and 4 London House Yard, Paternoster Row, E. C., London.
- Jennings. Jennings and Graham, 222 W. 4th st., Cincinnati, O.
- Johns Hopkins. Johns Hopkins press, Baltimore, Md.
- Jones co. Marshall Jones co., 212 Summer st., Boston.
- Judd. Judd and Detweiler, 420 11th st., N. W., Washington.
- Kennerley. Mitchell Kennerley, 2 E. 29th st., N. Y.
- Kerr. C. H. Kerr and co., 118 W. Kinzie st., Chicago.
- Knickerbocker press, 4 W. 45th st., N. Y.
- Kochs Verlag. Carl Kochs Verlag, Lorenzerstr. 30, Nürnberg.
- Laflamme. Laflamme and Proulx, Quebec.
- Larose. L. Larose et L. Tenin, 22 rue Soufflot, Paris.
- Lewis hist. pub. co. Lewis historical publishing co., 265 Broadway, N. Y.
- Lewis pub. co. Lewis publishing co., 542 S. Dearborn st., Chicago; 265 Broadway, N. Y.
- Libby and Sherwood print. co., 314 S. Canal st., Chicago.
- Lippincott. J. B. Lippincott co., 227 S. 6th st., Phila.
- Little. Little, Brown and co., 34 Beacon st., Boston.
- Little chronicle co., 542 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
- Long. John Long, 12, 13 and 14 Norris st., Haymarket, S. W., London.
- Longmans. Longmans, Green and co., 443 Fourth ave., N. Y.
- Lord Baltimore press, Greenmount ave., cor. Oliver st., Baltimore, Md.
- Luce. J. W. Luce and co., 143 Federal st., Boston.
- Lyon. J. B. Lyon co., 36 Beaver st., Albany, N. Y.
- McClurg. A. C. McClurg and co., 350-352 E. Ohio st., Chicago.
- Macmillan. The Macmillan co., 64 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- Maritima Verlagsgesellschaft, Potsdamerstr. 134., Berlin.
- Marquis. A. N. Marquis and co., 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
- Marzo. Antonio Marzo, San Hermenegildo, 19 dupl. y 32 dupl., Madrid.
- Maucci. Casa editorial Maucci, Mallorca 166, Barcelona.
- Merrill. Charles E. Merrill co., 44 E. 23d st., N. Y.
- Methuen. Methuen and co., 36 Essex st., Strand, W. C., London.

- Millet co. J. B. Millet co., 120 Boylston st., Boston.
- Moffat. Moffat, Yard and co., 31 E. 17th st., N. Y.
- Montaner y Simón, editores, Aragon 255, Barcelona.
- Murray. John Murray, 50A Albemarle st., W., London.
- Narragansett hist. pub. co. Narragansett historical publishing co., 10 Foster st., Providence, R. I.
- National Americana society, 154 E. 23d st., N. Y.
- National pub. co. National publishing co., 239 S. American st., Phila.
- Neale. Neale publishing co., 949 Broadway, N. Y.; 431 11th st., N. W., Washington.
- New era print. New era printing co., 41 North Queen st., Lancaster, Pa.
- New Franklin print. New Franklin printing co., 65-69 E. Gay st., Columbus, O.
- Newson. Newson and co., 27 W. 23d st., N. Y.
- Nijhoff. Martinus Nijhoff, Nobelstraat 18, The Hague.
- Nouvelle librairie nationale, 85 rue de Rennes, Paris.
- Ogilvie pub. co. J. S. Ogilvie publishing co., 57 Rose st., N. Y.
- Open Court. Open Court publishing co., 623 S. Wabash ave., Chicago.
- Oswald pub. co. Oswald publishing co., 27 City Hall place, N. Y.
- Page. L. C. Page and co., 53 Beacon st., Boston.
- Partridge print. F. F. Partridge print, 136 Leidesdorff st., San Francisco, Cal.
- Patterson and White. Patterson and White co., 140 N. 6th st., Phila.
- Paul, Trench, Trübner and co., 43 Gerrard st., Soho, W., London.
- Paul and co. Stanley Paul and co., 1 Clifford's Inn, Temple Bar, Fleet st., E. C., London.
- Pedone. A. Pedone, 13 rue Soufflot, Paris.
- Penton press, 1009 Oregon ave., N. E., Cleveland, O.
- Peters pub. and print. co. Peters publishing and printing co., 210 Guilford ave., Baltimore, Md.
- Pilgrim press, 14 Beacon st., Boston; 156 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- Pioneer pub. co. Pioneer publishing co., 542 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.
- Plon-Nourrit. Plon-Nourrit et cie., 8 rue Garancière, Paris.
- Priscilla pub. co. Priscilla publishing co., 85 Broad st., Boston.
- Progress co., 1770 Bertau ave., Chicago.
- Pub. wkly. Publishers' weekly, 298 Broadway, N. Y.
- Publishers' print. co. Publishers' printing co., 419 Lafayette st., N. Y.
- Putnam. G. P. Putnam's sons, 4 W. 45th st. and 27 W. 23d st., N. Y.; 24 Bedford st., Strand, W. C., London.
- Quick news pub. co. Quick news publishing co., 27 William st., N. Y.
- Ralph, Holland and co., 68 and 69 Temple Chambers, E. C., London.
- Rees. Hugh Rees, 119 Pall Mall, S. W., London.
- Revell. Fleming H. Revell co., 156 Fifth ave., N. Y.; 80 Wabash ave., Chicago.
- Review of reviews co., 13 Astor place, N. Y.
- Richmond-Arnold pub. co., 1411 Masonic Temple, Chicago.
- Riehl pub. co. De Leeuw Riehl publishing co., 19 Union square, N. Y.
- Rivers. Alston Rivers, 21 and 22 Brooke st., Holborn, E. C., London.
- Riverside press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Rodríguez. Hija de M. Rodríguez, Biombo 2, Madrid.
- Roger et Chernoviz. R. Roger et F. Chernoviz, 99 boulevard Raspail, Paris.
- Roger et cie. Pierre Roger et cie., éditeurs, 54 rue Jacob, Paris.
- Romo. Libr. de Adrián Romo, Alcalá 5, Madrid.
- Roustan. G. Roustan, 5 quai Voltaire, Paris.
- Sanborn and co. B. H. Sanborn and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston; 24 W. 39th st., N. Y.
- Savaète. Libr. A. Savaète, 15 rue Malebranche, Paris.
- Sawyer. Nathan Sawyer and son, 41 Pearl st., Boston.

- Schulze. O. Schulze and co., 20 South Frederick st., Edinburgh.
- Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, 42 Barclay st., N. Y.
- Science press, Sub-Station 84, N. Y.
- Scribner. Charles Scribner's sons, 155 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- Seeley. Seeley and co., 36 Great Russell st., W. C., London.
- Seidel und Sohn. L. W. Seidel und Sohn, Graben 13, Vienna.
- Sempere. F. Sempere y compañía, Valencia.
- Shaw bros. Press of Shaw brothers, 714 14th st., N. W., Washington.
- Shrimpton. H. E. Shrimpton, 105 Regent st., W., London.
- Silver. Silver, Burdett and co., 239 W. 39th st., N. Y.
- Simmons. P. P. Simmons, 3 E. 14th st., N. Y.
- Slocomb. E. L. Slocomb, printer, 185 Franklin st., Boston.
- Small. Small, Maynard and co., 15 Beacon st., Boston.
- Smith, Elder and co., 15 Waterloo Place, S. W., London.
- Smith and McCance, 38 Bromfield st., Boston.
- Sonnenschein. Sonnenschein and co., 25 High st., Bloomsbury, W. C., London.
- Sopena. Imp. de la Casa editorial Sopena, Provenza 95, Barcelona.
- Springer. Julius Springer, Linkstr. 23/24, Berlin.
- Standard pub. co. Standard publishing co., 9th and Cutter sts., Cincinnati, O.
- Stanhope press, F. H. Gilson co., 54-60 Stanhope st., Boston.
- States pub. co. States publishing co., 17 Van Buren st., Chicago.
- Stockhausen. P. C. Stockhausen, 55 N. 7th st., Phila.
- Stokes co. Frederick A. Stokes co., 443 Fourth ave., N. Y.
- Sturgis. Sturgis and Walton co., 33 E. 27th st., N. Y.
- Suárez. Libr. de Victoriano Suárez, Preciados 48, Madrid.
- Tandy-Thomas co., now the Tandy publishing co., 31 E. 27th st., N. Y.
- Taylor and co. Henry Taylor and co., Chicago.
- Tello. Impr. de la viuda é hijos de M. Tello, Carrera de San Francisco 4, Madrid.
- Treat. E. B. Treat and co., 241 W. 23d st., N. Y.
- Trow press, 201-213 E. 12th st., N. Y.
- Trübner. K. J. Trübner, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münsterplatz, 9 I., Strassburg.
- Univ. of Chicago press, 58th st. and Ellis ave., Chicago.
- Univ. press (Toronto). University of Toronto press, Toronto.
- Unwin. T. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W. C., London.
- Volkszeitung co. Volkszeitung printing and publishing co., 3d st., cor. Jackson st., St. Paul, Minn.
- Walter co. The L. W. Walter co., 633-639 Plymouth Court, Chicago.
- Weicher. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Theodor Weicher, Inselstr. 10, Leipzig.
- Wessels. Wessells and Bissell co., 225 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- West pub. co. C. W. West publishing co., 44-46 W. 3d st., St. Paul, Minn.
- Western Methodist book concern, 220-222 W. 4th st., Cincinnati, O.
- Williams and Wilkins. Press of Williams and Wilkins co., 2427 Greenmount ave., Baltimore, Md.
- Wilson and son. John Wilson and son, University press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Wilson co. H. W. Wilson co., 1401-1405 University ave., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
- Windsor pub. co. Windsor publishing co., 225 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- Winston. John C. Winston co., 1006-1016 Arch st., Phila.
- Witter. Ludwig Witter, vorm.: Gottschick-Witter's Verlag, Neustadt a. d. Hardt.
- Witter and Kintner, 503 Fifth ave., N. Y.
- Wright and Potter. Wright and Potter printing co., 18 Post Office square, Boston.
- Wyman. Wyman and sons, 110-115 Fetter Lane, E. C., London.

LIST OF PERIODICALS, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED.

- Acad. of Pacific coast hist. pub. Academy of Pacific coast history, publications, Berkeley, Cal.
- Acad. pol. sci. proc. Academy of political science in the city of New York, proceedings.
- Academy. Academy, London.
- Ala. state bar assoc. proc. Alabama state bar association, proceedings, Montgomery, Ala.
- Am. anthrop. American anthropologist, Washington, D. C.
- Am. antiq. American antiquarian and oriental journal, Salem, Mass.
- Am. antiq. soc. proc. American antiquarian society, proceedings, Worcester, Mass.
- Am. arch. American architect, N. Y.
- Am. bar assoc. rep. American bar association, report of the annual meeting, Baltimore, Md.
- Am. Cath. hist. rec. American Catholic historical society of Philadelphia, records.
- Am. Cath. hist. research. American Catholic historical researches, Phila.
- Am. Cath. quar. rev. American Catholic quarterly review, Phila.
- Am. econ. assoc. pub. American economic association, publications, N. Y.
- Am. geog. soc. bul. American geographical society, bulletin, N. Y.
- Am. hist. rev. American historical review, N. Y.
- Am.-Irish hist. soc. jour. American-Irish historical society, journal, Boston.
- Am. Jew. hist. soc. pub. American Jewish historical society, publications, Baltimore, Md.
- Am. jour. archaeol. American journal of archaeology, Norwood, Mass.
- Am. jour. internat. law. American journal of international law, N. Y.
- Am. jour. sci. American journal of science, New Haven, Conn.
- Am. jour. sociol. American journal of sociology, Chicago.
- Am. jour. theol. American journal of theology, Chicago.
- Am. law rev. American law review, St. Louis, Mo.
- Am. mag. American magazine, N. Y.
- Am. mo. mag. American monthly magazine, Washington, D. C.
- Am. mus. jour. American museum journal, published by the American museum of natural history, N. Y.
- Am. mus. nat. hist. anthrop. pap. American museum of natural history, anthropological papers, N. Y.
- Am. phil. soc. proc. American philosophical society, proceedings, Phila.
- Am. pol. sci. assoc. proc. American political science association, proceedings.
- Am. pol. sci. rev. American political science review, Baltimore, Md.
- Am. scenic and hist. preservation soc. rep. American scenic and historic preservation society, annual report, Albany, N. Y.
- Am. soc. church hist. pap. American society of church history, papers, N. Y.
- Am. statistical assoc. pub. American statistical association, publications, Boston.
- Americana. Americana, N. Y.
- Ann. Am. acad. pol. sci. Annals of the American academy of political and social science, N. Y.
- Ann. géog. Annales de géographie, Paris.

- Ann. Iowa. Annals of Iowa, Des Moines, Ia.
 Ann. sci. pol. Annales des sciences politiques, Paris.
 L'anthropologie. L'anthropologie, Paris.
 Anthropolos. Anthropos, Salzburg.
 Arch. rec. Architectural record, N. Y.
 Archaeol. bul. Archaeological bulletin, Council Grove, Kans.
 Archaeol. inst. Am. bul. Archaeological institute of America, bulletin, N. Y.
 Archiv f. Anthrop. Archiv für Anthropologie, Brunswick.
 Archiv f. Sozialwissenschaft. Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, Tübingen.
 Archiv. p. l'antrop. Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia, Florence.
 Athenæum. Athenæum, London.
 Atlantic. Atlantic monthly, Boston.
 Berks co. hist. soc. trans. Berks county historical society, transactions, Reading, Pa.
 Bib. sacra. Bibliotheca sacra, Oberlin, O.
 Bib. world. Biblical world, Chicago.
 Bibliog. soc. Am. pap. Bibliographical society of America, papers, N. Y.
 Blackwood's. Blackwood's magazine, Edinburgh.
 Bookman. Bookman, N. Y.
 Bost. soc. pub. Bostonian society, publications, Boston.
 Branch hist. pap. The John P. Branch historical papers of Randolph-Macon college.
 Brome co. hist. soc. trans. Brome county historical society, transactions, Knowlton, Quebec.
 Brookline hist. soc. proc. Brookline historical society, proceedings, Brookline, Mass.
 Buffalo hist. soc. pub. Buffalo historical society, publications, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Bul. de géog. hist. et descrip. Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive, Paris.
 Bul. of bibliog. Bulletin of bibliography, Boston.
 Bul. recherches hist. Bulletin des recherches historiques, Levis, Quebec.
 Bunker Hill monu. assoc. proc. Bunker Hill monument association, proceedings, Boston.
 Cal. univ. chron. University of California chronicle, Berkeley, Cal.
 Canad. antiq. and numismat. jour. Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal, Montreal.
 Canad. inst. trans. Canadian institute, transactions, Toronto.
 Canad. mag. Canadian magazine, Toronto.
 Caribbeana. Caribbeana, London.
 Carnegie lib. bul. Carnegie library of Pittsburgh, bulletin.
 Cassell's. Cassell's magazine, London.
 Cassier's. Cassier's magazine, N. Y.
 Cath. univ. bul. Catholic university bulletin, Washington, D. C.
 Cath. world. Catholic world, N. Y.
 Century. Century, N. Y.
 Chamb. jour. Chambers's journal, Edinburgh.
 Champlain soc. pub. Champlain society, publications, Toronto.
 Chaut. Chautauquan, N. Y.
 Chicago hist. soc. coll. Chicago historical society, collections, Chicago.
 Chicago hist. soc. rep. Chicago historical society, annual report, Chicago.
 Ciudad de dios. La Ciudad de dios, Madrid.
 Coast. The Coast, Seattle, Wash.
 Col. soc. Mass. pub. Colonial society of Massachusetts, publications, Boston.
 Collector. Collector, N. Y.
 Columb. hist. soc. rec. Columbia historical society, records, Washington, D. C.
 Columb. law rev. Columbia law review, N. Y.

- Columb. univ. quar. Columbia university quarterly, N. Y.
 Columb. univ. stud. Columbia university studies in history, economics, and public law, N. Y.
 Confed. vet. Confederate veteran, Nashville, Tenn.
 Conn. acad. arts and sciences, trans. Connecticut academy of arts and sciences, transactions, New Haven, Conn.
 Conn. hist. soc. coll. Connecticut historical society, collections, Hartford, Conn.
 Contemp. rev. Contemporary review, London.
 Cornhill mag. Cornhill magazine, London.
 Corresp. Correspondent, Paris.
 Cosmopol. Cosmopolitan, N. Y.
 Craftsman. Craftsman, Syracuse, N. Y.
 D. A. R. 12th rep. National society of the Daughters of the American revolution, annual report, Washington, D. C.
 Del. hist. soc. pap. Delaware historical society, papers, Wilmington.
 Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter. Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Chicago.
 Deutsch. Pionier-Verein v. Phila. Mitteil. Deutscher Pionier-Verein von Philadelphia, Mitteilungen.
 Deutsche Rev. Deutsche Revue, Berlin.
 Deutsch Rundschau f. Geog. Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie, Vienna.
 Dial. The Dial, Chicago.
 Eccles. rev. Ecclesiastical review, Phila.
 L'écon. franç. L'économiste français, Paris.
 Econ. jour. Economic journal, London.
 Econ. rev. Economic review, London.
 Economist. Economist, The Hague.
 Edinburgh rev. Edinburgh review, Edinburgh.
 Educ. Education, Boston.
 Educ. rev. Educational review, N. Y.
 Emp. rev. Empire review, London.
 Eng. hist. rev. English historical review, London.
 Engineer. mag. Engineering magazine, N. Y.
 España mod. España moderna, Madrid.
 España y Amér. España y América, Madrid.
 Études. Études, Paris.
 Everybody's. Everybody's magazine, N. Y.
 Filson club pub. Filson club publications, Louisville, Ky.
 Fortn. rev. Fortnightly review, London.
 Forum. Forum, N. Y.
 Franklin inst. jour. Franklin institute journal, Phila.
 Friends' hist. soc. bul. Friends' historical society of Philadelphia, bulletin.
 Friends' hist. soc. jour. Friends' historical society, journal, London, N. Y., and Phila.
 Ga. bar assoc. rep. Georgia bar association, report of the annual session, Atlanta, Ga.
 Geneal. Genealogist, London.
 Geog. Jahr. Geographisches Jahrbuch, Gotha.
 Geog. jour. Geographical journal, London.
 Geog. soc. of the Pacific trans. Geographical society of the Pacific, transactions and proceedings, San Francisco, Cal.
 Geog. Zeits. Geographische Zeitschrift, Leipzig.
 La géographie. La géographie. Bulletin de la Société de géographie, Paris.
 Ger. Am. ann. German American annals, Phila.
 Germanistic soc. Am. pub. Germanistic society of America, publications, N. Y.
 Globus. Globus, Brunswick.

- Grafton mag. Grafton magazine of history and genealogy, N. Y. and Boston.
- Granite state mag. Granite state magazine, Manchester, N. H.
- Green bag. Green bag, Boston.
- Hampton's. Hampton's magazine, N. Y.
- Harper's. Harper's monthly magazine, N. Y.
- Harv. grad. mag. Harvard graduates' magazine, Cambridge, Mass.
- Harv. law. rev. Harvard law review, Cambridge, Mass.
- Harv. theol. rev. Harvard theological review, N. Y.
- Hawaiian hist. soc. rep. Hawaiian historical society, annual report, Honolulu.
- Hist. and phil. soc. O. pub. Historical and philosophical society of Ohio, quarterly publication, Cincinnati.
- Hist. leaves. Historic leaves, published by the Somerville historical society, Somerville, Mass.
- Hist. pub. Canad. Review of historical publications relating to Canada, Toronto.
- Hist. teach. mag. History teacher's magazine, Phila.
- Hist. Vierteljahrschrift. Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Leipzig.
- Hist. Zeit. Historische Zeitschrift, Munich and Berlin.
- L'homme préhist. L'homme préhistorique, Paris.
- Hug. soc. S. C. trans. Huguenot society of South Carolina, transactions, Charleston.
- Ia. jour. hist. Iowa journal of history and politics, Iowa City, Ia.
- Iberville hist. soc. pap. Iberville historical society, papers, Mobile, Ala.
- Idler. Idler, London.
- Ill. hist. lib. coll. Illinois state historical library, collections, Springfield, Ill.
- Ill. hist. soc. jour. Illinois state historical society, journal, Springfield, Ill.
- Ill. hist. soc. trans. Illinois state historical society, transactions, Springfield, Ill.
- Ill. law rev. Illinois law review, Chicago.
- Ill. state bar assoc. proc. Illinois state bar association, proceedings, Chicago.
- Ind. hist. soc. pub. Indiana historical society publications, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Ind. mag. hist. Indiana magazine of history, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Ind. state bar assoc. rep. Indiana state bar association report, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Ind. state lib. bul. Indiana state library bulletin, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Indep. Independent, N. Y.
- Index to legal period. and Law lib. jour. Index to legal periodicals and Law library journal, Chicago.
- Internat. Archiv f. Ethnog. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leiden.
- Internat. stud. International studio, N. Y.
- Internat. Woch. f. Wissenschaft. Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, Berlin.
- Jahrbuch f. Gesetzgebung. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, Leipzig.
- James Sprunt hist. pub. James Sprunt historical publications, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Johns Hopkins univ. stud. Johns Hopkins university studies in historical and political science, Baltimore, Md.
- Jour. Am. folk-lore. Journal of American folk-lore, Boston and N. Y.
- Jour. Am. hist. Journal of American history, New Haven, Conn.
- Jour. des écon. Journal des économistes, Paris.
- Jour. geog. Journal of geography, Lancaster, Pa.
- Jour. hist. Journal of history, published by the Reorganized church of Jesus Christ of Latter day saints, Lamoni, Ia.
- Jour. mil. ser. inst. Journal of the military service institution of the United States, N. Y.
- Jour. pol. econ. Journal of political economy, Chicago.
- Jour. soc. comp. legis. Journal of the Society of comparative legislation, London.

- Kansas hist. soc. coll. Kansas state historical society, collections, Topeka, Kan.
- Kittochtinny hist. soc. pap. Kittochtinny historical society, papers, Chambersburg, Pa.
- Kolon. Zeits. Koloniale Zeitschrift, Leipzig and Vienna.
- Ky. hist. ser. Kentucky historical series.
- Ky. hist. soc. reg. Kentucky state historical society, register, Frankfort, Ky.
- Ky. state bar assoc. proc. Kentucky state bar association, proceedings of the annual meeting, Louisville, Ky.
- La lectura. La lectura, Madrid.
- Lancaster co. hist. soc. pap. Lancaster county historical society, papers, Lancaster, Pa.
- Law student's helper. Law student's helper, Detroit, Mich.
- Lebanon co. hist. soc. pap. Lebanon county historical society, papers read before, Lebanon, Pa.
- Lehigh co. hist. soc. proc. Lehigh county historical society, proceedings and papers, Allentown, Pa.
- Lennox and Addington hist. soc. pap. Lennox and Addington historical society, papers and records, Napanee, Ont.
- Lib. jour. Library journal, N. Y.
- Lippincott's. Lippincott's monthly magazine, Phila.
- Lit. Echo. Litterarische Echo, Vienna.
- Living age. Littell's living age, Boston.
- Luth. ch. rev. Lutheran church review, Phila.
- Luth. quar. Lutheran quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.
- Lynn hist. soc. reg. Lynn historical society, register, Lynn, Mass.
- Mag. of hist. Magazine of history, with notes and queries, N. Y.
- Maine hist. soc. coll. Maine historical society, collections, Portland, Me.
- Malden hist. soc. reg. Malden historical society, register, Malden, Mass.
- Man. Man; a monthly record of anthropological science, London.
- Manchester hist. assoc. coll. Manchester historic association, collections, Manchester, N. H.
- Mass. hist. soc. proc. Massachusetts historical society, proceedings, Boston.
- Mass. mag. Massachusetts magazine, Salem, Mass.
- Mayfl. desc. Mayflower descendant, Boston.
- McClure's. McClure's magazine, N. Y.
- Md. hist. mag. Maryland historical magazine, Baltimore, Md.
- Medford hist. reg. Medford historical register, Medford, Mass.
- Mercure de France. Mercure de France, Paris.
- Meth. quar. rev. Methodist quarterly review, Nashville, Tenn.
- Meth. rev. Methodist review, N. Y.
- Metropol. Metropolitan magazine, N. Y.
- Mich. hist. soc. coll. Michigan pioneer and historical society, collections, Lansing, Mich.
- Mich. law rev. Michigan law review, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Mil. hist. soc. pap. Military historical society of Massachusetts, papers, Boston.
- Miss. hist. soc. pub. Mississippi historical society, publications, Oxford, Miss.
- Miss. Valley hist. assoc. proc. Mississippi Valley historical association, proceedings, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
- Mission rev. Missionary review of the world, N. Y.
- Missisquoi co. hist. soc. rep. Missisquoi county historical society, report, Bedford, P. Q.
- Mo. hist. rev. Missouri historical review, Columbia, Mo.
- Mont. hist. soc. contrib. Montana historical society, contributions, Helena, Mont.
- Month. The Month, London.

- Moody's mag. Moody's magazine, N. Y.
 Munsey's. Munsey's magazine, N. Y.
 N. C. booklet. North Carolina booklet, Raleigh, N. C.
 N. C. hist. com. pub. North Carolina historical commission, publications, Raleigh, N. C.
 N. H. geneal. rec. New Hampshire genealogical record, Dover, N. H.
 N. J. law jour. New Jersey law journal, Plainfield, N. J.
 N. Y. geneal. and biog. rec. New York genealogical and biographical record, N. Y.
 N. Y. pub. lib. bul. New York public library bulletin, N. Y.
 N. Y. state bar assoc. rep. New York state bar association, report, Albany, N. Y.
 N. Y. state hist. assoc. proc. New York state historical association, proceedings, Albany, N. Y.
 N. Y. state lib. bul. New York state library bulletin, Albany, N. Y.
 N. Y. state mus. bul. New York state museum bulletin, Albany, N. Y.
 Nantucket hist. assoc. bul. Nantucket historical association, bulletin, Nantucket, Mass.
 Nantucket hist. assoc. proc. Nantucket historical association, proceedings, Nantucket, Mass.
 Nat. geog. mag. National geographic magazine, Washington, D. C.
 Nat. mag. National magazine, Boston.
 Nat. rev. National review, London.
 Nation. Nation, N. Y.
 Nation (London). Nation, London.
 Nation. educ. assoc. proc. National education association, journal of proceedings and addresses, Winona, Minn.
 Neue Zeit. Neue Zeit, Stuttgart.
 New Eng. family hist. New England family history, N. Y.
 New Eng. hist. and geneal. reg. New England historical and genealogical register, Boston.
 New Eng. hist. geneal. soc. proc. New England historic genealogical society, proceedings, Boston.
 New Eng. mag. New England magazine, Boston.
 New Eng. soc. anniv. celeb. New England society of the city of New York, anniversary celebration.
 Niagara hist. soc. pub. Niagara historical society, publications, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
 19th cent. Nineteenth century and after, London.
 No. Am. rev. North American review, N. Y.
 No. Dak. hist. soc. coll. State historical society of North Dakota, collections, Bismark, No. Dak.
 Nouv.-France. Nouvelle-France, Quebec.
 Nouv. rev. Nouvelle revue, Paris.
 Nova Scotia hist. soc. coll. Nova Scotia historical society, collections, Halifax, N. S.
 Nuestro tiempo. Nuestro tiempo, Madrid.
 O. archaeol. and hist. soc. pub. Ohio archaeological and historical society, publications, Columbus, O.
 Österreich. Rundschau. Österreichische Rundschau, Vienna.
 Ohio univ. bul. Ohio university bulletin, Athens, O.
 Old Dartmouth hist. sketches. Old Dartmouth historical sketches, New Bedford, Mass.
 Old northw. quar. "Old Northwest" genealogical quarterly, Columbus, O.
 Olde Ulster. Olde Ulster, Kingston, N. Y.
 Oneida hist. soc. trans. Oneida historical society, transactions, Utica, N. Y.
 Ont. hist. soc. pap. Ontario historical society, papers and records, Toronto.

- Open court. Open court, Chicago.
- Ore. hist. soc. quar. Oregon historical society, quarterly, Portland, Ore.
- Ore. state bar assoc. proc. Oregon state bar association, proceedings, Portland, Ore.
- Orleans co. hist. soc. proc. Orleans county historical society, proceedings, Newport, Vt.
- Out West. Out West, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Outing. Outing, N. Y.
- Outlook. Outlook, N. Y.
- Overland. Overland monthly, San Francisco, Cal.
- Pa. bar assoc. rep. Pennsylvania bar association, report of the annual meeting, Phila.
- Pa. geneal. soc. pub. Genealogical society of Pennsylvania, publications, Phila.
- Pa.-German. The Pennsylvania-German, Lititz, Pa.
- Pa. mag. hist. Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, Phila.
- Pa. soc. S. R. ann. proc. Pennsylvania society of the Sons of the Revolution, annual proceedings, Phila.
- Pa. soc. yr. bk. Pennsylvania society of New York, year book, N. Y.
- Pall Mall mag. Pall Mall magazine, London.
- Peabody hist. soc. rep. Peabody historical society, annual report, Peabody, Mass.
- Pearson's. Pearson's magazine, N. Y.
- Pedagog. sem. Pedagogical seminary, Worcester, Mass.
- Petermann's Mitteil. Petermann's Mitteilungen, Gotha.
- Phila. geog. soc. bul. Philadelphia geographical society, bulletin, Phila.
- Piscataquis co. hist. soc. coll. Piscataquis county historical society, historical collections, Dover, Me.
- Pol. sci. quar. Political science quarterly, N. Y.
- Pop. sci. mo. Popular science monthly, N. Y.
- Presbyterian hist. soc. jour. Presbyterian historical society, journal, Phila.
- Princ. theol. rev. Princeton theological review, Phila.
- Prince soc. pub. Prince society, publications, Boston.
- Quar. rev. Quarterly review, London.
- Quebec hist. soc. trans. Quebec literary and historical society, transactions, Quebec.
- Queen's quar. Queen's quarterly, Kingston, Can.
- Quest. dipl. et colon. Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, Paris.
- R. acad. bol. Real academia de la historia, boletun, Madrid.
- R. I. educ. circulars. Rhode Island educational circulars, Providence, R. I.
- R. I. hist. soc. proc. Rhode Island historical society, proceedings, Providence, R. I.
- Rassegna contemp. Rassegna contemporanea, Rome.
- Records of past. Records of the past, Washington, D. C.
- Réforme écon. Réforme économique, Paris.
- Réforme soc. Réforme sociale, Paris.
- Reformed ch. rev. Reformed church review, Phila.
- Rev. canad. Revue canadienne, Montreal.
- Rev. chrétienne. Revue chrétienne, Paris.
- Rev. de archivos. Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, Madrid.
- Rev. deux mondes. Revue des deux mondes, Paris.
- Rev. droit internat. Revue de droit international et de législation comparée, Brussels.
- Rev. éc. d'anthrop. de Paris. Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris.
- Rev. franc.-amér. Revue franco-américaine, Quebec.
- Rev. gén. droit internat. Revue générale de droit international public, Paris.
- Rev. hist. Revue historique, Paris.
- Rev. hist. dipl. Revue d'histoire diplomatique, Paris.
- Rev. hist. mod. Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, Paris.
- Rev. monde. Revue du monde, Paris.
- Rev. of rev. Review of reviews, N. Y.

- Rev. Paris. Revue de Paris, Paris.
- Rev. pol. et parl. Revue politique et parlementaire, Paris.
- Rev. quest. hist. Revue des questions historiques, Paris.
- Rev. théol. Revue de théologie et de philosophie, Lausanne.
- Riv. d'Italia. Rivista d'Italia, Rome.
- Royal anthrop. inst. jour. Royal anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland, journal, London.
- Royal hist. soc. trans. Royal historical society, transactions, London.
- S. C. hist. mag. South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine, Charleston, S. C.
- S. R. yr. bk. National society of the Sons of the American revolution, year book, Washington, D. C.
- Sat. rev. Saturday review, London.
- School rev. School review, Chicago.
- Schuylkill co. hist. soc. pub. Historical society of Schuylkill county, publications, Pottsville, Pa.
- Scot. geog. mag. Scottish geographical magazine, Edinburgh.
- Scribner's. Scribner's magazine, N. Y.
- Sewanee rev. Sewanee review, Sewanee, Tenn.
- Sharon hist. soc. pub. Sharon historical society, publications, Sharon, Mass.
- Smithsonian inst. rep. Smithsonian institution, annual report, Washington, D. C.
- Smithsonian misc. coll. Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, Smithsonian institution, Washington, D. C.
- So. Atlan. quar. South Atlantic quarterly, Durham, N. C.
- So. Dak. hist. coll. South Dakota historical collections, South Dakota historical society, Aberdeen.
- So. workm. Southern workman, Hampton, Va.
- Soc. d'anthrop. de Paris bul. et mém. Société d'anthropologie de Paris, bulletins et mémoires de la, Paris.
- Soc. géog. Québec bul. Société de géographie de Québec, bulletin de la, Quebec.
- Spectator. Spectator, London.
- Survey. Survey, N. Y.
- Swedish hist. soc. Am. yr.-bk. Swedish historical society of America, year-book, Chicago.
- Symra. Symra; a Norwegian-American quarterly, Decorah, Ia.
- Teachers' col. rec. Teachers' college record, N. Y.
- Tech. rev. Technology review, Boston.
- Tijdschrift v. gesch. Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, land-en volkenkunde, Groningen.
- Topsfield hist. soc. coll. Topsfield historical society, collections, Topsfield, Mass.
- Toronto univ. stud. Toronto university studies in history, Toronto.
- 20th cent. mag. Twentieth century magazine, Boston.
- U. S. bur. educ. rep. U. S. bureau of education, annual report, Washington, D. C.
- U. S. Cath. hist. rec. U. S. Catholic historical society, records and studies, N. Y.
- U. S. cavalry assoc. jour. U. S. cavalry association, journal, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.
- U. S. infantry assoc. jour. U. S. infantry association, journal, Washington, D. C.
- U. S. N. inst. proc. U. S. Naval institute proceedings, Annapolis, Md.
- Unit. ser. gaz. United service gazette, London.
- Unit. ser. mag. United service magazine, London.
- Univ. mag. University magazine, Montreal, Can.
- Univ. of Cal. pub. Am. archaeol. University of California publications, American archaeology and ethnology, Berkeley, Cal.
- Univ. of Cal. pub. in econ. University of California publications in economics, Berkeley, Cal.
- Univ. of Ill. stud. University of Illinois, University studies, Urbana, Ill.

- Univ. of Penn. law rev. and Am. law reg. University of Pennsylvania law review and American law register, Phila.
- Univ. of Wis. bul., econ. and pol. sci. ser. University of Wisconsin, bulletin, economics and political science series, Madison, Wis.
- Univ. of Wis. bul., hist. ser. University of Wisconsin, bulletin, history series, Madison, Wis.
- Utah general. and hist. mag. Utah genealogical and historical magazine, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Va. co. rec. Virginia county records, N. Y.
- Va. state bar assoc. rep. Virginia state bar association report, Richmond, Va.
- Va. state lib. bul. Virginia state library, bulletin, Richmond, Va.
- Va. state lib. rep. Virginia state library, annual report, Richmond, Va.
- Vineland hist. and antiq. soc. rep. Vineland historical and antiquarian society, annual report, Vineland, N. J.
- W. Va. state bar assoc. proc. West Virginia state bar association proceedings, Parkersburg, W. Va.
- Watson's Jeffersonian mag. Watson's Jeffersonian magazine, Atlanta, Ga.
- Westchester co. mag. Westchester county magazine, White Plains, N. Y.
- Westm. rev. Westminster review, London.
- Wisconsin archeol. Wisconsin archeologist, Madison, Wis.
- Wis. hist. soc. coll. Wisconsin state historical society, collections, Madison, Wis.
- Wis. hist. soc. proc. Wisconsin state historical society, proceedings, Madison, Wis.
- Wm. and Mary quar. William and Mary college quarterly historical magazine, Williamsburg, Va.
- Women's Canad. hist. soc. Ottawa trans. Women's Canadian historical society of Ottawa, transactions.
- World's work. World's work, N. Y.
- Wy. hist. and geol. soc. proc. Wyoming historical and geological society, proceedings and collections, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
- Yale law jour. Yale law journal, New Haven, Conn.
- Yale rev. Yale review, New Haven, Conn.
- Zeits. Erdkunde. Zeitschrift der Gessellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin.
- Zeits. f. Ethnol. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin.
- Zeits. f. Socialwissen. Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, Leipzig.

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American history: p. 85-154.
- The **Annual American catalog, 1909**; containing a record under author, title, subject and series of all books recorded in the Publishers' weekly, 1909, with a directory of publishers, authors and printers issuing books during the year; and a directory of booksellers in the principal towns of the United States and Canada. N. Y., Pub. wkly. xlviii, 639 p. [2
- The **Annual library index, 1909**. Including periodicals, American and English; essays, book-chapters, etc.; bibliographies, necrology, and index to dates of principal events. Ed. with the coöperation of members of the American library association by W. I. Fletcher. N. Y., Pub. wkly. ix, [3], 448 p. [3
- Annual magazine subject-index, 1909**. A subject-index to a selected list of American and English periodicals and society publications not elsewhere indexed. Compiled by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. Boston, Boston bk. co. 468 p. [4
- Bacon, William Plumb.** Bibliography of class books and class records, 1792-1910, Yale university. Comp. for the Association of class secretaries. [New Britain?] 21 p. [5
Revision of the compiler's lists pub. 1898 and 1905.
- Baker, Mary Ellen.** Bibliography of lists of New England soldiers. NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENERAL REG., LXIV (Jan.-Oct.) 61-72, 128-135, 228-237, 327-336. [6
Covers the period from the French and Indian war to the war with Spain.
- Bibliography of Indiana local history contained in county histories, atlases and collected biographies.** IND. STATE LIB. BUL., V (Mar.) 3-8. [7
- Brooks, Robert Preston.** A preliminary bibliography of Georgia history. Athens, Ga., The McGregor co. 46 p. (Bulletin of the University of Georgia. v. X, no. 10 A. serial no. 127) [8
- Chicago historical society.** List of works on the Lewis and Clark expedition presented [to the Society] by Charles H. Conover. CHICAGO HIST. SOC. REP., 342-350. [9
- Columbia university. Library.** University bibliography, 1909. [N. Y.] [2], 35 p. [10
Comp. by Alice L. Miller, reference librarian.
First separate issue; a continuation of the bibliography hitherto pub. annually in the March number of the Columbia university quarterly.
- Davis, Andrew McFarland.** A bibliographical puzzle. Cambridge, J. Wilson and son. [2], 15 p. [11
Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial society of Massachusetts, v. XIII.
Relates to the "News from the moon," issued in Boston in 1721, and attributed by Evans in his American bibliography, 2281 to the press of J. Franklin.
- Evans, Charles.** American bibliography. A chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from the genesis of printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820. With bibliographical and biographical notes. v. VI. 1779-1785. Chicago, Priv. print. for the author by the Columbia press. [6], 445 p. [12

- Everhart, Elfrida.** A handbook of United States public documents. Minneapolis, H. W. Wilson co. [10], 320 p. [13]
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- Meyer, Hermann Henry Bernard.** Select list of references on sugar, chiefly in its economic aspects. Washington, Gov. print. off. 238 p. (U. S. Library of Congress) [38]
- Meyer, Hermann Henry Bernard.** Select list of references on the cost of living and prices. Washington, Gov. print. off. v, 107 p. (U. S. Library of Congress) [39]
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- Torrence, William Clayton.** A trial bibliography of colonial Virginia. Special report of the Department of bibliography, William Clayton-Torrence, bibliographer. Richmond, D. Bottom, superintendent of public printing, 1908-10. 2 v. facsim. (*In* Virginia. State library, Richmond. 5th-6th annual report. Richmond, 1908-10) [50]
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- U. S. Superintendent of documents.** Economics: United States public documents . . . now available for distribution through sale by the superintendent of documents, Washington. [Washington, Gov. print. off.] 102 p. (Price list 29) [56]
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- U. S. Superintendent of documents.** Finance . . . Public documents . . . now available . . . for sale by the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C. [2d ed.] [Washington, Gov. print. off.] 31, [1] p. (Price list 28) [58]
- U. S. Superintendent of documents.** Indians. A price list of public documents relating to Indians principally of United States. For sale by the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C. [Washington, Gov. print. off.] 81 p. (Price list 24) [59]
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- U. S. Superintendent of documents.** Proceedings of Congress: being a complete list of the volumes of the Annals of the Congress, Register of debates in Congress, Congressional globe, Congressional record, reporting the debates and proceedings from 1789 to 1909. Now offered for sale by the superintendent of documents, Washington. [Washington, Gov. print. off.] 14 p., 1 l. (Price list 49) [61]
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- Becker, L. D.** The treasures of a lake. *ARCHAEOLOGICAL BULLETIN*, II (Dec.) 12-13. [112]
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[Arranged geographically]

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- Hawes, Gilbert Ray.** *First American warriors in battle; ancient documents that testify to heroism in Great Swamp fight.* JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. III, 421-424. [467
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From the Proceedings of the Massachusetts historical society, XLIII, 428-447.
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Contains a list of men who were enlisted by William Prescott in a regiment to be employed for the removal of the Acadians, 1755.
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Regarding "A tractate on church music; ..." London, 1786. The tract was "inscribed to the Reverend Doctor Chauncy and the Reverend Mr. John Clark, the ministers; and to the several members of the First Congregational Dissenting church in Boston in America." It was printed by direction of Mr. T. Brand Hollis and sent to Dr. Chauncy and others at Boston.
- Green, Samuel Abbott.** Sewall's gift to the artillery. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 491-492. [497
Comments on an entry in Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall's diary, Oct. 6, 1701, in regard to a pike-staff given by him to the Ancient and honorable artillery company of Massachusetts.
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Copy of an order dated 15 February, 1693-94, commanding Sir William Phips, then governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, to appear before the Privy council to answer sundry charges of illegal and arbitrary acts attributed to him.
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The selection here given is a portion of a deed of sale of land on State street, on which stood the house where Governor Winthrop lived for many years. The deed is dated March 1657/8. Some biographical notes of the persons named in the deed are given.
- Massachusetts (Colony).** The acts and resolves, public and private of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay: to which are prefixed the charters of the province; with historical and explanatory notes, and an appendix. v. XVII, being v. XII of the Appendix, containing Resolves, etc., 1761-1764. Boston, Wright and Potter. 709 p. [502a
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- Poirier, Pascal.** Acadiens déportés à Boston, en 1755—(Un épisode du Grand dérangement). REV. FRANC.-AMÉR., IV (Jan.) 210-220. [506]
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- Smith, Jonathan.** The Massachusetts and New Hampshire boundary line controversy, 1693-1740. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 77-88. [508]
- Sprague, Henry Harrison.** The founding of Charlestown by the Spragues, a glimpse of the beginning of the Massachusetts Bay settlement. Boston, W. B. Clarke co. 39 p. fold. facsim. [509]
- Wendell, Barrett.** Additional Belcher papers, 1732-1749. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., Nov. 1910, 189-212. [510]
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A paper found among the Uncalendarred documents in the Public record office, London. It is headed "The second and farther ioynt and severall answeares of John White, Clerke, and John Watts, defendantes to the Bill of Complaynt of Henry Beale and Peter Lenartes, Complaynantes." The date is Oct. 12, 1635.
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- Atkins, T. Astley.** Relations of the Dutch and the Indians prior to the massacre of 1655. N. Y. STATE HIST. ASSOC. PROC., IX, 237-255. [512]
- Church register of the Walpeck congregation.** Commenced with the pastoral service of Joh. Casparus Fryenmuth. Preacher there, May 31, 1741. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Jan.-Oct.) 28-43, 83-98, 200-215, 345-366. [513]
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- De Laporte, Helen Reed.** Mattys Jansen van Ceulen, the patroon of Zwaanendal. OLDE ULSTER, VI (Oct.) 305-309. [516]
- Dionne, Narcisse Eutrope.** Chouart et Radisson; odyssee de deux Canadiens-Français au xvii^e siècle. Québec, Laflamme et Proulx. 212 p. (Galerie historique, V) [517]
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- Eckhof, A.** Bastiaen Jansz. Krol, Krankenbezoeker, Kommies en Kommandeur van Nieuw-Nederland, 1595-1645; Nieuwe Gegevens voor de Vestiging van ons Kerkelijk en Koloniaal Gezag in Noord-Amerika. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff. vi, 60, xxxviii p. [519]
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Penn, William. German translation of William Penn's letter to the Free society of merchants in London, 1683. *GER. AM. ANN.*, n. s. VIII (Mar.) 51-75. [533]

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This document was discovered by Dr. Amandus Johnson in Kammrarkivet in 1906 and is "now published for the first time." It describes the condition of the colony, shortly before the overthrow of Swedish power.

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Petition to Gov. Horatio Sharpe.

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Bland's constitutional argument in "The colonel dismounted," 1763. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XIX (July) 31-41. [543]

Bruce, Philip Alexander. Institutional history of Virginia in the seventeenth century; an inquiry into the religious, moral, educational, legal, military, and political condition of the people, based on original and contemporaneous records. N. Y. and London, Putnam. 2 v. [544]

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Among them are: Petition that Cape Henry and vicinity be preserved as common land [between 1770 and 1772] Petition of Col. Thomas Slaughter to Lord Dunmore [1774] Account with Richard Harrison, state agent [at St. Eustatia and Martinique, 1777-1780] Virginia military forces in 1779; Fairfax county resolutions, 18 July, 1774; Treaty with the Indians at Lancaster, Pa., 1744; Petition of citizens of Charles City county, about 1710; Case of Matthew Phripp, charged with disloyalty to Virginia, 1775.

The Randolph manuscript; Virginia seventeenth century records. VA. MAG. HIST., XVIII (Jan.-Oct.) 1-24, 129-139, 241-255, 353-373. [546]

Includes some documents relative to the case of Griffin and Burwell v. Wormeley, in the General court of Virginia, 1681, a case involving inheritance; some extracts from the Council proceedings, 1681-1683, relating principally to the cutting of tobacco plants by mobs; and extracts relating to Lord Culpeper's administration, 1682-1683.

Virginia (Colony) General assembly. House of burgesses. The Council and the Burgesses. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XIX (July) 1-9. [547]

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Edited and published by authority of the Library board, Virginia State library.
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South Carolina (Province) Court of ordinary. Abstracts from the records of the Court of ordinary of the province of South Carolina, 1692-1700. By A. S. Salley, jr. S. C. HIST. MAG., XI (Jan.-Apr.) 50-56, 123-128. [552]

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"The story of the lives of three men of one family all of whom were leaders among the first white inhabitants of the Illinois country."

- Dunbar, John B.** Massacre of the Villazur expedition by the Pawnees on the Platte, in 1720. KANSAS HIST. SOC. COLL., XI, 397-423. [554]
- Halbert, H. S.** The French trading post and the Chocchuma village in east Mississippi. MISS. HIST. SOC. PUB., XI, 325-329. [555]
A trading post supposed to have been established by Iberville at Plymouth, between 1703 and 1711.
- Holzknrecht, J. J.** Franciscans of New France. AM. CATH. HIST. REC., XXI (Sept.) 139-142. [556]
Short history of their missionary work in Canada and the United States, in colonial times.
- Lippincott, Isaac.** Industry among the French in the Illinois country. JOUR. POL. ECON., XVIII (Feb.) 114-128. [557]
Covers the period from about 1700 to 1770.
- Lippincott, Isaac.** Pioneer industry in the West. JOUR. POL. ECON., XVIII (Apr.) 269-293. [558]

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- Adams, Charles Francis.** Contemporary opinion on the Howes. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., Nov., 1910, 94-120. [559]
Consists of extracts, with notes, from a collection of pamphlets in the possession of the Society, which originally belonged to Israel Maduit, agent in London of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Among them are—A letter signed "T. P." relating to the battle of Bunker Hill, and printed in the London chronicle for Aug. 3, 1779; "A view of the evidence relative to the conduct of the American war under Sir William Howe;" "Historical anecdotes relative to the American rebellion," London, 1779; "Letters to a nobleman, on the conduct of the war in the middle colonies;" and "The examination of witnesses in the House of commons on the conduct of Lord Howe and Sir William Howe."
- Adams, Samuel.** Adams-Savage correspondence, 1776-1785. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 328-336. [560]
Consists of ten letters from Samuel Adams to Samuel Phillips Savage, president of the Massachusetts board of war, and in addition three letters of Savage to Adams.
- Batchellor, Albert Stillman, ed.** Miscellaneous revolutionary documents of New Hampshire, including the association test, the pension rolls, and other important papers. Manchester, N. H., Printed for the state by the John B. Clarke co. xvii, 658 p. ([New Hampshire. Provincial and] state papers. v. XXX) [561]
The introduction has been issued separately, under title: The revolutionary archives of New Hampshire ...
Supplementary in part to "... Rolls of the soldiers in the revolutionary war," compiled by I. W. Hammond, and published as v. XIV-XVII of the Provincial and state papers.
CONTENTS.—Introduction. Association test, colony of New Hampshire. New Hampshire men on the Massachusetts revolutionary war rolls. New Hampshire revolutionary pension roll; reprinted from volume 1 of the "Report from the Secretary of war ... in relation to the pension establishment of the United States. Washington: Printed by Duff Green. 1835." New Hampshire pension roll of 1840; reprinted from "A census of pensioners for revolutionary or military services ... Washington: Printed by Blair and Ives [read Rives] 1841." Major John Brown's detachment. Green Mountain boys. List of men in Col. Timothy Bedel's regiment, surrendered at the Cedars, May 21, 1776, by Major Isaac Butterfield. Miscellaneous rolls and other revolutionary documents which have been discovered since the publication of volumes 14-17 of this series.
- Batchellor, Albert Stillman.** The revolutionary archives of New Hampshire; a reprint of the introduction to volume 30 of the New Hampshire state papers. Manchester, N. H., Printed for the state by the J. B. Clarke co. xvii p. [562]
- Baxter, James Phinney, ed.** Documentary history of the state of Maine, v. XIV-XVI, containing The Baxter manuscripts. Pub. by the Maine historical society, aided by appropriations from the state. Portland, Lefavor-Tower co. 3 v. (Maine hist. soc. coll., 2d ser.) [563]
Documents relating to the early history of Maine.
CONTENTS.—v. XIV: 1766 to 1777. v. XV: Jan. 5, 1777 to Apr. 30, 1778. v. XVI: Apr. 1778 to Aug. 15, 1779.
- Bowman's expedition against Chillicothe, May-June, 1779.** O. ARCHAEOLOG. AND HIST. SOC. PUB., XIX (Oct.) 446-459. [564]
From the original manuscript of the Draper collection in the archive department of the Wisconsin historical society, Madison, Wis.
- The burning of the "Peggy Stewart."** MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 235-245. [565]
A brigantine burned just off the city of Annapolis [1774] owned by Anthony Stewart.
Consists of a Memorial of Anthony Stewart and Thomas Charles Williams, Mar. 10, 1777 to the Lords commissioners of His Majesty's treasury and accompanying affidavits.

- Charles Stuart and James Murray letters, 1766-1772.** Communicated by Worthington C. Ford. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 449-458. [566]
- Closen, Baron de.** French troops in Maryland, 1782. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 229-234. [567]
Extract from the journal of Baron de Closen, v. II, Rochambeau papers, in the Library of Congress. Written in French.
- Croix, Teodoro de.** Proclamation of the Cavalier Croix. Translated from the Spanish by Anthony W. Ivins. UTAH GENEAL. AND HIST. MAG., I (Jan.) 19-21. [568]
The proclamation of Don Teodoro de Croix governor and captain general of the Interior provinces of New Spain, to the inhabitants thereof, 1778. The present states of California, Nevada, Utah, were at that time in this province.
- Ewing, George.** Journal of George Ewing, a Revolutionary soldier, of Greenwich, New Jersey. AM. MO. MAG., XXXVII (Dec.) 471-473. [569]
- Gerry, Elbridge.** Letters of Elbridge Gerry. COLLECTOR, XXIII (Feb.-Mar., June, Sept.-Oct.) 38-39, 50-52, 87-88, 105-106, 114-115. [570]
Consists of a letter to Samuel Adams, June 21, 1773, two letters addressed to the Committee of correspondence in Boston, April 4, and May 24, 1774, a letter to the Members of the Continental congress from Massachusetts Bay, June 4, 1775, and one to John Adams, Dec. 4, 1775.
- Gordon, Rev. William.** First accounts of the Revolution for American independence; original letter written by an American clergyman "to a gentleman in England." JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. 1, 65-72. [571]
A letter written by Rev. William Gordon, May 17, 1775, describing the battle of Lexington and the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and America.
- Gray, Robert.** Colonel Robert Gray's observations on the war in Carolina. S. C. HIST. MAG., XI (July) 139-159. [572]
"Evidently written sometime in the spring of 1782."
- Great Britain. Historical manuscripts commission.** Report on the manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Drayton house, Northamptonshire. v. II. London, Wyman and sons. vii, 359, viii p. [573]
CONTENTS.—Papers relating to the American war, 1775-1782; Report by Lieut.-Governor Henry Hamilton on his proceedings from Nov., 1776, to June, 1781; Letters to and from Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford), 1781-1785; Canada and Nova Scotia, 1758-1780; Papers relating to the West Indies, &c., 1777-1780.
- Kalb, Johann.** Letter of Major-General Johann Kalb, 1777. AM. HIST. REV., XV (Apr.) 562-567. [574]
The letter casts light on the relations between De Kalb and Lafayette.
- Kirkwood, Robert.** The journal and order book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware regiment of the continental line. Ed. by Joseph Brown Turner. Wilmington, The Historical society of Delaware. 277 p. (Del. hist. soc. pap., LVI) [575]
CONTENTS.—pt. I. A journal of the southern campaign, 1780-1782. pt. II. An order book of the campaign in New Jersey, 1777.
- McKinly, John.** Letters to his wife while a prisoner of war, 1777-1778; ed. by Mary T. Evans. PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Jan.) 9-20. [576]
John McKinly, M. D. was the first president of Delaware under the Constitution of 1776. He was captured by the British after the battle of Brandywine.
- Moore, John.** Memoirs of an American official in service of the king; posthumous manuscript of a loyalist in America during the American revolution. JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. 1, 29-47. [577]
- Muhlenberg, John Peter Gabriel.** Orderly book of Gen. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, March 26-December 20, 1777. PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Jan.-Oct.) 21-40, 166-189, 336-360, 438-477. [578]
- New York (State) Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies.** Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in the state of New York. Albany county sessions, 1778-1781. Edited by Victor Hugo Paltsits. v. III: Analytical index. Albany, Pub. by the State of New York. 268 p. [579]
v. I-II, published in 1909.
Rev. in: Nation, XCI (Oct. 6) 313-315.
- Otis, James.** Letter from James Otis, 1768. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 492-493. [580]
Written to Arthur Jones, a merchant of London.

- Otis, James.** Letters of James Otis, 1764, 1765. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 202-207. [581]
 Two letters on legal matters; the first, to Francis Rybot, Boston, 1764, and the second, to George Johnston and others, assignees of Wight and Graham, Boston, 1765.
- Papers relating to the Revolutionary war.** MAG. OF HIST., XII (Aug.) 81-96. [582]
 Among them are—The non-importation agreement of the citizens of Boston, 1768; Account of the meeting at Faneuil Hall, 1768; A message to the king, Sept. 27, 1768; and The suppressed letter to Dennis De Berdt, agent for the colony in Great Britain, Nov. 12th, 1768.
- Peters, Samuel.** Connecticut Tories. COLLECTOR, XXIII (Oct.) 115-117. [583]
 A list endorsed "Connecticut Loyalists," found among the papers of Samuel Peters, a Tory during the Revolution.
- Proud, Robert.** Letters [written in Philadelphia while the city was in the possession of the British] PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Jan.) 62-73. [584]
- Putnam, Jeremiah.** Revolutionary orderly book of Capt. Jeremiah Putnam of Danvers, Mass. in the Rhode Island campaign [July 10, 1779-December 19, 1779] ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVI (Oct.) 333-347. [585]
- Record of servants and apprentices bound and assigned before Hon. John Gibson,** mayor of Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1772-May 21, 1773. PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Jan.-Apr.) 99-121, 213-228. [586]
- Records of the Vice-Admiralty court at Halifax, Nova Scotia: The condemnation of prizes and recaptures of the Revolution and the War of 1812.** ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVI (Jan.-Oct.) 69-80, 150-160, 257-272, 317-324. [587]
 The records of the years, 1782-1784, are given on p. 69-70. The remaining pages contain: Captures and recaptures condemned during the War of 1812.
- Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779.** VA. MAG. HIST., XVIII (Jan.-Oct.) 73-79, 170-176, 311-318, 428-434. [588]
- Revolutionary letters [1777-1780]** MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 255-261. [589]
- Rockingham, Marquis of.** Letter of the Marquis of Rockingham respecting defense against John Paul Jones, 1779. AM. HIST. REV., XV (Apr.) 567-571. [590]
- Sedgwick, Theodore.** Original document; letter of Theodore Sedgwick to Truman Wheeler [May 26, 1776] MAG. OF HIST., XI (May) 298. [591]
 Theodore Sedgwick took part in the Canada expedition of 1776.
- Sewall, Jonathan.** Letter of Jonathan Sewall. COLLECTOR, XXIII (Dec.) 14-16. [592]
 Letter written from London, Apr. 14, 1777, to a kinsman in America. Protests against the latter's action in joining the Revolutionary cause.
 Continued in v. XXIV (Jan., 1911) 27-28.
- Smith, Alexander Lawson.** Letter of Alex. Lawson Smith to Lieut. Michael Gilbert [1777] MD. HIST. MAG., V (June) 131-134. [593]
- Smith, Samuel.** Defence of Fort Mifflin; letters of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Smith to General Washington [1777] MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 205-229. [594]
- Smith, Samuel.** General Samuel Smith to Thomas W. Griffith [1821] Account of the plan by which the Committee of safety at Baltimore, intended making Governor Eden prisoner, in 1776. MD. HIST. MAG., V (June) 151-152. [595]
- Sullivan, Thomas.** From Brandywine to Philadelphia; extracted from the Journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan, H. M. 49th regiment of foot. PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Apr.) 229-232. [596]
- Tallmadge, Samuel.** Original orderly books written on the battlefields of American revolution. JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. III, 341-350; no. IV, 491-494. [597]
 Orderly-books kept by Samuel Tallmadge who was an ensign and an adjutant of the Fourth New York regiment.
- U. S. Continental congress.** Journals of the Continental congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt. v. XVI-XVIII. Washington, Gov. print. off. 3 v. [598]
 CONTENTS.—v. XVI: January 1-May 5, 1780. v. XVII: May 8-September 6, 1780. v. XVIII: September 7-December 29, 1780.
 Rev. in: Am. hist. rev., XVI (Oct. 1910) 174; (Jan. 1911) 393-394.
- U. S. Continental marine committee.** Orders of the Continental marine committee to Captain John Barry [1778-1780] AM. CATH. HIST. RESEARCH., n. s. VI (Oct.) 322-333. [599]

- Washington, George.** Letter of Washington to John Laurens in reference to the manner in which he quieted the revolt in the Jersey line, and referring to Arnold in Virginia [1781] *MAG. OF HIST.*, XII (Aug.) 127-128. [600]
- Wharton, Thomas.** Selections from the letter-books of Thomas Wharton of Philadelphia, 1773-1783. *PA. MAG. HIST.*, XXXIV (Jan.) 41-61. [601]

General.

- Adams, Charles Francis.** Cavalry in the war of independence. *MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC.*, XLIII, 547-593. [602]
- Bedard, Joseph Armand.** The co-operation of France in the American revolution. *LYNN HIST. SOC. REG.*, XIII, 173-193. [603]
- Buron, Edmond.** Un prophète de la révolution américaine. *REV. HIST.*, CIII (Mar.) 283-291. [604]
A memoir which the writer attributes to Favier, prophesying political changes on the American continent. It was written between the capture of Quebec, 1759, and that of Montreal, 1760.
- Chase, Ellen.** The beginnings of the American revolution, based on contemporary letters, diaries and other documents. N. Y., Baker and Taylor co. 3 v. plates, ports. [605]
- Daveluy, R.** A study of naval strategy. Translated [from the French] by Philip R. Alger. *U. S. N. INST. PROC.*, XXXVI (June) 391-428. [606]
Fifth part: The war of American independence.
- Griffin, Martin I. J.** The Irish Catholics and the Revolution. *AM. CATH. HIST. RESEARCH.*, n. s. VI (Oct.) 340-342. [607]
- The leadership of Virginia in the war of the Revolution.** *WM. AND MARY QUAR.*, XVIII (Jan.) 145-164; XIX (July) 10-27. [608]
Part I: Period of the Stamp act. Part II: The Two penny act.
- Stark, James Henry.** The loyalists of Massachusetts and the other side of the American revolution. Boston, J. H. Stark. [4], vii, 509 p. illus., plates, ports., maps. [609]
Rev. in: *Hist. pub. Canad.*, XV (1911) 44-46.
- Walmsley, James Elliott.** Party relations in England and their effect on the American revolution. *AM. MO. MAG.*, XXXVI (June) 685-692. [610]

Special.

- Abbatt, William.** The battle of Pell's Point or Pelham, October 18, 1776. *N. Y. STATE HIST. ASSOC. PROC.*, IX, 267-273. [611]
- Adams, Charles Francis.** The campaign of 1777. *MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC.*, Oct. 1910, 13-65. [612]
- Alvord, Clarence Walworth.** Edward Cole, Indian commissioner in the Illinois country. *ILL. HIST. SOC. JOUR.*, III (Oct.) 23-44. [613]
Contains letters from Edward Cole and others concerning Indian affairs in the Illinois country (1766-1769).
- Ashe, Samuel A.** Colonel Polk's rebellion [1775] *N. C. BOOKLET*, X (July) 43-47. [614]
Identifying Col. Thomas Polk as the leader in the Mecklenburg declaration.
- Ashe, Samuel A.** Judge Martin's version of the Mecklenburg declaration. *So. ATLAN. QUAR.*, IX (Oct.) 320-326. [615]
- Baker, Louise Tull.** Letters of the American revolution. *JOUR. AM. HIST.*, IV, no. iv, 525-531. [616]
Contains extracts from the letter of Jacob Duché, 1777, to Washington informing him of pending failure of the Revolution, and from other letters relating to this letter.
- Bancroft papers on the Mecklenburg declaration, 1775, and on the Annexation of Texas, 1848.** *MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC.*, XLIII, 101-122. [617]
Consists of correspondence between Polk and Bancroft regarding the authenticity of the Declaration and on the annexation of Texas.
- Barnwell, Joseph W.** The evacuation of Charleston by the British in 1782. *S. C. HIST. MAG.*, XI (Jan.) 1-26. [618]

- Bascom, Robert O., and James Austin Holden.** The Ticonderoga expedition of 1775. [n. p.] 87 p. [619]
 CONTENTS.—List of men with Ethan Allen, by Robert O. Bascom; Anecdotes and data about Allen, by Robert O. Bascom, with emendatory notes by James Austin Holden; Additions to Bascom's Allen's men, anecdotes and data regarding Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga expedition, by James Austin Holden; Some hitherto unpublished correspondence about the Ticonderoga expedition—and who took Fort George, by James Austin Holden.
 Also pub. in N. Y. state hist. assoc. proc., IX, 304-389.
- Beecher, John Preston.** America's debt to Beaumarchais. HARPER'S, CXXI (Aug.) 371-376. [620]
 Regarding the assistance Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais gave America in the Revolutionary war.
- Bigelow, Dana W.** Baron Steuben. ONEIDA HIST. SOC. YR. BK., XI, xv-xxv. [621]
- Brandow, John H.** Washington's retreat through Westchester county [1776] N. Y. STATE HIST. ASSOC. PROC., IX, 113-124. [622]
- Burton, Clarence Monroe.** Ephraim Douglass and his times, a fragment of history, with the journal of George McCully (hitherto unpublished) and various letters of the period. N. Y., W. Abbott. 74 p. port. (The magazine of history with notes and queries. Extra number—no. 10) [623]
 Douglass, with McCully as companion, was sent by the government of the United States as a commissioner to the Indians to carry news of peace with Great Britain at the close of revolutionary war. The journey extended from Pittsburg to Sandusky and Detroit.
 Report of Ephraim Douglass to the secretary of war, 1783: p. [50]-61.
- [Calef, John] The siege of Penobscot by the rebels; containing a Journal of the proceedings of His Majesty's forces detached from the 74th and 82d regiments, . . . and of three of His Majesty's sloops of war, . . . when besieged by . . . (rebel) land forces, under the command of Brigadier-General Solomon Lovell, and rebel ships and vessels of war, under the command of G. Saltonstall, commodore. . . . London, Printed for G. Kearsley [etc.] 1781. N. Y., Reprinted, W. Abbott. 55 p. map. (The Magazine of history with notes and queries. Extra number [v. III] no. 11 [pt. 1]) [624]
 On cover: . . . Added, Captain Henry Mowat's "Relation" and biographical and topographical notes. Edited by Nathan Gould.
- Carter, Clarence Edwin.** Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1774. Washington, The American historical association. ix, 223 p. (Prize essays of the American historical association, 1908) [625]
 Rev. in: Am. hist. rev., XVI (Apr. 1911) 672-673; Am. pol. sci. rev., V (Feb. 1911) 146-147.
- Catholic Revolutionary notes.** AM. CATH. HIST. RESEARCH., n. s. VI (July-Oct.) 217-232, 297-311. [626]
 Brief extracts from various sources.
- Channing, Edward.** The American board of commissioners of the customs. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 477-490. [627]
- The conduct of the Schwenkfelders during the Revolutionary war.** PA.-GERMAN, XI (Nov.) 659-663. [628]
 Gives an account of the imprisonment of George Kriebel.
- Culver, Francis B.** The last bloodshed of the Revolution; death of Captain Wilmot, of the Maryland line. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Dec.) 329-338. [629]
- Daniel, John W.** Centennial address at King's Mountain. CONFED. VET., XVIII (May) 216-224. [630]
 Centennial anniversary of the battle of King's Mountain, 1780.
- Demeritt, Emma W. Law.** The alarm; a narrative of the British invasion of Connecticut, 1777. New Canaan, Conn., J. E. Hersam. 48 p. illus. [631]
 Danbury Conn.—Burning by the British, 1777.
- The disbanding of the army under Washington.** OLDE ULSTER, VI (July) 193-198. [632]
- Dungan, Warren S.** First declarations of independence in America—Lancaster convention. JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. 1, 145-149. [633]
 An account of the Lancaster convention of June, 1776.
- Eaton, Arthur Wentworth Hamilton.** The New York loyalists in Nova Scotia. GRAFTON MAG., II (Feb.) 163-189. [634]

- Egerton, H. E.** Lord George Germain and Sir William Howe. *ENG. HIST. REV.*, XXV (Apr.) 315-316. [635]
Throws light on Howe's failure to cooperate with Burgoyne.
- Egerton, H. E.** Sir William Howe and General Burgoyne. *ENG. HIST. REV.*, XXV (Oct.) 747. [636]
Letters relating to the case of Sir William Howe in the controversy regarding the surrender of Saratoga.
- Fisher, Horace Newton.** Colonel Rufus Putnam at the siege of Boston. *BUNKER HILL MONU. ASSOC. PROC.*, 62-63. [637]
- Ford, Worthington Chauncey.** Parliament and the Howes. *MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC.*, Nov. 1910, 120-143. [638]
Discusses "the effects in England of the campaigns of the Howes and the course pursued by the King's government towards those two officers." Appended to the paper, p. 145-175, is an account of "The Maduit pamphlets," a collection of tracts bearing on the subject of the attacks upon the American service of Sir William Howe and Lord Howe, which originally belonged to Israel Maduit, and contain many manuscript annotations by him.
- Gardner, Frank A.** State schooner Diligent. *MASS. MAG.*, III (Jan.) 40-46. [639]
Revolutionary war ship.
- Gardner, Frank A.** State ship Mars. *MASS. MAG.*, III (Oct.) 260-267. [640]
Revolutionary war ship.
- Gardner, Frank A.** State ship Protector. *MASS. MAG.*, III (July) 181-183. [641]
Revolutionary war ship.
- Gardner, Frank A.** State sloop Machias Liberty. *MASS. MAG.*, III (Apr.) 133-140. [642]
Revolutionary war ship.
- Green, Samuel Abbott.** Colonel William Prescott; and Groton soldiers at the battle of Bunker Hill. *MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC.*, XLIII, 92-99. [643]
- Greenwood, Isaac J., jr.** Cruising on the Chesapeake in 1781. *MD. HIST. MAG.*, V (June) 123-131. [644]
- Guild, Curtis, jr.** Fighters and spectators at Bunker Hill. *BUNKER HILL MONU. ASSOC. PROC.*, 25-37. [645]
- Guild, Curtis, jr.** Yorktown—the lesson that it teaches. *AM. MO. MAG.*, XXXVII (Dec.) 445-452. [646]
- Hazard, Blanche Evans.** Beaumarchais and the American revolution. Boston, Mass., E. L. Slocomb, the printer. 38, [1] p. [647]
A prize essay published by the general society of the Daughters of the American revolution.
- Hicks, Lewis Wilder.** The soldier of the American revolution at his best at Valley Forge. *In* Massachusetts society of the Sons of the American revolution. Register of members, June 10, 1910. [Boston] Pub. by the Society. p. 237-244. [648]
- Higgins, Charles M.** Brooklyn's neglected battle ground. N. Y., Witter and Kintner. 29, [1] p. illus. [649]
Gives a brief account of the battle of Long Island and urges the purchase of the grounds as a monumental reservation to commemorate the battle.
- The house of Mrs. Falls, Liberty Square.** *OLDE ULSTER*, VI (Jan.) 1-11. [650]
An account of Revolutionary events centered about this house in New Windsor, N. Y.
- Hulbert, Archer Butler.** A hero of Dorchester Heights. *BUNKER HILL MONU. ASSOC. PROC.*, 41-58. [651]
"A résumé of Rufus Putnam's connection with the fortification of Dorchester Heights which made possible its occupation."
- James, James Alton.** Detroit the key to the West during the American revolution. *ILL. HIST. SOC. TRANS.*, 1909, 154-164. [652]
- James, James Alton.** Indian diplomacy and the opening of the Revolution in the West. Madison, The Society. [2], 125-142 p. [653]
"From the Proceedings of the State historical society of Wisconsin for 1909, pages 125-142."
- James, James Alton.** The significance of the attack on St. Louis, 1780. *MISS. VALLEY HIST. ASSOC. PROC.*, II, 199-217. [654]
- James, James Alton.** Some problems of the Northwest in 1779. *In* Essays in American history dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner. N. Y., Holt. p. 57-84. [655]

- Kain, C. Henry.** The military and naval operations on the Delaware in 1777, written for the City history society of Philadelphia. Phila., Printed for the Society. [2], 177-203 p. illus., port., map, plans. (Publications of the City history society of Philadelphia, no. VIII) [656]
- Leffmann, Henry.** Notes on the secret service of the revolutionary army operating around Philadelphia, written for the City history society of Philadelphia. Phila., Printed for the Society. [2], 165-173 p. facsim. (Publication of the City history society of Philadelphia, no. VII) [657]
- Linzee, John W.** Captain John Linzee of His Majesty's navy. MASS. MAG., III (Apr.) 143-144. [658]
"Biographical sketch of the commander of the British ship "Falcon" which fired upon Bunker Hill on the 17th of June, 1775."
- Maclay, Edgar Stanton.** A sea fight long forgot. MAG. OF HIST., XI (Mar.) 150-154. [659]
"Sea fight between an American war craft and one or more English ships, off the coast of France, Sept. 9, 1780. Inscription on a headstone in a burying ground at Rochester Center, southwestern corner of Plymouth co., Mass., is the only record of this maritime engagement."
- Martzolf, Clement L.** The Ohio declaration of independence. O. ARCHAEOLOG. AND HIST. SOC. PUB., XIX (Oct.) 404-410. [660]
Regarding a declaration made at a meeting of the officers under command of the Earl of Dunmore, convened at Fort Gower, November 5, 1774.
- Matthews, Albert.** Joyce Junior once more. COL. SOC. MASS. PUB., XI, 280-294. [661]
Joyce Junior was the name by which, for a year or two before the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the chairman of the committee on tarring and feathering was known, and it was he who during the war warned and escorted out of town those of Tory proclivities.
- Matthews, Albert.** The Snake devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. COL. SOC. MASS. PUB., XI, 409-453. [662]
Records of the use of this snake device originated by Franklin, representing a snake cut into eight parts, the head representing New England, and each of the other seven parts representing respectively New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, with descriptions of other forms used in later publications.
- Matthews, Albert.** Thomas Paine and the Declaration of independence. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 241-253. [663]
- Meese, William A.** Rock river in the Revolution. ILL. HIST. SOC. TRANS., 1909, 97-103. [664]
- Michael Witman, loyalist.** LANCASTER CO. HIST. SOC. PAP., XIV, no. 7, 181-186. [665]
- Montgomery, Morton L.** Berks county [Pa.] militia at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in the Revolution. BERKS CO. HIST. SOC. TRANS., II, 10-24. [666]
- New York (State) Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies.** Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in the state of New York. Albany County sessions, 1778-1781. Ed. by Victor Hugo Paltsits. Albany, Pub. by the state of New York [J. B. Lyon co.] 1909-10. 3 v. facsimis. [667]
v. I. 1778-1779. v. II. 1780-1781. v. III. Analytical index.
v. I-II, pub. in 1909.
- Onahan, William J.** The French-Irish brigades in the war of independence. AM.-IRISH HIST. SOC. JOUR., IX, 416-420. [668]
- Raymond, Marcius D.** The capture of Andre. N. Y. STATE HIST. ASSOC. PROC., IX, 219-226. [669]
- Sausser, Malcolm G.** An American loyalist—Moody of New Jersey. MAG. OF HIST., XII (Sept.-Oct.) 164-168, 220-230. [670]
- Scomp, Henry A.** The Girty legends and romances: the darkest chapter on the American border. MAG. OF HIST., XII (Nov.) 243-252. [671]
The story of the Girty brothers, Simon, James and George, and the part taken by them in the western border war of the Revolution.
- Shaaber, Andrew.** The Hessian camp at Reading, Pa., 1781-83. PA.-GERMAN, XI (Aug.) 477-487. [672]

[**Sons of the American revolution. Maine society**] Maine at Valley Forge; proceedings at the unveiling of the Maine marker, October 17, 1907; also roll of Maine men at Valley Forge. [2d ed.] Augusta, Burleigh and Flynt. [10], 83 p. plates, ports., fold. map. [673]

First published in 1908 under the auspices of the Maine society of the Sons of the American revolution. The new edition includes an index to the list of names of Maine officers and soldiers at Valley Forge.

The temple at New Windsor. OLDE ULSTER, VI (Dec.) 353-358. [674]

A public building for the use of the army, built by the troops under Washington, at New Windsor, N. Y., 1782.

U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Library. Monument to Gen. William Campbell ... Report. [Washington, Gov. print. off. 1910?] 11 p. (61st Cong., 3d sess. Senate. Rept. 932) [675]

Gives a sketch of Gen. Campbell and his services in the Revolution, particularly at the battle of King's Mountain.

Warren, Winslow. Boston customs records. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 423-428. [676]

Regarding the loss of the Boston customs records at the time of the evacuation of Boston, in March 1776.

Woods, Richard W. The study of the Bible the basis of the Declaration of independence and the civil and religious liberty provided for in the Constitution of the United States. Paper read before the Hamilton library association, Carlisle, Pa., Dec. 31, 1909. n. p. 16 p. [677]

Revolutionary Soldiers: Names.

Batchellor, Albert Stillman, ed. Miscellaneous revolutionary documents of New Hampshire, including the association test, the pension rolls, and other important papers. Manchester, N. H., Printed for the state by the John B. Clarke co. xvii, 658 p. ([New Hampshire. Provincial and] state papers. v. XXX) [678]

Contains: New Hampshire men on the Massachusetts Revolutionary war rolls; New Hampshire Revolutionary pension roll, 1835; New Hampshire pension roll of 1840; Major John Brown's detachment, Green Mountain Boys; List of men in Col. Timothy Bedel's regiment surrendered at the Cedars, May 21, 1776, by Major Isaac Butterfield.

Collins, Holdridge Ozro, comp. The military record of John Green Ballance. Comp. for the society Sons of the revolution in the state of California. [Los Angeles?] 143 p. illus. [679]

Death notices of Revolutionary soldiers. MAG. OF HIST., XII (Oct.) 231-233. [680]

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- Weichselbaum, Theodore.** Statement of Theodore Weichselbaum, of Ogden, Riley county, July 17, 1908. KANSAS HIST. SOC. COLL., XI, 561-571. [1046]
German pioneer settler in Kansas.
- White, Mrs. S. B.** My first days in Kansas. KANSAS HIST. SOC. COLL., XI, 550-560. [1047]
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Hale, Robert. Early days of church and state in Maine. Brunswick, Me., The College. 52 p. (Bowdoin college studies in history, no. 1) [1062]

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- Miller, Samuel L.** History of the town of Waldoboro, Maine. [Wiscasset, Emerson, printer] 281 p. illus., plates, ports. [1068]
- Shaw, Charles D.** Some facts relating to the early history of Greenville and Moosehead Lake. PISCATAQUIS CO. HIST. SOC. COLL., I, 52-65. [1069]
- Smith, Edgar Crosby.** Peter Brawn and his celebrated bear-fight on Sebec Lake. PISCATAQUIS CO. HIST. SOC. COLL., I, 138-141. [1070]
- Smith, Lillian Clayton.** Old Canaan during the Revolution. [Skowhegan, Me., Press of the Independent reporter] [16] p. [1071]
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- Sprague, John Francis.** William Bingham and the Million acre tract. PISCATAQUIS CO. HIST. SOC. COLL., I, 434-441. [1072]
- Vondel, Joseph L.** The restoration of Pemaquid. MAG. OF HIST., XI (Mar.) 139-144. [1073]

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- Baltimore riot of 1812.** MD. HIST. MAG., V (June) 191-194. [1074]
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- Blum, Isidor.** The Jews of Baltimore; an historical summary of their progress and status as citizens of Baltimore from early days to the year nineteen hundred and ten. With special contributions by William Rosenau, S. Schaffer, Charles A. Rubinstein, Adolf Guttmacher, Henry W. Schneeberger, Lewis Putzel. Baltimore, Washington, Historical review pub. co. lii, 470 p. illus., ports. [1075]
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- Gambrill, John Montgomery.** Leading events of Maryland history, with topical analyses, references, and questions for original thought and research. Rev. and enl. Boston, N. Y. [etc.] Ginn. xv, 374 p. illus., col. pl., maps. [1076]
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- Hays, Helen Ashe.** The Antietam and its bridges, the annals of an historic stream. N. Y. and London, Putnam. v, 178 p. plates. [1077]
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- Kehoe, Michael P.** The Carroll family in Maryland. AM. IRISH HIST. SOC. JOUR., IX, 258-278. [1078]
- Letters from the Executive archives [1848-1849]** MD. HIST. MAG., V (Dec.) 377-381. [1079]
- Letters from the state papers.** MD. HIST. MAG., V (June) 178-184. [1080]
Letters of 1778-1779 1814, and 1830.
- Martin, Luther.** Nanticoke manor. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 252-254. [1081]
Statement, etc., by Luther Martin, 1814, regarding land formerly held by Nanticoke Indians, known as Nanticoke manor.
From the Executive archives.
- Naff, John H.** Recollections of Baltimore; thrown together, as they were collected, at different times, from conversations had with the elders of the city. MD. HIST. MAG., V (June) 104-123. [1082]
- Petition of tenants of Susquehannah manor for titles in fee of their respective holdings.** MD. HIST. MAG., V (Mar.) 58-60. [1083]
Petition to the General assembly of Maryland, 23d day of December, 1779.
- Steiner, Bernard C.** More fragments from the English archives. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 245-249. [1084]
An account of certain copies of manuscripts in the English archives in the Library of Congress, which "have a little interest for Marylanders."
- Thompson, Henry F.** Early Maryland clergy. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 289-291. [1085]
Brief extracts from various MSS. collections.

Williams, Thomas John Chew. History of Frederick county, Maryland, from the earliest settlements to the beginning of the war between the states; . . . continued from the beginning of the year 1861 down to the present time, by Folger McKinsey. To this is added a biographical record of representative families prepared from data obtained from original sources of information. [Frederick, Md.] L. R. Titsworth and co. 2 v. plates, ports. [1086
Paged continuously.

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- [Abbott, Holker]** The silver wedding of the Bear; a memorial of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Tavern club, 15 January 1909. Boston, Priv. print. [2], 53, [1] p. front. [1087
- Ackerman, Herbert N.** The Congregational church of West Medford. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (Apr.) 25-49. [1088
Organized in June, 1872.
- Ayer, Mary Farwell.** Early days on Boston common. Boston, Priv. print. vii, [1] 78, [2] p. plates, map, plans. [1089
Printed by D. B. Updike, the Merrymount press, Boston.
- Bigelow, Ella A.** Historical reminiscences of the early times in Marlborough, Massachusetts, and prominent events from 1860 to 1910, including . . . an account of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town. Marlborough, Mass., Times pub. co. xvii, 488 p. illus., plates, ports. [1090
- Blount, Frederick S.** Frederick S. Blount to John H. Bryan. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 73-74. [1091
A letter from a North Carolinian visiting in Boston in 1831.
- Bonney, Franklin, and Elbridge Kingsley.** The original settlers of Hadley and the lots of land granted them. GRAFTON MAG., II (Aug.) 3-37. [1092
- Boston. Selectmen.** A volume of records relating to the early history of Boston, containing Minutes of the Selectmen's meetings from September 1, 1818, to April 24, 1882. Boston, Printing department, 1909. [4], 293 p. [1092a
- Boston. Street commissioner.** A record of the streets, alleys, places, etc., in the city of Boston, compiled under the direction of the street commissioner and printed by order of the City council; with an appendix containing a description of the boundary line of the city and also a description of the changes which have been made in it by annexations, etc., from the date of the settlement of the town to 1910. Boston, Printing dept. 543 p. [1093
- Bradford, Laurence.** Historic Duxbury in Plymouth county, Massachusetts. 3d ed. Boston, Sawyer and son. 160 p. illus., plates. [1094
Ed. by Gershom Bradford, 2d.
- Burrage, William Clarence.** The visit of the West Point cadets to Boston, August, 1821. BOST. SOC. PUB., VI, 53-66. [1095
- Coffin, James R.** Le beau port, the sea-browned fishing town of Gloucester. NEW ENG. MAG., N. S. XLII (Apr.) 167-168. [1096
- Crawford, Mary Caroline.** Romantic days in old Boston; the story of the city and of its people during the nineteenth century. Boston, Little, Brown, and co. xix, 411 p. plates, ports. [1097
- Curtis, Joseph Henry.** Life of *Campestris ulm*, the oldest inhabitant of Boston common. Boston, W. B. Clarke. 88 p. plates, ports., maps. [1098
Aged elm tree standing on the Beacon street front of the common, near the site of the Gov. Hancock house.
- Curtis, Martha E. Sewall.** Ye old meeting house. Addresses and verses relating to the meeting house, Burlington, Middlesex county, Massachusetts, built 1732; and other historical addresses. Boston, Anchor linotype print. co., 1909. 62 p. illus., ports., plates, facsim. [1099
- Cushing, Fred L.** Medford's water supply. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (July) 51-62. [1100

- Cutter, William Richard, ed.** Genealogical and personal memoirs relating to the families of the state of Massachusetts; prepared under the editorial supervision of William Richard Cutter, assisted by William Frederick Adams. N. Y., Lewis hist. pub. co. 4 v. plates, ports. [1101]
- Dartmouth, Mass. Proprietors.** The field notes of Benjamin Crane, Benjamin Hammond, and Samuel Smith. Reproduced in facsimile from the original notes of survey of lands of the proprietors of Dartmouth, including what is now the city of New Bedford, and the towns of Dartmouth, Westport, Fairhaven, and Acushnet. New Bedford, Mass., The New Bedford Free public library. xvi, viii, [4], 767 p. illus., facsimis. [1102]
Benjamin Crane and old Dartmouth surveys, address . . . by A. McL. Goodspeed: p. v-xvi.
- Douglas-Lithgow, R. A.** Andrew Oliver house, Dorchester. MASS. MAG., III (Jan.) 57-61. [1103]
- Douglas-Lithgow, R. A.** Governor Hutchinson's house on Milton Hill. MASS. MAG., III (Apr.) 121-124. [1104]
- Douglas-Lithgow, R. A.** The Province house, Boston. MASS. MAG., III (July) 199-203. [1105]
- Dover historical and natural history society.** Old home day; proceedings of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Dover, Massachusetts, Wednesday, July 7th, 1909. [Dover? Mass.] Printed by the Dover historical and natural history society. 73 p. [1106]
Historical address and bibliography by F. J. Stimson: p. 14-23, 69-71.
- Dummer, Joseph N.** The story of Byfield Parish. MAG. OF HIST., XII (July) 27-35. [1107]
An old territorial parish in Massachusetts, including parts of the towns of Newbury and Rowley.
- Dwellely, Jedediah, and John F. Simmons.** History of the town of Hanover, Massachusetts, with family genealogies. [Hanover, Mass.] Pub. by the town of Hanover. 291, 474 p. illus., plates, ports. [1108]
"Genealogical work": 474 p.
- The early records of the town of Topsfield, Mass.** TOPSFIELD HIST. SOC. COLL., XV, 41-104. [1109]
Consists of records of 1710 to 1722.
- Edmonds, John H.** The Burgis-Price view of Boston. COL. SOC. MASS. PUB., XI, 245-262. [1110]
- Felton, Daniel Henry.** The first house on Felton Hill. PEABODY HIST. SOC. REP., XIV, 3-10. [1111]
- Fitt, Arthur Percy.** All about Northfield; a brief history and guide. Northfield, Mass., Northfield press. 166 p. illus., maps, facsim. [1112]
Includes advertisements.
- Getchell, Everett Lamont.** Field lessons in the geography and history of the Boston Basin; a handbook for teachers. Boston, Little, Brown, and co. xiii, 186 p. fold. map. [1113]
- Grand army of the republic, Dept. of Massachusetts.** The story of the John Brown bell, by direction of John A. Rawlins post 43, G. A. R. [Marlborough? Mass.] 19 p. illus., ports. [1114]
The bell was taken from Harpers Ferry by members of Co. I, 13 Massachusetts volunteer infantry, 1861.
CONTENTS.—The story of John Brown; The story of the bell [by L. P. Parker].
- The great elm and its scion.** NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENERAL. REG., LXIV (Apr.) 141-144. [1115]
The Great Elm which once stood on Boston Common and was destroyed by a gale on Feb. 15, 1876.
- Haynes, George Henry.** Historical sketch of the First Congregational church, Sturbridge, Massachusetts. Worcester, The Davis press. 68 p. illus., pl. [1116]
- Hovey, Horace C.** The first century of the Merrimack Bible society, its founders, workers, and early friends, with a glance at the wider field, 1810-1910. Newburyport, Press of the Herald pub. co. 24 p. [1117]
- Howe, Mark Anthony De Wolfe.** Boston common; scenes from four centuries. Cambridge, Printed at the Riverside press. x, 87, [1] p. plates, plans, facsim. [1118]

- Irish pioneers in Springfield, Mass.** AM.-IRISH HIST. SOC. JOUR., IX, 475-477. [1119]
- Johnson, Benjamin Newhall.** The Old Tunnel tablet. LYNN HIST. SOC. REG., XIII, 99-112. [1120]
 Address at the dedication of the tablet erected in commemoration of the Old Tunnel, the second meeting house in Lynn.
- Lansing, Marion Florence.** Historic happenings on Boston common. NEW ENG. MAG., XLII (July-Aug.) 565-573, 727-731; XLIII (Sept.-Oct.) 97-104, 191-196. [1121]
 CONTENTS.—I: In colonial and provincial days. II: Pageants of Revolutionary days. III: An early aviation meet. IV: From town to city.
- Mann, Charles Edward.** The old Jonathan Bacon farm, Walnut Hill [Natick] Natick, Mass. 39 p. plate. [1121a]
- Mann, Moses W.** Ancient ammunition at an altitude. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (July) 72-76. [1122]
 Regarding cannon ball recently unearthed by road builders in Medford.
- Mann, Moses W.** An old-time muster. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (Oct.) 93-96. [1123]
 In Medford, Mass., in 1840.
- Mann, Moses W.** In one corner of Medford. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (Oct.) 97-98. [1124]
 A historic spot and a part of the Ten-Hills farm of Governor Winthrop.
- Mann, Moses W.** The Royall house people of a century ago. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (July) 62-70. [1125]
 Col. Royall's estate in Medford, owned in 1810 by William Welch, who resided there.
- Milton historical society.** The Milton catechism; an outline of the history of Milton, Massachusetts. [Milton, Mass.] Milton historical society. 88 p. plates. [1126]
- Newspaper items relating to Topsfield; copied from Salem newspapers [1829-1835]** TOPSFIELD HIST. SOC. COLL., XV, 125-156. [1127]
- Norfolk co., Mass. Probate court.** Probate index, Norfolk county, Massachusetts. . . 1793-1900. Dedham, Mass., Transcript press. 2 v. [1128]
- O'Flynn, Thomas Francis.** The story of Worcester, Massachusetts. Boston, Little, Brown, and co. vii, 159 p. port., plates, maps. [1129]
- Pierce, George Williams.** The Captain Timothy Johnson homestead. MASS. MAG., III (Apr.) 94-98. [1130]
 At North Andover, Mass.
- Piper, Fred S.** Lexington, the birthplace of American liberty; a handbook containing an account of the battle of Lexington, Paul Revere's narrative of his famous ride, a sketch of the town and the places of historic interest. 3d ed. Lexington, Lexington historical society. 42, [2] p. illus., map. [1131]
- Poore, Alfred.** Groveland localities and place-names. ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVI (Apr.) 161-177. [1132]
 Compiled in 1854.
- Poore, Alfred.** The houses and buildings of Groveland, Mass. [1854] ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVI (July-Oct.) 193-208, 289-304. [1133]
- Pressey, Edward Pearson.** History of Montague, a typical Puritan town. Including short hand notes of conversations with the oldest inhabitants, A. D. 1895. Montague, Mass. 264 p. illus., plate, maps. [1134]
- Prince, John T.** Boston's lanes and alleys. BOST. SOC. PUB., VII, 9-29. [1135]
 Glimpses of localities in Boston as they existed in the olden time.
- Quincy, Eliza Susan.** Letter of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy. BUNKER HILL MONU. ASSOC. PROC., 59-61. [1136]
 A letter written to Honorable G. Washington Warren, April 13, 1877, regarding the laying of the cornerstone of Bunker Hill monument, the 17th of June, 1825.
- Rideing, William H.** Some Boston memories. NEW ENG. MAG., n. s. XLII (June) 417-426. [1137]
 Glimpses of Boston in the early seventies.

- Smith, Fitz-Henry, jr.** The story of Boston light; with some account of the beacons in Boston harbor. BOST. SOC. PUB., VII, 63-126. [1138
 "NOTE.—The keepers of Boston light from the time it went into operation unto the present day." p. 127-128.
- State street trust company, Boston.** Boston's growth; a bird's-eye view of Boston's increase in territory and population from its beginning to the present. Boston, Mass., Printed for the State street trust company. 45, [1] p. illus., maps. [1139
- Stoddard, Francis R., jr.** The old Thomas house at Plymouth. MASS. MAG., III (Oct.) 269-271. [1140
- Thacher, Peter.** Life in the old parsonage, 1772-1784. From the dairy of Rev. Peter Thacher. MALDEN HIST. SOC. REG., I, 38-59. [1140a
 Read by Deloraine Pendre Corey.
 The Rev. Peter Thacher was pastor of the First church in Malden.
- Thayer, William Roscoe.** An Italian nobleman's glimpse of Boston in 1837. MASS. HIST. SOC. PROC., XLIII, 88-92. [1141
 An account of a journal kept by Count Francesco Arese on a visit to America, with a translation of a portion of the journal that relates to Boston.
- Three old New England houses.** MAG. OF HIST., XII (Nov.) 273-276. [1142
 I. The Fairbanks house, Dedham, by Laura Wentworth Fowler. II. The Horseshoe (or Coffin) house, Nantucket, by Mabel G. Mitchell. III. The Whipple house, Ipswich, by William Abbott.
- Tripp, Job C.** The old men of Fairhaven. OLD DARTMOUTH HIST. SKETCHES, XXVII, 7-10. [1143
- Vose, Ellen F., and Mary H. Hinckley, comps.** Robert Vose and his times. [n. p.] [21] p. illus., pl. [1144
 Reprinted from the Milton record, Nov.-Dec., 1910.
 CONTENTS.—I. Robert Vose in England. II. His arrival in New England and settlement in Milton. III. Milton in 1662. IV. Second meeting house and Vose's lane. V. Customs in Robert Vose's time. Close of life.
- Waterman, Henry.** A famous American street. AMERICANA, V (Apr.) 343-348. [1145
 Summer street, Boston.
- Watkins, Walter Kendall.** The site of Faneuil hall. BOST. SOC. PUB., VII, 131-138. [1146
- Wells, Daniel White, and Reuben Field Wells.** A history of Hatfield, Massachusetts, in three parts: i. An account of the development of the social and industrial life of the town from its first settlement. ii. The houses and homes of Hatfield, with personal reminiscences of the men and women who have lived there during the last one hundred years; brief historical accounts of the religious societies and of Smith academy; statistical tables, etc. iii. Genealogies of the families of the first settlers. Springfield, Mass., Pub. under the direction of F. C. H. Gibbons. 536 p. illus., ports., facsimis. [1147
 At head of title: 1660. 1910.
- Whitney, Arthur E.** Ancient legal contentions in upper Medford. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (Jan.) 1-6. [1148
- Wilcox, Dorvil Miller, comp.** Soldiers buried in Lee. List of six wars in the three cemeteries. [Lee, Mass., The Gleaner print.] 4 p. [1149
 Alphabetical lists of names, with line of service or regiment.
- Wood, Henry.** A curious record and recorder. MEDFORD HIST. REG., XIII (July) 70-72. [1150
 Notes on four small manuscript volumes kept by Thomas Seecombe giving "An Account of all the Texts preached in our New Meeting House [in Medford] . . . and also all the Baptisms." The record begins with Sept. 3, 1727, and ends Apr. 15, 1773.
- Wood, S. G.** A Massachusetts town in the French and Indian wars. MAG. OF HIST., XI (Jan.) 13-21. [1151
 Blandford, Mass.
- Woodbury, C. J. H.** The Old Tunnel. LYNN HIST. SOC. REG., XIII, 92-98. [1152
 The Old Tunnel was the second meeting house in Lynn, which stood on the common from 1682 to 1827, and was used for town meetings until 1806.
- Worth, Henry Barnard.** Report of the historical research section. OLD DARTMOUTH HIST. SKETCHES, XXVIII, 6-7. [1153
 An account of the early history of the Elizabeth Islands.

Worth, Henry Barnard. The formation of the Unitarian society. NANTUCKET HIST. ASSOC. PROC., XVI, 50-61. [1154]

Sketch of the South or Unitarian church, in Nantucket, organized in 1810.

Worth, Henry Barnard. Nantucket lands and landowners. [Nantucket, Mass.] Nantucket historical association, 1901-10. 335, xxiv p. plates, fold. plans. (Nantucket hist. assoc. bul., v. II, no. 1-6) [1155]

CONTENTS.—Securing the title of the English king; The Nantucket insurrection [1673-1680]; The Nantucket group and their early names; The settlers and their homes; Their government; The courts; The Nantucket Indians; Indians attempt to regain their land; Sheep commons and the proprietary; Nantucket land speculations; Ancient buildings of Nantucket; Indian names; Wills and estates; Index. v. II, no. 6—pub. in 1910.

Michigan.

Burton, M. Agnes, and Joseph Greusel, eds. Lewis Bond papers. MICH. HIST. SOC. COLL., XXXVII, 421-507. [1156]

These papers are "letters gathered from several sources, giving touches of local color, official commissions, customs reports, and lighthouse gossip."

Fox, J. Sharpless, ed. Territorial papers, 1831-1836. MICH. HIST. SOC. COLL., XXXVII, 207-419. [1157]

A continuation of the "Territorial records" printed in v. XXXVI, p. 355-620 of the "Collections." These papers, chiefly from the Schoolcraft collection, are made up of the official correspondence of the governors of the Territory. "They deal with early politics, Indian questions, the Ohio and Michigan boundary, elections, and appointments."

Johnston, William. Letters on the fur trade, 1833, by William Johnston. MICH. HIST. SOC. COLL., XXXVII, 132-207. [1158]

A set of letters written by William Johnston, a half-breed Indian, "of value in connection with the history of the fur trade in the late years of the Territory."

Territorial records. MICH. HIST. SOC. COLL., XXXVII, 18-131. [1159]

The records here given, of the years 1803-1815, are a continuation of the "Territorial records" given in v. XXXVI of the "Collections." They are selected from the Williams and Woodbridge papers in the library of C. M. Burton and contain notes by Mr. Burton.

Minnesota.

Cooper, Inez De Jarnatt. When Minnesota bled. NAT. MAG., XXXI (Mar.) 603-610. [1160]

Personal recollections of the Indian uprising, 1862.

McCourt, Robert Shepard. The history of the old Sibley house, including a brief history of the lives of General Henry H. Sibley, his wife and mother, and some reminiscences by our old pioneers. Official D. A. R. souvenir, 1910. [St. Paul] R. S. McCourt. 42 p. illus., ports. [1161]

The Sibley house, Mendota, Minn.

Minneapolis. A history of the Municipal building of the city of Minneapolis and the county of Hennepin, Minnesota. A final report of the Board of Court house and city hall commissioners. 1887. 1909. [Minneapolis, Hahn and Harmon co.] 69, [1] p. illus., ports., plans, plates. [1162]

Much of the information was collected and compiled by Albert Dollenmayer, and a part was put in type under his direction. The whole was re-edited by Daniel Fish. cf. Prefatory note.

Minnesota historical society. The Kensington rune stone. Preliminary report to the Minnesota historical society by its Museum committee. Pub. by the Society. St. Paul, Minn., The Volkszeitung co. [4], 66 p. plates, maps. [1163]

A review of Professor Flom's investigation . . . pub. June 1910, by the Illinois historical society: p. 50-57. Investigation of the rumor relating to Sven Fogelblad, contributed by H. R. Holand and reprinted from the Minneapolis journal, Aug. 9, 1910: p. 57-60.

Strand, Algot E., comp. and ed. A history of the Swedish-Americans of Minnesota, a concise record . . . With the valuable collaboration of numerous authors and contributors. Chicago, Lewis pub. co. 3 v. illus., ports. [1164]

Paged continuously.

Winchell, Newton Horace. Hennepin at the falls of St. Anthony. [n. p., 1910?] [380]-384 p. [1165]

Caption title.

"From the Bulletin of the Minnesota academy of science," v. IV, no. 3, 1910.

Woodbridge, Dwight Edwards, and John S. Pardee, eds. History of Duluth and St. Louis county, past and present. Chicago, Cooper and co. 2 v. ports. [1166]

Paged continuously.

Mississippi.

- Abney, M. G.** Reconstruction in Pontotoc county. *MISS. HIST. SOC. PUB.*, XI, 229-269. [1167]
- Beckett, R. C.** Antebellum times in Monroe county. *MISS. HIST. SOC. PUB.*, XI, 87-102. [1168]
- Brunson, George Henry.** The beginning of a new period in Mississippi. *MISS. HIST. SOC. PUB.*, XI, 317-324. [1169]
The period beginning with the administration of President Jackson.
- Jones, J. H.** Evolution of Wilkinson county. *MISS. HIST. SOC. PUB.*, XI, 75-85. [1170]
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- **Oliphant, Samuel Grant**. The clan of fire and forge; or, The ancient and honorable Smiths. A popular disquisition upon the origin and history of this ubiquitous and sempiternal family and a philological account of the origin and meaning of the name and its variants in many lands. Olivet, Mich., Press of F. N. Green. 36 p. [2108]
- SNEAD. **Hatcher, Mrs. William E. (Virginia Snead Hatcher)** The Sneads of Fluvanna. [Roanoke, Va., Stone printing co.] 118 p. [2109]
- SPARROW. **Bowman, George Ernest**. Sparrow notes. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.) 57-60. [2110]
Continued from v. XI, p. 234.
- SPELMAN. **Barbour, Fannie Cooley Williams**. Spelman genealogy; the English ancestry and American descendants of Richard Spelman of Middletown, Connecticut, 1700. N. Y., Frank Allaben genealogical co. 559 p. plates, ports., map, plans, facsimis. [2111]
- SPRINGSTEEN. **Griffin, Walter Kenneth**. Some notes as to the early members of the Springsteen family, descendants of the emigrant Casper Springsteen of 1652, forming the modern families of Springsteen, Springstead, Springsteel and Spring. Presented to the Lenox library. N. Y. 78 l. [2112]
In manuscript.
- STANDISH. **Bowman, George Ernest**. Alexander Standish's will and inventory and the settlement of his estate. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Apr.-July) 99-108, 176-185. [2113]
- The will and inventory of Desire (Doty) (Sherman) (Holmes) Standish. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.) 48-52. [2114]
- STARKEY. **Leavitt, Emily Wilder**. The Starkeys of New England and allied families. Compiled for Albert Crane. Springfield, Mass., Springfield printing and binding co. xv, 149 p. portrait, plate. [2115]
- STEELMAN. **Hess, Thomas**. Jonathan and Hannah Steelman; a family tree or record of the descendants [!] of their four children. Camden, N. J., L. F. Bonaker and son, printers. 176 p. illus., ports. [2116]
Pub. by the author, Thomas Hess, Millville, N. J.
- STELLE. **Monnette, Orra Eugene**. Poncet Stelle, Sieur des Lorieres, a Huguenot, and some of his New Jersey descendants. GRAFTON MAG., II (Feb.) 141-155. [2117]
- STOKES. **Stokes, Anson Phelps**. Stokes records; notes regarding the ancestry and lives of Anson Phelps Stokes and Helen Louisa (Phelps) Stokes. In four volumes. v. I, pts. 1 and 2. N. Y., Priv. print. 275 p. illus. [2118]
- STRANG. **Wynkoop, Richard**. Notes on the Strang family. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Apr.) 146-151. [2119]
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- TAFT. **Putnam, Beatrice**. On the trail of the pioneer Tafts. NEW ENG. MAG., XLII (May) 279-283. [2121]
- TANNER. **Tanner, George Clinton**. William Tanner, sr., of South Kingstown, Rhode Island, and his descendants. Pub. by the author. [Northfield, Minn., Press of the Northfield news] 470, xlvi p. plates, ports. [2122]

- TAZEWELL.** English descent of Tazewell family. VA. CO. REC., VII (Dec.) 194-198. [2123]
- THATCHER.** Totten, John R. Thacher-Thatcher genealogy. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Apr.-Oct.) 99-108, 216-240, 309-339. [2124]
Title varies slightly.
- THOMAS.** Sherman, A. Outram. The Thomas family of Harrison, Westchester county, N. Y. WESTCHESTER CO. MAG., V (Apr.-May) 48-50, 62-66. [2125]
- THOMPSON.** Thompson, David Allen. Andrew Thompson, the emigrant of Elsinborough, Salem county, New Jersey and one line of his descendants. Albany, N. Y., Weed-Parsons print. co. 47 p. [2126]
- THOMSON.** Downing, George C. Notes concerning the Waddy-Thomson family. KY. HIST. SOC. REG., VIII (Sept.) 105-112. [2127]
- THURSTON.** Downing, G. C. The Thurstons and kindred families. KY. HIST. SOC. REG., VIII (May) 63-70. [2128]
- TINGLEY.** Tingley, Raymon Meyers. The Tingley family, being a record of the descendants of Samuel Tingley of Malden, Mass. [Rutland, Vt., Tuttle co.] 894 p. [2128a]
- TINKHAM.** Bowman, George Ernest. Tinkham notes. MAYFL. DESC., XII (July) 145-148. [2129]
- TURNER.** Turner, C. H. B. Tourneur family notes. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Apr.) 151-153. [2130]
- URANN.** Whittier, Charles Collyer. The Urann family of New England. NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENEAL. REG., LXIV (Jan.-Apr.) 7-17, 116-128. [2131]
- VAN AAKEN.** The Van Aaken and allied families. OLDE ULSTER, VI (Jan.-June) 26-31, 53-60, 88-95, 117-124, 151-158, 185-191. [2132]
- VAN LIEW.** [Van Liew, Thomas Lillian] Genealogy and annals of the Van Liew family in America from the year 1670 down to the present time. And a brief record of a few of the families with whom the Van Liew family intermarried. [St. Louis?] 18 p. port. [2133]
- WARD.** Ward, George Kemp, comp. Andrew Warde and his descendants, 1597-1910; being a compilation of facts relating to one of the oldest New England families and embracing many families of other names, descended from a worthy ancestor even unto the tenth and eleventh generations, comp. under the direction of the Association of descendants of Andrew Ward; advisory committee: Frederick M. Ward, Emory McClintock, Abram Wakeman. N. Y., De La Mare print. and pub. co. 604 p. plates, ports., facsimis. [2134]
- WATSON.** The Watsons; a Pilgrim family. NEW ENG. FAMILY HIST., III (Jan.) 467-470. [2135]
- WENTWORTH.** Parker, Henry A. The English Wentworth family. COL. SOC. MASS. PUB., XI, 61-71. [2136]
"The ancient Yorkshire family of Wentworth is interesting to the student of New England history both on account of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and other royalist Wentworths of the seventeenth century, and on account of the distinguished American branch of the Wentworths who early settled in New Hampshire."
- WEST.** West, Joseph A., and George H. West. West genealogy. UTAH GENEAL. AND HIST. MAG., I (Apr.-Oct.) 75-82, 123-134, 174-181. [2137]
- WHITE.** Bowman, George Ernest. White notes. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Apr.) 97-99. [2138]
- Bowman, George Ernest. William White of Dartmouth not a son of Samuel White of Rochester. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Apr.) 117-118. [2139]
- WICKWARE.** British researches into Wickware origin. JOUR. AM. HIST., IV, no. 1, 141-143. [2140]
- WILLIAMS.** John Williams of Norwich, Conn., and some of his descendants. UTAH GENEAL. AND HIST. MAG., I (Oct.) 181-183. [2141]
- Poole, Murray Edward. Williams genealogy, Wethersfield Cromwell branch. [Ithaca, N. Y.] Press of the Ithaca journal. 43 p. [2142]
Cover-title: Ancestry and descendants of Josiah Williams, Cromwell, Conn., 1656-1910.

- WILLOUGHBY. **Eaton, Arthur Wentworth Hamilton.** Joseph Willoughby of New London, Conn., and some of his descendants. N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Oct.) 339-344. [2143]
- WOODS. **Woods, Henry Ernest.** The Woods family of Groton, Massachusetts. A record of six generations. [Boston, D. Clapp and son] 39 p. [2144]
"Privately reprinted from v. XLIV, New England historical and genealogical register."
- WOODWELL. **Woodwell, W. H.** Matthew Woodwell of Salem, Mass., and his descendants [1620-30-1691] ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVI (Apr.) 129-149. [2145]
- WYER. [Wyer, James Ingersoll] Some descendants of Edward Wyer of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1658-1910. [Albany, N. Y., The Gateway press] [4], 6 p. [2145a]
- YOUNG. **Gates, Susa Young.** The Young family. UTAH GENEAL. AND HIST. MAG., I (Apr.) 66-70. [2146]

Regional Genealogy, Vital Records, Etc.

- ACCOMAC CO., VA. **Accomac county records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Sept.) 152-154. [2147]
- ALBEMARLE CO., VA. **Notes from the Albemarle records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (June) 111-117. [2148]
- ANDOVER, N. H. **Eastman, John Robie.** History of the town of Andover, New Hampshire, 1751-1906. Concord, N. H., Rumford print. co. 2 v. in 1. xix, 482, 450 p. plates, ports., maps. [2149]
Pt. II: Genealogies.
- ATHOL, MASS. **Vital records of Athol, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849.** Worcester, Mass., F. P. Rice. 230 p. (Systematic history fund [publications]) [2150]
- BANGALL, N. Y. **Tombstone inscriptions; very old cemetery one mile north of Bangall, Dutchess co., N. Y.—complete.** N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (July) 181-183. [2151]
- BARNSTABLE, MASS. **Barnstable, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (July) 153-156. [2152]
- BARNSTABLE CO., MASS. **Abstracts of Barnstable county, Mass., probate records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-July) 38-40, 88-90, 187-190. [2153]
Continued from v. XI, p. 28.
- BERKLEY CO., S. C. **Inscriptions on the monuments in the churchyard of the parish church of St. John's, Berkley.** S. C. HIST. MAG., XI (July) 171-183. [2154]
- BOLTON, MASS. **Vital records of Bolton, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849.** Worcester, Mass., F. P. Rice. 232 p. (Systematic history fund [publications]) [2155]
- BREWSTER, MASS. **Records of the first parish in Brewster, formerly the first parish in Harwich, Mass.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-Oct.) 52-54, 156-158, 252-253. [2156]
- BRISTOL CO., MASS. **Abstracts from the first book of Bristol county probate records.** Copied by Mrs. Lucy Hall Greenlaw. NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENEAL. REG., LXIV (Jan.) 26-34. [2157]
Continued from v. LXIII, p. 333.
- CAROLINE CO., VA. **Caroline county marriage bonds.** VA. CO. REC., VII (June) 99-103. [2158]
- CHARLESTON, S. C. **Elzas, Barnett Abraham.** The new Jewish cemetery of K. K. Beth Elohim at Charleston, S. C. Charleston, S. C. 8 p. [2159]
Gravestone inscriptions.
- CHATHAM, MASS. **Chatham, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (July-Oct.) 171-176, 215-218. [2160]
- COLUMBIA, S. C. **Elzas, Barnett Abraham.** The Jewish cemeteries at Columbia, S. C. Charleston, S. C. 11 p. [2161]
Gravestone inscriptions.

- CONCORD, N. H. **First Congregational church records**, Concord, N. H., 1730-1905. N. H. GENERAL REC., VII (Jan.-Apr.) 17-26, 65-72. [2162]
- DANVERS, MASS. **Vital records of Danvers, Mass., to the end of the year 1849.** v. II: Marriages and deaths. Salem, Essex institute. 491 p. [2163]
v. I, pub. in 1909.
- DENNIS, MASS. **Dennis, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.) 40-44. [2164]
- DUXBURY, MASS. **Duxbury, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-July) 29-34, 118-126, 161-170. [2165]
- ESSEX CO., MASS. **Gardner, Lucie Marion.** Family genealogies. MASS. MAG., III (Jan.-Oct.) 71-85, 147-158, 211-221, 272-277. [2166]
"A continuation of the Genealogical dictionary of Essex county families, compiled until Oct., 1909, by Sidney Perley, Esq., in the Essex antiquarian."
- FAUQUIER CO., VA. **Notes from Fauquier county records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (June) 120-131. [2167]
- FREDERICK CO., VA. **Wills in Frederick county, Va., prior to 1805.** VA. MAG. HIST., XVIII (Apr.) 204-212. [2168]
- GEORGETOWN, S. C. **Elzas, Barnett Abraham.** The Jewish cemetery at Georgetown, S. C. [Charleston, S. C.] 4 p. [2169]
Gravestone inscriptions.
- HADLEY, MASS. **The tombstone inscriptions in the old part of the center cemetery at Hadley.** GRAFTON MAG., II (Aug.) 38-55. [2170]
- HALIFAX, MASS. **Gravestone records from the Thompson street cemetery, Halifax, Mass.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Oct.) 239-243. [2171]
- HANOVER, MASS. **Dwelle, Jedediah, and John F. Simmons.** History of the town of Hanover, Massachusetts, with family genealogies. [Hanover, Mass.] Pub. by the town of Hanover. 291, 474 p. illus., plates, ports. [2172]
"Genealogical work": 474 p.
- HAVERHILL, MASS. **Vital records of Haverhill, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849.** v. I—Births. Topsfield, Mass., Topsfield historical society. 328 p. [Topsfield historical society, Topsfield, Mass. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2173]
- HEBRON, O. **Monumental inscriptions from Hebron cemetery, Licking county, Ohio.** OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Jan.) 52-55. [2174]
- HENRICO CO., VA. **Henrico county records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Sept.) 158-161. [2175]
- IPSWICH, MASS. **Vital records of Ipswich, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849.** Salem, Mass., Essex institute. 2 v. [2176]
v. I: Births. v. II: Marriages and deaths.
- JOHNSTOWN, O. **Monumental inscriptions from Green Hill cemetery, Johnstown, Licking co., Ohio.** OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Apr.) 103-107. [2177]
- The "Old burying ground," Johnstown, Licking co., Ohio. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Apr.) 99-103. [2178]
- KING GEORGE CO., VA. **King George county records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Dec.) 182-184. [2179]
- LANCASTER CO., PA. **Kuhns, Oscar.** Lancaster county families from the Canton of Zurich, Switzerland. PA.-GERMAN, XI (Oct.) 608-610. [2180]
- LANCASTER CO., VA. **Lancaster county marriages [1793-1796]** WM. AND MARY QUAR. XVIII (Jan.) 176-178. [2181]
- LEE, MASS. [Wilcox, Dorvil Miller] **Gravestone inscriptions, Lee, Mass., including all extant of the quarter century, 1826-1850, carefully reproduced.** Lee, Mass., Press of the Berkshire gleaner. 95 p. plates. [2182]
Introduction signed in ms.: D. M. Wilcox.
For inscriptions before 1801 see Records of the town of Lee from its incorporation to A. D. 1801, 1900, and for those from 1801 to 1825 see author's Gravestone inscriptions, Lee, Mass. . . . 1901.

- LICKING CO., O. **Bowling Green** church-yard, Licking county, Ohio. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Apr.) 97-99. [2183]
Copy of the inscriptions.
- **Marriage** records of Licking county, Ohio. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Jan., Oct.) 47-51, 194-196. [2184]
Marriages of the years 1818-1821.
- MARSHFIELD, MASS. **Records** from the old burial ground at the Congregational church, Marshfield. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan., July-Oct.) 54-56, 148-150, 251. [2185]
- MARYLAND. **Maryland gleanings** in England. MD. HIST. MAG., V (Sept.) 293-296. [2186]
- MASSACHUSETTS. **Cutter, William Richard, ed.** Genealogical and personal memoirs relating to the families of the state of Massachusetts; prepared under the editorial supervision of William Richard Cutter, assisted by William Frederick Adams. N. Y., Lewis hist. pub. co. 4 v. plates, ports. [2187]
- MIDDLEBOROUGH, MASS. **Gravestone** records from the old cemetery at "The Green," Middleborough, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Apr.-Oct.) 65-71, 142-145, 198-202. [2188]
- **Middleborough, Mass., vital** records. MAYFL. DESC., XII (July-Oct.) 130-132, 230-233. [2189]
- MIDDLESEX CO., VA. **Abstracts** from the records of Middlesex county. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XVIII (Jan.) 192-193. [2190]
- MISSOURI. **Monumental** inscriptions in Missouri cemeteries. MO. HIST. REV., V (Oct.) 43-53. [2191]
- NATICK, MASS. **Baldwin, Thomas W., comp.** Vital records of Natick, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Mass. [Stanhope press] 249 p. [2192]
- NEW JERSEY. **Lee, Francis Bazley, ed.** Genealogical and memorial history of the state of New Jersey. N. Y., Lewis hist. pub. co. 4 v. illus., plates, ports. [2193]
Paged continuously.
- **Nelson, William.** Some Jersey Dutch genealogy. PA. GENEAL. SOC. PUB., IV, no. 2, 125-140. [2194]
- NEW YORK. **Cutter, William Richard, ed.** Genealogical and family history of northern New York; a record of the achievements of her people in the making of a commonwealth and the founding of a nation. N. Y., Lewis hist. pub. co. 3 v. illus., pl., ports. [2195]
Paged continuously.
Chiefly Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence, Franklin, Clinton, and Essex counties.
- NEWMARKET, N. H. **Newmarket** town records; births, marriages and deaths. N. H. GENEAL. REC., VII (Jan.-Apr.) 37-45, 55-64. [2196]
- NEWPORT, R. I. **Tilley, Edith May.** Abstracts of the early town records of Newport, Rhode Island. GRAFTON MAG., II (May) 216-223. [2197]
- NOBLEBORO, ME. **Pillsbury, Phinehas.** Extracts from the journal of Elder Phinehas Pillsbury of Nobleboro, Me. NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENEAL. REG., LXIV (Jan.-Oct.) 75-76, 154-157, 374-375. [2198]
Contains: A record of marriages [1808-1826]
- NORFOLK, CONN. **Norfolk, Conn. Church of Christ.** Baptisms, marriages, burials and list of members taken from church records of the Reverend Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, first minister of Norfolk, Connecticut, 1761-1813, in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church, December 24, 1760. [Norfolk, Conn.] Printed for C. and E. B. Stoeckel. [10], 3-141 p. port., pl. [2199]
- NORFOLK CO., VA. **Norfolk** marriage bonds. VA. CO. REC., VII (June) 103-108. [2200]
- NORTH CAROLINA. **Wills, Helen de B.** Wills from the office of the Secretary of state, Raleigh, N. C. N. C. BOOKLET, IX (Jan.) 194-196. [2201]
Abstracts of wills previous to 1760.
- NORTHAMPTON CO., VA. **Hungars** parish records for 1660-1661, Northampton co., Va. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XVIII (Jan.) 178-181. [2202]

- NORTHAMPTON CO., VA.** **Northampton co. marriage bonds.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.-Dec.) 40-44, 184-188. [2203]
- ORANGE CO., VA.** **Orange county marriage bonds.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.-Sept.) 44-47, 165-167. [2204]
- ORANGEBURG, S. C.** **Elzas, Barnett Abraham.** The Jewish cemetery at Orangeburg, S. C. [Charleston, S. C.] 2 p. [2205]
Gravestone inscriptions.
- ORLEANS, MASS.** **Records of the first church in Orleans, formerly the first church in Eastham, Mass.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (July) 151-152. [2206]
- PENNSYLVANIA.** **Marriage record of Rev. William K. Mott, 1832-1885.** WY. HIST. AND GEOL. SOC. PROC., XI, 211-220. [2207]
Contributed by Arthur D. Dean.
- **Withington, Lothrop.** **Pennsylvania gleanings in England.** PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Apr.) 190-193. [2208]
Copies of wills.
- **Withington, Lothrop.** **Pennsylvania gleanings in Ireland.** PA. MAG. HIST., XXXIV (Oct.) 478-479. [2209]
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.** **Baptismal registers of Holy Trinity church of Philadelphia, A. D. 1790-1795.** Edited with notes by Thomas Cooke Middleton. AM. CATH. HIST. REC., XXI (June-Sept.) 65-76, 145-154. [2210]
- **"Wm. Marshall's register of births and baptisms in the Scotch church of Philadelphia from the year 1767 to the year 1801."** PRESBYTERIAN HIST. SOC. JOUR., V (June) 274-300. [2211]
- PLYMOUTH, MASS.** **Plymouth, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-Apr., Oct.) 10-13, 84-87, 222-226. [2212]
- **Plymouth First church records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.) 26-28. [2213]
- PORTSMOUTH, N. H.** **North church records, Portsmouth, N. H. Baptisms by Rev. Joseph Buckminster.** N. H. GENEAL. REC., VII (Jan.-Apr.) 11-16, 73-80. [2214]
- PRINCE WILLIAM CO., VA.** **Notes from Prince William county records.** VA. CO. REC., VII (June) 117-120. [2215]
- PROVINCETOWN, MASS.** **Provincetown, Mass., vital records.** MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-Apr.) 21-26, 76-80. [2216]
- RANDOLPH, ME.** **Vital records of Randolph, Maine, to the year 1892.** Editor, Henry Sewall Webster; committee on publication, Asbury Coke Stilphen. Pub. under the authority of the Maine historical society. Gardiner, The Reporter-journal press. 144 p. [2217]
Alphabetic digest of the ms. records of the town, supplemented by private and other records.
- RAPPAHANNOCK CO., VA.** **Rappahannock county wills.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.) 62-65. [2218]
- RHODE ISLAND.** **Arnold, James N.** **Vital record of Rhode Island, 1636-1850.** First series: Births, marriages and deaths. A family register for the people. v. XIX: Providence Phenix, Providence Patriot, and Columbian Phenix—Deaths: N to Z; Rhode Island American—Marriages: A to G. Providence, R. I., Narragansett hist. pub. co. xcv, 601 p. [2219]
- RICHMOND CO., VA.** **Richmond county wills.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.-Sept.) 57-61, 154-158. [2220]
- RICHMOND TOWNSHIP, PA.** **Stoudt, John Baer.** **Marriage record of Zion Lutheran church, Richmond township, Berks county, Pa., 1744-1758.** PA.-GERMAN, XI (Dec.) 711-714. [2221]
- RIVER EDGE, N. J.** **Tombstone inscriptions of the Huguenot cemetery, River Edge, New Jersey.** N. Y. GENEAL. AND BIOG. REC., XLI (Oct.) 291-294. [2222]
- ROCHESTER, N. H.** **First Congregational church records, Rochester, N. H. Baptisms by Rev. Joseph Haven.** N. H. GENEAL. REC., VII (Jan.-Apr.) 27-32, 85-91. [2223]
- SOUTH CAROLINA.** **Records kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne.** S. C. HIST. MAG., XI (Jan.-July) 27-38, 92-106, 160-170. [2224]
Marriages, 1763-1779.

- SOUTH CAROLINA.** Wills of South Carolina Huguenots. Edited and translated by Robert Wilson. HUG. SOC. S. C. TRANS., XVII, 13-18. [2225]
- **Withington, Lothrop.** South Carolina gleanings in England. S. C. HIST. MAG., XI (Apr.) 129-132. [2226]
- SOUTH WELFLEET, MASS.** Records from the cemetery near the South Wellfleet church. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Oct.) 206-211. [2227]
- TISBURY, MASS.** Vital records of Tisbury, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Mass., Pub. by the New England historic genealogical society. 244 p. [New England historic genealogical society. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2228]
- TRURO, MASS.** Records from the old north cemetery, Truro, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan., July-Oct.) 1-6, 186-187, 234-236. [2229]
- VIRGINIA.** Early settlers in Virginia. VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.-Dec.) 52-57, 202-205. [2230]
- **Immigrants to Virginia [1635]** VA. CO. REC., VII (Sept.-Dec.) 168-169, 192-194. [2231]
- **Index to land grants.** VA. CO. REC., VII (Mar.-Dec.) 1-33, 73-79, 135-146, 171-182. [2232]
- CONTENTS.—Counties: Accomac, Henrico, York, Sussex, Patrick, Goochland, Caroline, Isle of Wight, Middlesex, Warwick, Prince Edward, Brunswick, King and Queen, Charlotte, Gloucester.
- **Virginia gleanings in England.** Communicated by Lothrop Withington. VA. MAG. HIST., XVIII (Jan.-Oct.) 80-92, 177-181, 303-310, 435-443. [2233]
- **Virginia: return of births, marriages, and deaths, 1712.** Public record office. London. State papers C. O. 5, 1316. O. 140. WM. AND MARY QUAR., XIX (Oct.) 113-115. [2234]
- WARREN, MASS.** Vital records of Warren (formerly Western), Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849. Worcester, Mass., F. P. Rice. 196 p. (Systematic history fund [publications]) [2235]
- WAYLAND, MASS.** Vital records of Wayland, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Mass., Pub. by the New England historic genealogical society. 160 p. [New England historic genealogical society. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2236]
- WELFLEET, MASS.** Records from Duck creek cemetery, Wellfleet, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-July) 34-37, 94-96, 136-139. [2237]
- WEST YARMOUTH, MASS.** Gravestone records in the cemetery at West Yarmouth, Mass. MAYFL. DESC., XII (Jan.-Apr.) 44-47, 90-93. [2238]
- WEYMOUTH, MASS.** Vital records of Weymouth, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Mass., Pub. by the New England historic genealogical society. 2 v. [New England historic genealogical society. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2239]
- v. I: Births. v. II: Marriages and deaths.
- WILLIAMSPORT, O.** Williamsport, Pickaway county, Ohio, graveyards. OLD NORTHW. QUAR., XIII (Apr.) 83-96. [2240]
- WRENTHAM, MASS.** Vital records of Wrentham, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Compiled by Thomas W. Baldwin. Boston, Mass. [Stanhope press, F. H. Gilson co.] 2 v. 237, 518 p. [2241]
- v. I: Births. v. II: Marriages and deaths.

MILITARY AND NAVAL HISTORY.

- Abbot, Willis John.** The story of our navy for young Americans, from colonial days to the present time. N. Y., Dodd. xii, 521 p. plates, ports. [2242]
- Arnold, Paul T.** Negro soldiers in the United States army. *MAG. OF HIST.*, XI (Jan., Mar.) 1-12, 119-125. [2243]
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- **Kirchwey, George W.** James Barr Ames. COLUMB. LAW REV., X (Mar.) 185-189. [3058]
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- CARLISLE. **Snyder, Henry N.** James H. Carlisle—educator. SO. ATLAN. QUAR., IX (Jan.) 10-20. [3067]
- COOPER. The Copley portrait of President Cooper. COLUMB. UNIV. QUAR., XII (June) 299-301. [3068]
Signed E. R. S.
Relates to the portrait of the second president of Columbia college, Myles Cooper.
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- **Sadler, Michael E.** The service of William Torrey Harris to British education. *EDUC. REV.*, XXXIX (Feb.) 191-194. [3077]
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- **Bruce, H. Addington.** William James. *OUTLOOK*, XCVI (Sept. 10) 68-70. [3083]
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- **Dewey, John.** William James. *INDEP.*, LXIX (Sept. 8) 533-536. [3086]
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- **Perry, Ralph Barton.** William James. *HARV. GRAD. MAG.*, XIX (Dec.) 212-225. [3088]
- **Putnam, James Jackson.** William James. *ATLANTIC*, CVI (Dec.) 835-848. [3089]
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The founder of Mt. Holyoke college.
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- OWEN. Carlton, Frank T.** Robert Owen—educator. *SCHOOL REV.*, XVIII (Mar.) 186-191. [3094]
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Edmund Clark Sanford.
- SEELYE. Syford, Ethel.** Laurenus Clark Seelye; a crusader in the cause of education. *NEW ENG. MAG.*, XLII (July) 525-530. [3097]
- STEVENS. Burton, Ernest D.** Professor William Arnold Stevens. *BIB. WORLD*, XXXV (Mar.) 191-196. [3098]

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CONTENTS.—Professor Stringham's services to the University, by William T. Reid; Irving Stringham, by Mellen W. Haskell; Memorial resolutions.

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TETARD. Mitchell, Julia Post. Jean Pierre Tetard—professor of the French language, 1784-1787. COLUMB. UNIV. QUAR., XII (June) 286-289. [3101]

First professor of French at Columbia college.

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- Hoerber, Arthur.** The story of art in America. BOOKMAN, XXX (Feb.) 571-581; XXXI (Mar.-May) 48-57, 150-160, 254-267. [3103]
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- Mechlin, L.** Some American figure painters. INTERNAT. STUDIO, XXXIX (Jan.) 185-194. [3105]
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CONTENTS.—Charles Brockden Brown; James Fenimore Cooper; William Gilmore Simms; Nathaniel Hawthorne; Harriet Beecher Stowe; Bret Harte.
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Apropos of his fifty years of continuous writing for the Atlantic monthly.
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Remarks in presenting a volume containing two poems by Channing written in honor of John Brown.
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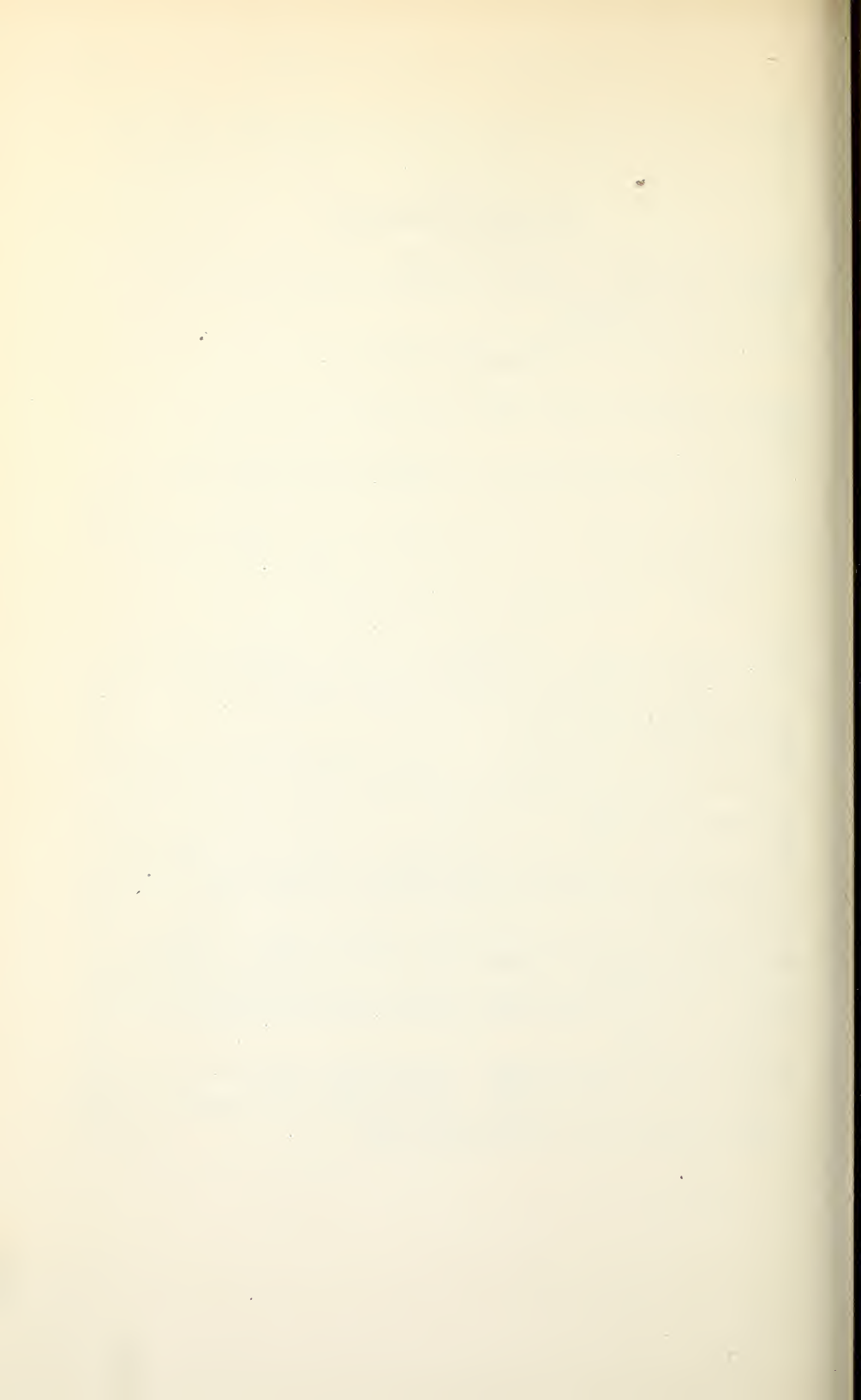
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INDEX.

- Abbatt, William, 611, 1142.
 Abbot, H. L., 927.
 —, W. J., 2242.
 Abbott, Edith, 2647.
 —, Holker, 1037.
 —, L. J., 1297.
 —, Lyman, 1802.
 —, M. F., 2504.
 —, Samuel, 401.
 Abel, A. E., 2851.
 —, A. H., 748.
 Abenake Indians, 255.
 Abercrombie, J. S., 188.
 Abercrombie township, N. D., 1277.
 Abney, M. G., 1167.
 Aboriginal America, 110-345.
 Aborigines, of Chile, 323a; of the Argentine Republic, 322.
 Acadians, 495, 506, 3273, 3356.
 Accornac co., Va., 2147.
 Acheson, E. G., 1491.
 Ackerman, H. N., 1088.
 Acushnet, Mass., 1102.
 Adam family, 3265.
 Adams, Brooks, 2555.
 —, C. F., 559, 602, 612, 749.
 —, E. D., 928, 1396.
 —, Henry, 91, 750.
 —, J. Q., 702, 722.
 —, Nelson, 1947.
 —, R. C., 195.
 —, Samuel, 560.
 —, W. F., 1101, 2187.
 Adams family, 1947, 1948.
 Adams co., Ill., 986.
 Adamson, A. R., 1192.
 Addams, Jane, 2712.
 Addington co., Ont., 3391.
 Adobes, 134.
 Aery, W. A., 1418.
 Affleck, I. D., 1405.
 Agassiz, Alexander, 1492-1496.
 —, Louis, 1476.
 Agricultural education, 2951.
 Agriculture, 2504-2517; in Illinois, 2508.
 Aguirre, F. de, 3429.
 Aigler, R. W., 2337.
 Aiken, J. A., 2556.
 Ailes, M. E., 2608.
 Ailleboust, L. d', 3284.
 Alabama, coal and iron in, 2518; local history, 919, 920.
 "Alabama," the, 827, 2249.
 Alaska, antiquities of, 162; government of, 2443; Indians of, 250; local history, 921-925; public documents relating to, 65; purchase of, 925.
 Albany, N. Y., 2799, 2877.
 Albany co., N. Y., 579.
 Albemarle co., Va., 2148.
 Alden, C. S., 2250.
 Alden family, 1949.
 Aldrich, James, 1497.
 —, T. B., 3150.
 Aldrich-Payne tariff law, 2549.
 Aléra, Brennus, 739.
 Aleuts, 113.
 Alexander, Gross, 2846.
 —, H. B., 189.
 —, J. W., 3109.
 —, W. D., 3579.
 Alexandria co., Va., 954.
 Alfred university, 2805.
 Alger, P. R., 606.
 Allen, Betty, 1498.
 —, D. C., 1584.
 —, E. E., 2951.
 —, Ethan, 619.
 —, F. O., 1499, 1500.
 —, G. M., 339.
 —, J. S., 1692.
 —, O. P., 1973.
 Allen family, 1950.
 Allen infantry, 869.
 Allentown, Pa., 869, 1364, 1366, 1376.
 Allerton family, 1941.
 Alligator, the, in ancient art, 309.
 Allison, W. H., 69.
 Almanacs, 489, 2509.
 Alsop, George, 537.
 Alsop claim, 2283, 2315, 2316.
 Alter, David, 1501.
 Altgeld, J. P., 1502.
 Altham, Emmanuel, 476.
 Alvarez, Alejandro, 2281, 3412.
 Alvord, C. W., 613, 967.
 Amazon legend, 338.
 Amazon myths, 304.
 Amazon Valley, 311a.
 Amazonas, 315.
 Ambler, C. H., 1419, 1420, 2363, 2479.
 Ambrosetti, J. B., 270.
 Ameghino, Florentino, 271, 272.
 America, aboriginal history, 110-345; discovery and exploration, 346-374.
 America, the name, 360.
 American antiquarian society, 81.
 American bibliography, 12.
 American board of commissioners for foreign missions, 2783, 2796.
 American board of commissioners of the customs, 627.
 American Catholic historical society, 2675, 2681.

- American economic association, 2673.
 American historical association, 2667, 2684.
 American museum of natural history, 2669.
 American scenic and historic preservation society, 1214.
 American social science association, 2692.
 "American weekly mercury, The," 2779.
 "Americanism," 419.
 Ameryk, Richard, 360.
 Ames, J. B., 3055-3061.
 —, J. S., 1975.
 Amherst college, 2989.
 Amherstburg, Ont., 3251.
 Ammunition, ancient, 1122.
 Amsden, C. S., 1389.
 Ancient and honorable artillery company of Massachusetts, 497.
 Ancona, S. E., 1503.
 Anderson, E. H., 2940.
 —, Edward, 751.
 —, J. A., 751a.
 —, J. D., 3221.
 —, J. H., 752.
 —, John, 3221.
 Anderson family, 1929.
 Andersonville prison, 755, 1751.
 Andover, Mass., 1130.
 Andover, N. H., 1201, 2149.
 Andover theological seminary, 2830.
 André, *Major*, 669, 1504.
 Andrews, B. A., 1206.
 —, C. McL., 1.
 —, E. A., 1476.
 —, F. DeW., 941, 942.
 —, J. B., 2492.
 —, J. M. H., 2895.
 —, Jedediah, 453.
 —, R. S., 1505.
 —, W. L., 1228.
 Andrews family, 1941, 2053.
 Angel, Myron, 110.
 Animal figures in the Maya codices, 339.
 Animal paintings, 336.
 Annapolis Royal, N. S., 3383.
 Annemours, *Chevalier d'*, 1572.
 Annual American catalog, 2.
 Annual library index, 3.
 Annual magazine subject index, 4.
 Annville, Pa., 1379.
 Antarctic explorations, 25, 379.
 Antes, Henry, 1506.
 Anthon, Charles, 3062.
 Anthouard, A. d', 3530.
 Anthropology, of the Eskimo, 3316.
 Antietam Creek, 1077.
 Antilles, 3476. *See also* West Indies.
 Antiquities, 110-187, 270-345. *See also* Archaeology.
 Apache Indians, 204.
 Appalachian mountain club, 2674.
 Appleton, W. S., 900.
 Appleton family, 1951.
 Apprentices, 586.
 Aqueducts, of Mexico, 342.
 Araucanians, 300a.
 Arawak Indians, 282.
 Arbitration, 2293; North Atlantic coast fisheries, 2284, 2295-2297, 2305, 2312, 2322, 2323; United States-Venezuela, 2317-2321, 2328-2332.
 Arcadia, Wis., 1449, 1451.
 Archaeological institute of America, 2688.
 Archaeology, of Bolivia, 318-319; of Costa Rica, 300; of Ecuador, 329; of Honduras, 276-277; of Illinois, 127-128; of Kansas, 157; of the Wyoming Valley, 160; of the Yakima Valley, 171. *See also* Antiquities.
 Architecture, 3106.
 Archives, 69-90; Canadian, 3240, 3241, 3337; of the province of New York, 523.
 Arctic explorations, 25, 376, 379. *See also* Polar exploration.
 Arese, *Count Francesco*, 1141.
 Argentine Republic, 3502, 3510-3525; antiquities of, 307, 323; antiquity of man in, 312; Indians of, 322.
 Argyll, J. G. E. H. D. S. C., *9th duke of*, 3222.
 Arizona, antiquities of, 133, 143, 167; travels in, from 1858 to 1860, 405.
 Arkansas, antiquities of, 155; historical legislation in, 926.
 Armes, Ethel, 2518.
 Armistead family, 1951a.
 Armstrong, Duff, 984.
 —, F. C., 1060.
 —, I. C., 3223.
 —, S. C., 3063-3064.
 —, W. C., 1452.
 Army, U. S., 2277, 2280a; during the Civil war, 857. *See also* Military history and Regimental histories.
 Army of northern Virginia, 763, 815.
 Army of the Cumberland, 811.
 Army of the Potomac, 764.
 Army of the Tennessee, 783.
 Arnold, Benedict, 600.
 —, J. N., 2219.
 —, L. G., 841.
 —, P. T., 2243.
 Art. *See* Fine arts.
 Art education, 2951.
 Arthur, L. A., 1864.
 Artifacts, prehistoric, 154, 177.
 Artillery, U. S., in the Civil war, 857.
 Arzadun y Zabala, Juan, 3510, 3511.
 Asbaje, J. de, 3452.
 Ashaway, R. I., 2805.
 Ashe, S. A., 614, 615, 1589.
 Ashland co., O., 1279.
 Ashley, P. W. L., 2519.
 —, R. L., 2412.
 Ashton, L. S., 1215.
 Askin, John, 2525.
 Aspinwall, Thomas, 1471.
 —, William, 1471.
 Assiento, the, 3436.
 Association test, 561.
 Astor, J. J., 2525.
 Atchison, D. R., 1507.
 Athens, O., 3027.
 Athletics, intercollegiate, 2968.
 Athol, Mass., 2150.
 Atkins, S. L., 1693.
 —, T. A., 512.
 Atkinson, Eleanor, 726, 968.
 —, Thomas, 2893.
 Atlanta, Ga., 779, 822.
 Atlanta, battle of, 783.
 Atlanta campaign, 1864, 846.
 Atlas, of Drake's last expedition, 361a.

- Attorney-general, the, 2421.
 Attorneys-at-law, 2402.
 Aubert, Georges, 2609.
 Aubin, Eugène, 3497.
 Auclair, E. J., 3224.
 Audubon, J. J., 1476.
 Auger, D., sieur de Subercase, 3264.
 Augsburg seminary, 2998.
 Augustana synod, 2838, 2839.
 Augustines, in America, 3427.
 Augustinian bishops, 3562.
 Aurora, Ore., 2490.
 Austin, S. F., 1397, 1508.
 Austin, Tex., 1408.
 Avary, M. L., 1836.
 Avery, E. McK., 717.
 Aviation meet, an early, 1121.
 Ayer, M. F., 1089.
 Ayers, N. M., 1193.
 Aylesworth, G. A., 3225.
 Aylmer, Que., 3281, 3361.
 Ayres, S. C., 1809.
 Aztec "calendar stone," 308.
- Babcock, K. C., 92.
 Baber, R. P. L., 1509.
 "Babylon's Fall," 537.
 Bacchiani, Allesandro, 346.
 Bachert, A. C., 2722.
 Bachus, Isaac, 2895.
 Bacon, E. M., 347.
 —, Jonathan, 1121a.
 —, L. W., 2364.
 —, W. P., 5.
 Bagby, G. W., 1421, 2694.
 Bagley, William, 3349a.
 Bahmer, W. J., 1278.
 Bailey, Anne, 1510.
 Baird, S. F., 1476.
 Baker, A. G., 1422.
 —, L. T., 616.
 —, M. E., 6, 2557.
 —, W. W., 753.
 Balbín de Unquera, Antonio, 3413.
 Balboa, V. N. de, 3417.
 Balch, E. G., 2723.
 Balcom family, 1926.
 Baldwin, E. F., 3109.
 —, F. W., 1412.
 —, J. N., 2573.
 —, S. E., 3012.
 —, T. W., 2192, 2241.
 —, W. H., 2896.
 —, W. H., jr., 1511.
 Ball's battlefield, 1283.
 Ballance, J. G., 679.
 Ballesteros, Pio, 2282, 2283, 3414, 3538.
 Ballinger, R. A., 2990.
 Balloon, Pennington's steam, 2598.
 Ballot laws, 2405.
 Ballou, H. S., 1835.
 Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, *2d baron*, 537.
 Baltimore, Charles Calvert, *3d baron*, 537.
 Baltimore, first bishop of, 2824.
 Baltimore, Md., 1074, 1075, 1082, 2813, 2815.
 Bancker family, 1952.
 Bancroft, George, 617.
- Bandelier, A. F., 273.
 Bangall, N. Y., 2151.
 Bank of the United States, 731, 2628a, 2629.
 Banker, H. J., 1952.
 Banker family, 1952.
 Banking law, U. S., 2630.
 Banking system, national, 2608, 2618.
 Banks, L. G., 111.
 Banks, land, 2612, 2614, 2617, 2619; national, 2628, 2637; of Indiana, 1008; of Lancaster, Pa., 1315; silver, 2613; state, 2610.
 Banks and banking, in California, 2645; in Canada, 3233; in Kentucky, 2627; in Seattle, Wash., 1436; in the territory of Florida, 2643; national, 2642; state, 2621.
 Baptists, 2799-2805.
 Barbados, Jews of, 3481.
 Barbary pirates, war with, 2262.
 Barbary States, 2289.
 Barbour, F. C. W., 2111.
 —, L. L., 1898.
 Barcroft family, 1953.
 Bardeen, C. W., 754.
 Bardon, F. B., 2975.
 Bare, D. M., 1960.
 —, R. B., 1960.
 Barker, E. C., 1397.
 Barlow, Joel, 950.
 Barnard, E. K., 1738.
 —, F. A. P., 3065.
 —, G. G., 3110.
 Barnard college, 2995.
 Barnes, C. R., 3066.
 —, F. R., 1267.
 —, H. S. (L.), 2053, 2105.
 —, William, 2470.
 Barnes family, 1954.
 Barnett, G. E., 2610.
 Barney, Joshua, 2276.
 Barnstable, Mass., 2152.
 Barnstable co., Mass., 2153.
 Barnwell, J. W., 618.
 Baronies, of South Carolina, 1386.
 Barratt, N. S., 2668.
 Barrett, S. A., 190.
 Barroll, H. H., 1955.
 Barroll family, 1955.
 Barron co., Wis., 183.
 Barrow, F. H., 2244.
 Barrows, Willard, 1021.
 Barry, John, 599, 1512, 1513.
 Bartlett family, 1956.
 Bartlow, B. S., 3022a.
 Bartolomé y Más, A., 3415.
 Bascom, R. O., 619.
 Basque emigration, 3505.
 Batchelder family, 1957.
 Batchellor, A. S., 71, 561, 562, 678, 1198.
 Bateman, L. C., 191.
 Bates, R. O., 755.
 —, W. O., 1629.
 Bath, Pa., 1346.
 Battell, R., 2897.
 Battle hymns, 2275.
 Baughman, A. J., 1279.
 Baulne, R. Z., 3226.
 Bausman, L. M., 1305.

- Baxter, J. P., 563.
 Baxter family, 1958.
 Bayard, T. F., 3050a.
 Bayfield, *Admiral*, 3231.
 Beach, J. H., 1028.
 —, R. H., 969.
 Beacons, in Boston harbor, 1138.
 Beale, J. H., 3055, 3056.
 —, James, 3214.
 Beall, J. Y., 753.
 —, Mrs. W. J., 2976.
 Beall family, 1927.
 Beaman, D. C., 192.
 Bean family, 1959.
 Bear, J. L., 2898.
 Bear family, 1960.
 Beard, C. A., 2413.
 Beaty, S. P., 756.
 Beauchemin, Néreeé, 3408.
 Beaudry family, 3265.
 Beaumarchais, P. A. C. de, 620, 647.
 Beaux, Cecilia, 3111, 3181.
 Beaver club, 3307.
 Bechtold, J. G., 1306.
 Becker, C. L., 1029.
 —, L. D., 112.
 Bécker, Jerónimo, 3512, 3513.
 Beckett, R. C., 1168.
 Becknell, William, 387.
 Bedard, J. A., 603.
 Bedel, *Col. T.*, regiment of, 561.
 Beebe, A. N., 1559, 1840.
 Beecher, J. P., 620.
 Beinlich, B. A., 970.
 Beissel, Conrad, 1355.
 Bek, W. G., 2490.
 Belcher, Jonathan, 510.
 Belcourt, G. A., 3344.
 Belden family, 2053.
 Bell, E. Y., 3465.
 —, J. D., 757.
 —, J. F., 1514.
 —, Kenneth, 3227.
 Bello, Andrés, 3413.
 Bellomont, R. C., *first earl of*, 521.
 Bellows, H. A., 2991.
 Belmar, Francisco, 274.
 Belpre, O., 1285.
 Beltrami, G. C., 390.
 Beltrán y Rózpide, Ricardo, 3416, 3461.
 Bemis, Myrtle, 1268, 2724.
 Bender, Prosper, 2725.
 Benians, E. A., 3228.
 Benjamin, M., 1476.
 —, Marcus, 1858.
 Benneson, C. A., 971.
 Bennett, E. B., 1961.
 Bennett family, 1961.
 Bentley, O. H., 1030.
 Beresford family, 1939.
 Bergen, N. J., 1208.
 Bergin, Alfred, 1031.
 Boringer, P. N., 1770, 3439.
 Berkeley, *Bishop George*, 37, 2966.
 Berkley co., S. C., 2154.
 Berko, G. D., 2726.
 Berks co., Pa., 462, 666, 814, 1316, 1319, 1320, 1331, 1349, 1373.
 Berle, A. A., 2992.
 Berlin, A. F., 1307.
 Berlin, Conn., 943.
 Bermuda Islands, 3482.
 Bernhardt, Christian, 1032.
 Berry, W. A., 1453.
 Bethel, Mo., 2490.
 Bethel, Pa., 1350.
 Bethlehem, Pa., 1340, 1357.
 Betz, I. H., 1454, 1587, 1603, 1862.
 Beveridge, A. J., 1467.
 Bexar prisoners, 1410.
 Beyer, M. Q., 2023.
 Beymer, W. G., 758.
 Bianchi, R., 2781.
 Biard, Peter, 2892.
 Biasutti, Renato, 113.
 Bibles, early German-American, 2776.
 Bibliography, 1-68; of California mythology, 232; of Canadian statute-law, 3272; of Mexico, 3442; of Ontario, 3229.
 Bien, Morris, 2506.
 Big Hole, battle of the, 2246, 2279, 2280.
 Big Sandy Valley, 1050.
 Bigelow, D. W., 621, 1838.
 —, E. A., 1090.
 —, *Maj. John*, 759.
 —, *John, jr.*, 760-763.
 —, Russel, 2899.
 —, S. F., 1455.
 Bilboes and the stocks, 468.
 Billings, C. E., 3229, 3230.
 Bingham, Harry, 1515.
 —, Hiram, 275.
 —, William, 1072.
 Biographical history of the U. S., 55.
 Biography, 1452-1911; educational, 3055-3101; fine arts, 3109-3135; literary, 3148-3213; Massachusetts, 1101; of Jones co., Ia., 1019; of Lucas co., O., 1291; of Stephenson co., Ill., 983; religious, 2892-2950.
 Birkhead, Hugh, 444.
 Birge, W. S., 1877.
 Birkbeck, Morris, 1516.
 Bisbey, J. M., 1042.
 Bissell, F. C., 944.
 Björkman, Edwin, 1900, 3082.
 Black, H. C., 2396.
 —, R. M., 2472.
 Black Hawk, 192, 885.
 Black Hawk war, 2253.
 Black river, Ark., 155.
 Black Rock, Buffalo, 2578.
 Blackfoot Indians, 230, 266, 3407.
 Blackington family, 1926.
 Blackiston, A. H., 275-278.
 Blackman, E. E., 114.
 Blackstone, William, 486.
 Bladen family, 1962.
 Bladensburg, battle of, 703.
 Blades, Franklin, 1691.
 Blair, Montgomery, 1517.
 Blake, H. N., 1896.
 —, W. B., 3151.
 Blanchard, E. P., 1963.
 Blanchard family, 1963.
 Blanchet, F. N., 2900.
 Blanchet family, 3265.
 Bland, Richard, 543.

- Blandford, Mass., 1151.
 Blank, Pryor, 115.
 Blasco Ibáñez, V., 3514.
 Blázquez y Delgado Aguilera, A., 348.
 Block, L. J., 3195.
 Block-houses, in the Civil war, 783.
 Blount, F. S., 1091.
 Blow, S. E., 2951.
 Blum, Isidor, 1075.
 Boas, Franz, 116, 3230a.
 Bodge, G. M., 484.
 Boehm's chapel, 1343.
 Boggs, L. W., 1518.
 —, W. M., 1518.
 Bohemia mission, Md., 2807.
 Bohune, Lawrence, 1478.
 Bolivar, Simon, 3507.
 Bolivia, 3502, 3526-3529; antiquities of, 273, 298, 311, 316, 318-319; Indians of, 325.
 Bolton, C. K., 1860, 1912, 2660, 2727.
 Bolton, Mass., 2155.
 Bombaugh, C. C., 764.
 Bompas, *Bishop*, 3253.
 Bonaparte, C. J., 2414.
 Bond, B. W., *jr.*, 536.
 —, E. P., 2921.
 —, Lewis, 1156.
 Bonds, Federal, 2608.
 Bonney, Franklin, 1092.
 Bontekoe family, 1943.
 Boodey family, 1964.
 "Bookman," the, 3139.
 Boone, Daniel, 95, 440, 1177, 1475, 1519, 1520.
 Boone family, 1924, 1965.
 Boone mound, 181.
 Booraem, H. T., 1456.
 Booth, C. E., 1966.
 —, J. W., 1521.
 Booth family, 1966.
 Boots and shoes, trade, 2653.
 Borchard, E. M., 2284.
 Border wars, 774.
 Borglum, Gutzon, 1694.
 Bornmann, Heinrich, 972, 2852.
 Bosbyshell, O. C., 1967.
 Bosbyshell family, 1967.
 Boston, Mass., 472, 484, 486, 496, 502, 506, 582, 637, 651, 676, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1092a, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1105, 1110, 1113, 1115, 1118, 1121, 1135-1139, 1141, 1145, 1146, 2460, 2485, 2489, 2660, 2697, 2984.
 Boston Latin school, 2993.
 Boston light artillery, 818.
 Bostwick, A. E., 2661.
 Botany, among ancient Mexicans, 295.
 Bott, E. C., 1818.
 Boucher, J. N., 1812.
 Boulton, J. G., 3231.
 Boundary, between Bolivia and Peru, 3527-3529; between Ecuador and Peru, 3543-3545; Mississippi-Louisiana, 1059; of Kansas, 1039; Ohio and Michigan, 1157.
 Bourbon co., Ga., 958.
 Bovay, A. E., 2386.
 Bowditch, C. P., 279.
 Bowen, Ashley, 1522.
 Bowman, G. E., 1949, 1956, 1958, 1980, 2012, 2032, 2106, 2110, 2113, 2129, 2138, 2139.
 Bowman, H. M., 2415.
 —, Isaiah, 3526.
 —, John, 564.
 Bows and arrows, 282.
 Boyd, D. F., 1823, 1824.
 —, Jorge, 3466.
 —, W. K., 2471.
 Boyle, A. A., 1398.
 —, J. E., 2473.
 —, Thomas, 2276.
 Bozeman, Mont., 2976.
 Braddock's defeat, 464.
 Braddock's expedition, 1755, 461.
 Braden, Charles, 1465.
 Bradford, Gamaliel, *jr.*, 1681.
 —, Gershom, *2d*, 1094.
 —, Laurence, 1094.
 Bradford, Mass., 2701.
 Bradish, F. E., 2950.
 Bradley, A. G., 3232.
 Bradshaw, Arthur, 973, 2782.
 Brady, C. T., 3417.
 —, *Capt.* Samuel, 1475.
 Brain, B. M., 2935.
 Braley, H. K., 1849.
 Brandegee, E., 943.
 Brandow, J. H., 622.
 Brandywine, battle of, 660.
 Brann, H. A., 2808.
 Brant, Joseph, 1523.
 Brawn, Peter, 1070.
 Brazil, 3502, 3530-3537; antiquities of, 287, 291; Indians of, 302, 337.
 Brébeuf, J. de, 2892.
 Brecht, S. K., 2994.
 Breckenridge, R. M., 3233.
 Breckinridge, S. P., 2647.
 Breda, O. J., 117.
 Bredesen, Adolf, 2937.
 Breen, Patrick, 388.
 Brennan, J. F., 2728.
 —, M. R., 1269.
 Brent family, 1968.
 Breton, A. C., 280.
 Brewer, D. J., 1459, 1524.
 —, G. E., 765-766.
 Brewing industry, 2541, 2542, 2550.
 Brewster, W. T., 2995.
 Brewster, Mass., 2156.
 Bridge, John, 476.
 Bridgman, W. S., 1735.
 Brigham, A. P., 2507.
 Brinton, Bradford, 3054a.
 —, Christian, 3104.
 Bristol, R. I., 1382.
 Bristol co., Mass., 2157.
 Bristow, J. L., 1467.
 British, in South America, 3504.
 British America, 3221-3411; Indians of, 236, 237.
 British Columbia, 3315.
 British West Indies, 3477-3489.
 Broadhead, G. C., 2558.
 Broadway, N. Y., 1218.
 Brobst, S. K., 2901.
 Brocks Crossroads, fight at, 1864, 829.
 Broglie, *prince* de, 411.
 Bromwell, H. E., 1924.

- Bromwell genealogy, 1924.
 Bronson, E. B., 2695.
 Bronson family, 2053.
 Brooke, St. G. T., 1969.
 Brooke family, 1969.
 Brooklyn, N. Y., 649.
 Brooks, E. S., 1457.
 —, J. G., 1511.
 —, Phillips, 2902.
 —, R. P., 8.
 —, Sydney, 1797.
 —, W. K., 1476.
 Brooks family, 1938.
 Brookville, Ind., 1014.
 Brown, A. E., 1525.
 —, Alexander, 1526.
 —, C. B., 3148, 3151, 3152.
 —, C. E., 118-121.
 —, C. W., 1308.
 —, D. W., 2338.
 —, Daniel, 1308.
 —, E. E., 2951, 3071.
 —, F. R., 2245.
 —, G. E., 122.
 —, G. H., 3244.
 —, G. P., 2340, 3071.
 —, G. W., 1309.
 —, H. G., 2611.
 —, John, 1114, 1527-1532, **2297, 3155**.
 —, Maj. John, 561.
 —, W. A., 1663.
 —, W. B., 2016.
 —, W. F., 1703.
 —, W. G., 2365.
 Brownback, G. E., 1970.
 —, O. B., 1970.
 Browne, G. W., 921, 1199, 2559, 3472, 3578.
 —, W. H., 539.
 —, W. W., 2903.
 Brownell, Atherton, 2443.
 Brownson, J. I., 1807.
 Bruce, G. A., 767.
 —, H. A., 3083, 3189.
 —, H. A. B., 440.
 —, P. A., 544.
 Bruch, Carlos, 322, 323.
 Brumbach family, 1970.
 Brun, N. C., 2996.
 Brunker, H. M. E., 768.
 Brunson, G. H., 1169.
 Bryan, W. S., 1177.
 Bryant, T. J., 1049.
 —, William, 1049.
 Bryants Station, Ky., 1049.
 Bryce, James, 2416, 3063.
 Bryn Mawr college, 2997.
 Buccaneers, 3475; in the West Indies, 357.
 Buchanan, James, 728, 769, 2366.
 Buchholz, H. E., 3197.
 Buchwald, O. von, 281.
 Buck, Amos, 2246.
 —, G. H., 864a.
 —, S. J., 2367, 2508.
 Buckham, M. H., 1757.
 Buckingham, J., 1533.
 Budget-making, 2631.
 Buell, A. C., 2269.
 Buell's campaign against Chattanooga, 767.
 Buenos Aires, Argentina, 3504, 3515.
 Buffalo, N. Y., 2578, 3107.
 Buffalo, the, 891.
 Buffalo Free Soil convention, 1848, 2370a.
 Buffalo historical society, 85, 2578.
 Bull, Ole, 1329.
 Bunker Hill, battle of, 97, 495, 559, 643, 645.
 Bunker Hill monument, 1136.
 Bunn, J. W., 1691.
 Burbank, A. S., 2561.
 —, Luther, 1534.
 Burdick, Stephen, 2805.
 —, W. L., 2805.
 Bureau of American ethnology, 52.
 Bureau of education, 53.
 Burgesses, House of, Virginia, 547-548, 1426.
 Burgoyne's invasion, 635, 636.
 Burial, ancient methods of, 114, 170.
 Burial places, aboriginal, 128.
 Burkett, E. J., 1798.
 Burlington, Ia., 1027.
 Burlington, Mass., 1099.
 Burnett, E. C., 958.
 Burnley, A. T., 1535.
 —, M. A., 1535.
 Burns, Anthony, 742.
 —, T. F., 1042.
 Burns family, 1971.
 Burnside's East Tennessee campaign, 770.
 Buron, Edmond, 604.
 Burpee, L. J., 349, 399, 3322, 3347.
 Burr, Aaron, 731, 1536-1539.
 —, G. L., 1680.
 Burrage, Champlin, 477.
 —, H. S., 81a, 445, 770.
 —, W. C., 1095.
 Burroughs, John, 3153.
 Burrows, F. W., 1733.
 —, Frederick, 3234.
 —, John, 1540.
 —, William, 1541.
 Burstall, S. A., 93.
 Burt, George S., 1042.
 —, R. J., 2247.
 Burton, A. H., 423, 1458.
 —, C. M., 623, 1159, 1678.
 —, E. B., 2904.
 —, E. D., 3098.
 —, J. F., 2904.
 —, M. A., 1156.
 —, T. W., 1542.
 Burwash, Ida, 3235.
 Burwell, Lewis, 546.
 Busbee, Jaques, 1253.
 Busbey, K. G., 2696.
 Bushnell, D. I., jr., 282.
 Butler, C. H., 1459.
 —, J. D., 1413.
 —, J. G., jr., 1460.
 —, N. M., 754, 2951, 3065
 —, Pierce, 876.
 Butler family, 2053.
 Butterfield, Maj. Isaac, 561.
 Button family, 1972.
 Byfield, Shadrach, 704.
 Byfield Parish, Mass., 1107.
 Bytown, Can., 3281, 3321. *See also Ottawa.*

- Cabinet, the, 2421.
 Cabot, John, 361, 371, 3546.
 —, Sebastian, 361.
 Cady family, 1973.
 Caffall, James, 2905.
 Cahaba, Ala., prison, 855.
 Cairo, Ill., 989, 1004.
 Calchaquie civilization, 270.
 Calder, A. S., 3112.
 Caldwell, C. T., 1974.
 —, H. W., 424.
 —, J. R., 698.
 Caldwell family, 1974.
 Calef, John, 624.
 "Calendar stone," an Aztec, 308.
 Calendar systems, of the Mayas, 279.
 "Calf Mountain" mound, 153.
 Calhoun, J. C., 1543, 2344.
 California, antiquities of, 112; banking in, 2645; founders of, 1474; Indians of, 190, 232; local history, 927-940; Portola's expedition to, 1769-1770, 375; the "painted rock" of, 110.
 California, Pa., 3004.
 California, the name, 930.
 California university, 3099.
 Callahan, C. H., 1878.
 Callaway, L. L., 1560.
 Calvert, Gov. Leonard, 537.
 Calzada de Chapultepec, 342.
 Cambria co., Pa., 1367, 1375.
 Camden, N. J., 2847.
 Cameron, A. D., 3236.
 Camm, John, 1544.
 Campbell, Alexander, 2794.
 —, C. T., 3237.
 —, J. T., 2368.
 —, T. J., 2892, 2918.
 —, Thomas, 2826.
 —, W. H., 974.
 —, Wilfrid, 72, 3233, 3239.
 —, Gen. William, 675.
 Campeche, state of, 345.
 "Campestris ulm," 1098.
 Canaan, Me., 1071.
 Canaan, N. H., 1205.
 Canada, early voyages to, 354; history of, bibliography, 20; in the War of 1812, 712; papers relating to, 1758-1780, 75; Presbyterian church in, 2880; totemism in, 201. *See also* America in General—Discovery and exploration, and British America.
 Canadian constitution, 3365.
 Canadian Pacific railway, 3329.
 Canadian rebellion of 1837, 3353.
 Canadian river, 130.
 Canadian Who's who, 3242.
 Canal, Isthmian, 3462.
 Canal construction, in western New York, 2578.
 Canal Zone, public documents relating to, 65.
 Canals, 2578, 2586, 2589, 2593, 2594, 2599. *See also* Panama canal.
 Canassatego, 262.
 Canavan, M. J., 486.
 Cando, No. Dak., 1275.
 Cane Ridge, Ky., 2879.
 Cannon, J. G., 1619, 1694a.
 Canova, A., 1880.
 Canteley family, 1975.
 Cap Chat, Que., 3370.
 Cape Anne, Mass., 511.
 Cape Henry, Va., 545.
 Capen, C. L., 2447.
 —, E. W., 2783.
 Capitan, Louis, 123-124, 283-284.
 Capron family, 1926.
 Cardinal, J. N., 3224.
 Carillon, battle of, 3246. *See also* Ticonderoga.
 Carlisle, J. H., 2906, 3067.
 Carlisle, Pa., 43.
 Carlisle library company, 43.
 Carlton, F. T., 2491, 3094.
 Carlyle family, 1976, 1977.
 Carmody, P. J., 771.
 Carnochan, Janet, 3243.
 Caroline co., Md., 2987.
 Caroline co., Va., 2158.
 Carpenter, C. C., 1695.
 —, R. V., 3177.
 Carpenter family, 1978.
 Carr, J. O., 1574, 1995.
 Carranza, A. B., 2339, 3418.
 Carrillo Guerrero, Francisco, 3419.
 Carrington, Mrs. F. C., 2248.
 —, H. B., 1280.
 Carroll family, 1078.
 Carson, H. L., 1879.
 —, Kit, 1475, 1545, 1546.
 Carter, C. E., 625, 975.
 —, Theodore, 1461.
 Carter family, 1461.
 Carter genealogy, 1979.
 Carthage, Ill., 2855.
 Cartier, Jacques, 366, 3250.
 Cartography, 348. *See also* Maps.
 Cartwright, Peter, 2907.
 —, Sir Richard, 3244.
 Carver, Clara, 1066.
 "Carver's Travels," 32.
 Cary, C. P., 3071.
 —, F. L., 3120.
 Casanova, A. Y., 1978.
 Casavant family, 3265.
 Caskie, G. E., 1527, 2397.
 Caspersen, H. C., 2998.
 Casson, H. N., 2562, 2563.
 Castillo, B. E. del, 389.
 Catholic church, in Canada, 3343, 3332; in the Oregon country, 2900.
 Catholic schools, in Ontario, 3310; in St. Mary's county, Md., 2979.
 Catholics, 2806-2825; and the Revolution, 626; in colonial Maryland, 541; Irish, and the Revolution, 607.
 Cattell, J. McK., 1462, 2951.
 Cauffman, Joseph, 1547.
 Cavalry, in the Civil war, 857; in the Revolution, 602.
 Cavalry operations at Chancellorsville, 762.
 Cavanagh, C. F., 1528.
 Cave dwellings, 131.
 Cawley, H., 3245.
 Celere, Count G. M. di, 346.
 Cellere Codex, 346.
 Central America, 3461-3471; aboriginal history, 270-345; Indians of, 201, 327.

- Central Pacific railway, 2573.
 Cents, U. S., 2626.
 Ceramics. *See* Pottery.
 Cerqueira, Dionísio, 3548.
 Cervera, *Rear Admiral* Pascual, 890.
 Cerviño, Pedro, "Lenguá" de, 303.
 Cession of 1784, North Carolina, 695.
 Ceulen, M. J. van, 516.
 Chabanel, Noel, 2892.
 Chaddock, R. E., 2621.
 Chamberlain, A. F., 285.
 —, G. W., 2999.
 Chambers, Julius, 390.
 —, R. W., 3154.
 Chambersburg, Pa., burning of, 808.
 Champion, S. E. (B.), "Mrs. H. Champion," 892.
 Champlain, S. de, 355.
 Champlain, Lake, 355, 907, 912, 1416.
 Champlain Valley, 1224.
 Chancellorsville, campaign of, 1863, 761, 762, 773.
 Chandler, George, 2431.
 —, J. A. C., 437.
 Chandler family, 1941, 1980.
 Channing, Edward, 94, 425, 627.
 —, W. F., 2889, 3155.
 Chapais, Thomas, 456, 457, 3246, 3247.
 Chapman, J. J., 3084.
 —, Jonathan, 1548.
 Chapman family, 1981.
 Chapple, J. M., 772.
 Chapultepec, Mexico, 342.
 Charencey, *Comte* de, 286.
 Charities. *See* Philanthropy.
 Charles City co., Va., 545.
 Charleston, S. C., 618, 1384, 2159.
 Charlestown, Mass., 509.
 Charlevoix, P. F. X. de, 3549.
 Charter Oak, 946.
 Chase, Ellen, 605.
 —, L. A., 391, 2249.
 —, W. M., 3113, 3114.
 Chase family, 1940.
 Chatham, Mass., 2160.
 Chattanooga, siege of, 767, 775, 803, 844.
 Chaudron, L. De V., 919.
 Chaumeix, André, 3085.
 Chautauqua Lake, 1221.
 Chawner, William, 3079.
 Checkley family, 1934.
 Cheesborough, E. R., 2483.
 Chelsea, Mass., 864a.
 Chemistry, 1468.
 Cherokee Indians, 260.
 Chervin, Arthur, 125.
 Chesapeake Bay, 644, 698.
 Cheshire, Conn., 3000.
 Chester, C. L., 3468.
 Chester co., Pa., 1310.
 Cheyenne Indians, 208, 220.
 Cheyenne river, 1391.
 Chicago, Ill., 968, 977, 1672, 2451, 2488, 2489, 2671, 2672, 2712, 2876, 3006.
 Chicago and Northwestern railway company, 2564.
 Chicago convention of 1860, 2377.
 Chich'en Itzá, Yucatan, 334.
 Chickamauga, battle of, 775.
 Chickasaw Indians, 210.
 Child, F. S., 2828.
 Child labor, 2650.
 Chile, 3502, 3503, 3538-3541a; Indians of, 323a.
 Chillicothe, expedition against, 1779, 564.
 Chilton, C. L., 1549.
 —, W. B., 1968.
 —, W. P., 1549.
 Chimariko Indians, 197.
 China, American policy toward, 2292; relations of the U. S. with, 2309.
 Chipaya, the, 302, 337.
 Chippewa Indians, 196, 221, 245, 732.
 Chiriqui, ancient art of, 309.
 Choate, J. H., 1606, 1611, 1626, 1696, 2314, 2340, 2669, 2952, 3080, 3172.
 Chocehuma Indians, 555.
 Chocehuma village, 555.
 Choctaw Indians, 193, 210, 227, 258.
 Chouart, M., 3268.
 Choquequirau, Peru, 275.
 Choquette family, 3265.
 Chossegros, Armand, 3248.
 Chouteau, C. P., 2565.
 Christian, G. L., 1571.
 Christian church, 2826, 2827; in Indiana, 1016.
 Chronology, Maya and Christian, 813.
 Chubb, Thomas, 453.
 Chukchee Indians, 113.
 Chuquet, Arthur, 2289.
 Church, J. W., 3001.
 —, S. H., 2784.
 Church and state, in Virginia, 1425.
 Church music, in 1786, 496.
 Church of England, in Nova Scotia, 3398; in Pennsylvania, 2885; in Virginia, 1433, 2883.
 Church union, 2786.
 Churches, in Adams co., Ill., 986; in the U. S., 2797, 2798; of New England, 2878; Presbyterian, in Canada and America, 2880. *See also* Religious history.
 Churchill, Winston, 3156.
 Cigar manufacture and trade, 3494.
 Cilley, Joseph, 1550.
 Cincinnati, Society of the, 693.
 Cities, in the U. S., 2486, 2489.
 Civil engineers, 2573.
 Civil war, 109, 748-872, 1355, 1441, 2573.
 Clark, A. H., 2566.
 —, Abraham, 1452.
 —, C. B., 1391.
 —, D. E., 2369.
 —, D. S., 2714.
 —, G. R., 2250.
 —, Galen, 901.
 —, George, 773.
 —, J. B., 2492.
 —, M. B., 1842.
 —, Walter, 1254, 1631.
 —, Ward, 3208.
 —, William, 1475, 1551.
 Clark co., O., 247.
 Clarke, I. E., 2951.
 —, J. I. C., 1217.
 —, J. M., 3249, 3250.
 —, W. P., 1312.
 Clauson, J. E., 1690.
 Clay, Henry, 1552-1554.
 —, T. H., 1552.

- Clay co., Ia., 1023.
 Clearwater, A. T., 2837.
 Cleary, Francis, 3251.
 Clemens, S. L., 28, 3157-3170.
 Clergy, early Maryland, 1085.
 Cleveland, Grover, 1482, 1555.
 Cleveland, O., 1288a, 2687.
 Cliff-dwellings, 126, 132, 134, 139, 140, 149, 167.
 Clinton, De Witt, 1556.
 —, G. W., 2578.
 —, Gov. George, 1557.
 Clinton co., N. Y., 2195.
 Clipper ships, 2566.
 Clozen, *Baron de*, 567.
 Clymer, George, 1452.
 Coal, in Alabama, 2518.
 Cobb family, 1982.
 Cobbs family, 1982.
 Codex, Cellere, 346.
 Codex Peresiantus, 293-294.
 Cody, H. A., 3252, 3253.
 —, W. F., 1475.
 Coerne, L. A., 3216.
 Coffin, J. R., 1096.
 —, R. M., 1558.
 Cohen, A., 3485.
 Cohoes, N. Y., 1246.
 Colby, F. M., 1200.
 Cole, Edward, 613.
 —, Sam, 1074.
 Coleman, J. C., 446.
 —, N. McC., 2341.
 —, W. C., 2342.
 Coles, Edward, 976.
 —, T. R., 1463.
 Colgrove, K. W., 718.
 Colleges, in Ontario, 3310. *See also* Educational institutions.
 Collierville, battle of, 1863, 771.
 Collins, E. V., 2882.
 —, H. O., 679, 1983.
 Collins family, 1983.
 Columbia, 3542-3545.
 "The colonel dismounted," 543.
 Colonial currency, 2615.
 Colonial dames of America, 1925.
 Colonial furniture, 2704.
 Colonial history, French and Indian war, 456-465; general, 444-455; regional, 466-558.
 Colonial holidays, 2709.
 Colonial life and manners, 2698.
 Colonization, Spanish, 3419.
 Colorado, antiquities of, 143; government of, 2444; travels in, 1858-1860, 405.
 Colquhoun, A. H. U., 3254.
 —, A. R., 1798a.
 Columbia, S. C., 2161.
 Columbia university, 3036; bibliography, 10. *See also* Kings college.
 Columbus, Christopher, 361, 370, 1458.
 Columbus, O., 1280, 1295.
 Colver, F. L., 1984.
 Colver genealogy, 1984.
 Colyer, Walter, 1516.
 Coman, Katharine, 2520.
 Commerce, interstate, 64, 2579; on the Great Lakes, 2592; power of Congress over, 2338, 2346.
 Commerce and industry, 2518-2554.
 Commercial crises, 2611.
 Commercial education, 2951.
 Commercial legislation, 2527.
 Commercial treaties, 2531.
 Common law, 2406.
 Commons, J. R., 2492.
 Communication and transportation, 2555-2607.
 Communities, 2490, 2491, 2500.
 Composers, musical, 3216.
 Conant, J. A., 949.
 Concord, N. H., 2162.
 Concord, battle of, 507.
 Condra, G. E., 1194.
 Cone, S. D., 719.
 Confederate states of America, 849; cavalry of, 809; navy of, 782, 852; soldiers of the, 810, 826.
 Confederation, Canadian, 3244.
 Congregational church, 2828-2832; of Sturbridge, Mass., 1116; of West Medford, Mass., 1088.
 Congress, U. S., 2577; and the Supreme court, 2415; attitude of, toward the pioneers of the West, 718; commercial power of, 2338, 2346; legislative power of, 2345; proceedings of, 61.
 Congressmen, from Missouri, 1180.
 Conklin, J. S., 740.
 Conkling, C. L., 1697.
 —, I. B., 1984a.
 Conkling family, 1984a.
 Connecticut, British invasion of, 1777, 631; claims in Pennsylvania, 1341; infantry, in the Civil war, 861; local history, 941-947; men of mark in, 1484.
 Connelley, N. S., 1559.
 —, W. E., 774, 1033, 1050.
 Connelly family, 1050.
 Conner, J. T., 1560.
 —, R. D. W., 1880.
 Conodogwinet Creek, 2596.
 Conover, C. H., 9.
 Conservation, 2504, 2515.
 Constitution, Canadian, 3365; of North Carolina, 1616.
 Constitution, frigate, 2278.
 Constitution, U. S., 109, 677. *See also* Constitutional history.
 Constitutional Courant, 451, 662.
 Constitutional history and discussion, 2337-2362.
 Constitutional law, 2396, 2432.
 Constitutions, of the Latin American republics, 3418; state, 2437, 2438.
 Continental army, 575, 588, 600, 632. *See also* Revolutionary soldiers, names.
 Continental congress, journals of, 1780, 598.
 Continental marine committee, 599.
 Converse, F. S., 3216.
 Conway, W. B., 2452, 2453.
 Conway, Mass., 2086.
 Cook, Edward, 1561.
 —, F. F., 977.
 —, J. E., 1562.
 —, W. B., jr., 757.
 Cook co., Ill., 2450, 2451.
 Cooke, M. H., 1647.
 Cooke family, 1941.
 Coollidge, L. A., 1784.
 —, R. D., 2730.
 Cooper, C. J., 1313.

- Cooper, I. De J., 1160.
 —, J. F., 3148.
 —, Myles, 3068.
 —, T. T., 3154, 3156.
 Cope, E. D., 1476.
 Copeland, L. S., 1985.
 Copeland family, 1985.
 Copley family, 1986.
 Copyright, in Canada, 3373.
 Cora Indians, 240.
 Corbin, Francis, 741.
 —, W. H., 447.
 Corbit, R. McC., 1019, 1464.
 Corell, H. A., 392.
 Corey, D. P., 1140a.
 "Corn Silk," the story of, 226.
 Cornell family, 1987.
 Cornell university, 3034.
 "Corner stone" resolution, 2384.
 Cornwall, Conn., 3038.
 Cornyn, J. H., 3440.
 Corporation tax, 2337.
 Cortissoz, Royal, 3124.
 Corwin, E. S., 422, 2398.
 —, George, 487.
 Cory, C. F., 863.
 Cosgrove, J. J., 2731.
 Coshocton co., O., 1278.
 Cost of living, bibliography of, 39.
 Costa Rica, archæology of, 300; Indian languages of, 305.
 Costanzo, Miguel, 375, 929.
 Cottman, G. S., 2785.
 Cotton, John, 17.
 —, John, *M. D.*, 393.
 —, *Col.* Theophilus, regiment of, 681.
 Cotton industry in the South, 904.
 Cottrell, I. L., 2805.
 Coulter, J. L., 2521.
 —, J. M., 1476.
 Council Bluffs, Ia., 2573.
 Countryman, E., 2370.
 Courts, of Pennsylvania, 2476. *See also* Supreme court.
 Couse, E. I., 3115.
 Coutts, K. B., 705, 3256.
 Cowan, J. L., 126.
 Cowdery, O., 2908.
 Cowell, A. T., 776.
 Cowles, Alfred, 1563.
 Cox, I. J., 706.
 Coyne, J. H., 3257.
 Coyney, Weston, 922.
 Craig, Lewis, 2909.
 —, William, 2098.
 Crandall, S. B., 2285.
 Crane, Albert, 1926.
 —, Benjamin, 1102.
 Crania, 113, 312.
 Craven, Bruce, 1653.
 Crawford, Emmet, 2254.
 —, M. C., 1097, 2697.
 —, N. A., *jr.*, 2454.
 —, W. H., 1565.
 —, William, 1564.
 Credit, Massachusetts bills of, 485.
 Cremation, in cliff-dwellings, 132.
 Cremer, C. W., 1971, 2800.
 Crews, E. K., 978.
 Crime, in America, 2493.
 Crippin, E. W., 777.
 Crockett, Davy, 1475.
 Crogan, George, 1351, 1352.
 Croix, T. de, 568.
 Croll, P. C., 1698.
 Cromwell family, 1937.
 Crook, W. H., 873.
 Crooks, Ramsay, 2525.
 Crosby, Josiah, 1566.
 —, S. P., 1566.
 Crosby family, 1566.
 Croseup, G. E., 426.
 Crowell, K. R., 3499.
 Crown Point road, 1236, 2557, 2561.
 Cruikshank, E. A., 707, 708, 3259-3261.
 Cruise, J. D., 2568.
 Cuba, 3472, 3490-3496; public documents relating to, 65.
 Culbertson, Josiah, 1567.
 Culpeper, *Lord*, administration of, 546.
 Culver genealogy, 1984.
 Cumberland Valley, 2882.
 Cummings, Byron, 194.
 Cummins, A. B., 1467.
 Cundall, Frank, 3477.
 Cunningham, H. W., 2670.
 —, J. O., 973, 979, 2782.
 —, S. A., 778.
 Currency, colonial, 2615; early, 2623; in Massachusetts, 490-491, 2620; national, 2618; national-bank, 2639. *See also* Finance.
 Currie, G. E., 1699.
 Currier, C. W., 3420, 3421, 3500.
 —, H. L., 1988.
 —, J. M., 1988.
 Currier family, 1988.
 Curry, J. S., 1700.
 —, W. L., 779.
 Curtis, G. L., 3064.
 —, G. W., 3149.
 —, J. H., 1098.
 —, M. E. S., 1099.
 Curuahé, the, 302, 337.
 Cushing, A. H., 1473.
 —, F. L., 1100.
 —, H. B., 1473.
 —, W. B., 1473.
 —, Wainwright, 1061.
 Cushman, F. W., 1568.
 Cushman family, 1941.
 Custer, Milo, 127, 128, 2066.
 Custom of Paris, 3346.
 Customs records, Boston, Mass., 676.
 Cutler, H. G., 720, 917.
 Cutter, W. R., 1101, 2187, 2195.
 Cullum, G. W., 1465.
 Culver, F. B., 629.
 Cuyler, C. C., 1569.
 Dabney, C. W., 2951.
 —, R. H., 1423.
 Dabo, Leon, 3116.
 Daenell, E., 350.
 Daggett, William, 3049.

- Dagnaud, P.-M., 3262.
 Dakota Indians, 217, 257, 443.
 Dakota Territory, early military experiences in, 2274; Indians in, 238.
 Dallas, Will, 3263.
 Dana, Francis, 1570.
 —, J. D., 1476.
 —, R. H., 742, 743, 780-781, 2286, 2336, 2370a, 2458.
 Danbury, Conn., 631.
 Dances, Indian, 280.
 Dandridge, *Mrs.* D. (B.), 1438.
 Danes, in the U. S., 2745.
 Daniel, Anthony, 2892.
 —, J. W., 630, 1571.
 Daniels, W. M., 2379.
 Danvers, Mass., 2163.
 Darling, J. T., 1681a.
 Dart, Richard, 1443, 1451.
 D'Artigues, Denans, 1841.
 Dartmouth, Mass., 1102.
 Dartmouth college, 3002, 3045-3046a.
 Dartmouth college case, 2360.
 Daughters of the Revolution, 692.
 Dauncey, *Mrs.* Campbell, 3582.
 Daveluy, R., 606.
 Davenport, H. C., 1573.
 —, John, 488.
 —, T. W., 1901.
 Davenport, Ia, 1020, 1021, 2377.
 Davidson, George, 930.
 Davie, W. R., 1574.
 Davis, A. McF., 11, 73, 489-491, 2509, 2612-2620.
 —, C. G., 743.
 —, C. H., 427.
 —, D. W., 2903.
 —, G. T., 1989.
 —, G. W., 2287.
 —, Horace, 2569.
 —, J. McC. 2371.
 —, Jefferson, 1575-1577, 2033, 2263.
 —, Madison, 709, 1517, 2570.
 —, N. D., 3481.
 —, R. H., 888.
 —, Samuel, 783.
 Davis family, 1989, 1990.
 Dawson, Andrew, 1578.
 —, James, 1578.
 Dawson prisoners, 1410.
 Day, Clive, 1848.
 —, F. A., 1665, 1666.
 —, H. G., 3053a.
 —, O. A., 3054.
 Dayton, O., 1282.
 Dean, Cora, 1270, 2522.
 —, O. H., 2343.
 Deatrick, W. W., 3003.
 Debenedetti, Salvador, 287.
 De Berdt, Dennis, 582.
 Declaration of independence, 663, 677; Ohio, 660; Vermont, 1413. *See also* Mecklenburg declaration of independence.
 Decora, Ia., 3040.
 Decoration day, 1384.
 Dedham, Mass., 1142.
 Defoe family, 1991.
 De-he-wā-mis, 1662.
 De Jarnette papers, 549.
 Dejordy, G. A., 3265.
 De Kay, Charles, 3122.
 De Laporte, H. R., 514-516.
 Delaware, economic history, bibliography, 21; local history, 948.
 Delaware and Hudson canal, 2586.
 Delaware Indians, 195, 3045.
 Delaware river, 656.
 Delaware water gap, 400.
 De Leeuw, R. M., 1218.
 De Leon, P. M., 782.
 Delgado de Carvalho, C. M., 3531.
 Delnor, M. F., 2786.
 Demeritt, E. W. L., 631.
 Democracy, 905, 2387, 2496, 2512.
 Democratic party, 2384.
 Déné Indians, 233, 234.
 Denison family, 1992.
 Dennett, Fred, 2572.
 Dennis, A. W., 2662.
 —, J. S., 2924.
 —, W. C., 2318-2321.
 —, W. H., 1748.
 Dennis, Mass., 2164.
 Denny, Collins, 1682.
 De Normandie, James, 2915.
 De Noyer, Charles, 1271, 2252.
 Densmore, Frances, 196.
 Denucé, Jean, 288, 351, 352.
 Denver, Northwestern and Pacific railroad, 1754.
 Department of state, 2420.
 Derby, S. C., 1533, 1993.
 Derby family, 1993.
 De Resegui family, 1943.
 Dermott, J. R., 1579.
 Derry, Charles, 2910.
 Derryfield, N. H., 1199.
 Desaulniers, F. L., 1789.
 Description and travel, 387-412.
 Des Moines, Ia., 2484.
 De Soto co., Miss., 1173.
 Desrosiers, Adélar, 3267.
 Detroit, Mich., 198, 652.
 Devitt, E. I., 2824.
 De Vries colony, 948.
 Dewey, D. R., 2621, 2629.
 —, John, 3086.
 —, L. M., 1986, 2085.
 De Witt, A. R., 1994.
 De Witt family, 1994.
 Dexter, Timothy, 1580.
 Diamond Valley, Kan., 157.
 Diaz, Porfirio, 3441, 3445, 3449, 3450.
 Diaz del Castillo, B., 3442.
 Dickens, Charles, 1001, 1004.
 Dickey, L. S., 866, 867.
 Dickinson, M. F., 1744.
 —, S. B., 1424.
 Dickson family, 1995.
 Diefendorf, M. R., 1219.
 Diehl, T. H., 2901.
 Dietrich, W. J., 1314.
 Diffenderfer, F. R., 1315, 1996, 2622, 2628.
 Diffenderfer family, 1996.
 Digger Indians, 219.
 Diligent, state schooner, 639.
 Dill, J. S., 1747.

- Diller, C. H., 1997.
 Diller, J. S., 1998, 1999.
 Diller family, 1997-2001.
 Dillman family, 1931.
 Dionne, N. E., 517, 3268-3270.
 Diplomacy, Spanish American, 3435.
 Diplomatic history, documents relating to, 55;
 Oregon pioneers and, 1302.
 Diplomatic history and foreign relations, 2281-2336.
 Dirr, A., 2310.
 Discovery and exploration, 346-386; Spanish, 3417.
 District of Columbia, constitutional status of, 2445;
 local history, 949-955.
 Dixon, James, 2849.
 —, R. B., 197, 249.
 Dixon family, 1932.
 Doane, A. A., 2025.
 —, W. C., 2953.
 Dodd, W. F., 2437, 2438.
 Dodge, F. S., 1581.
 —, G. M., 783, 2573.
 —, Mrs. M. H. (W.), 1581.
 —, T. A., 1582.
 Dole, N. H., 921, 1644, 3472, 3578.
 Dollenmayer, Albert, 1162.
 Dolliver, J. P., 1467, 1583.
 Dominican, Leon, 289.
 Dominica, 3483.
 Domville-Fife, C. W., 3502, 3532, 3565.
 Dongan, Thomas, 521.
 Doniphan, Alexander, 1584.
 Doniphan co., Kan., 115.
 Donovan, Edward, 1466.
 Doolittle, C. L., 1766.
 —, J. R., 1585.
 Dorchester, Mass., 1103, 2810.
 Dorchester company, 511.
 Dorchester Heights, Mass., 651.
 Dorgan, C. J., 3467.
 Dorsey, E. L., 1730.
 Doughty, A. G., 3240.
 Douglas, R. L., 1034, 2523.
 —, S. A., 1586.
 —, W. B., 553.
 Douglas-Lithgow, R. A., 1103-1105, 1649, 1734.
 Douglass, Ephraim, 623.
 Dover, Mass., 1106.
 Dover historical and natural history society, 1106.
 Dow, G. F., 487.
 —, J. E., 1512.
 Dowd, W. B., 1220.
 Downer, H. E., 1021.
 Downes, F. O., 2555.
 —, W. E. D., 2002, 2003.
 Downes family, 2002, 2003.
 Downey, E. H., 1022, 2648.
 Downing, G. C., 1859, 2127, 2128.
 Doyle, J. B., 1281.
 —, W. T. S., 2319.
 Drach, George, 2841.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 347, 361a, 1458.
 —, J. R., 3171.
 Drannan, W. F., 902.
 Draper, A. S., 889, 2951.
 Drawbaugh, D., 1587.
 Dreier, Thomas, 1467.
 Dress, historic, 2705.
 Drew, Daniel, 1588.
 Driscoll, Dennis, 2244.
 Drummond, J. H., 1959.
 Drury, A. W., 1282.
 Dryden, J. F., 819.
 Dryer, C. R., 1005.
 Du Barry, Helen, 1737.
 Du Bois, Patterson, 2288.
 Dubois, Capt. Toussaint, 1017.
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 874.
 Dubois co., Ind., 1017.
 Du Breil de Pontbriand, P. M., *vicomte*, 3271.
 Dubuque, Ia., 1025.
 Duché, Jacob, 616.
 Duck river, Tenn., 765.
 Duckworth, W. A., 784.
 Duels, 1055, 3417.
 Dugas, George, 3271a.
 Duke, T. S., 2493.
 Duluth, Minn., 1166.
 Dummer, J. N., 1107.
 Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C., 382.
 Dunbar, J. B., 554.
 —, John, 1195.
 Duncan, Frances, 3119.
 Dungan, W. S., 633.
 Dunham, Mrs. H. W., 2698.
 Dunham township, Que., 3349a.
 Dunker, Rudolf, 3503, 3539.
 Dunmore, *Earl of*, 660.
 Dunmore's war, 1441.
 Dunn, J. P., 1006, 1007.
 Dunning, W. A., 2372.
 Du Puy, C. M., 2004.
 Dupuy, C. T., 3374.
 —, Émile, 2289.
 Du Puy, Herbert, 2004.
 Dupuy family, 2004.
 Durand, E. D., 2797, 2798.
 Durant, George, 1589, 1590.
 Durham, *Lord*, 3340.
 Durrell, H. C., 2005, 2006.
 Durrell family, 2005, 2006.
 Duston family, 2007.
 Dutch, in America, 1609-1664, 517; in colonial New
 York, 512, 526; in Connecticut, 945; in the U. S.,
 De Vries colony, 948.
 Dutch embassy to Maryland, 1659, 537.
 Dutch patroons of Pennsylvania, 1355.
 Dutch pirates, 1694-1695, 484.
 Dutcher family, 2008.
 Dutchman, the Pennsylvania, 1355.
 Dutton, Jerome, 3941.
 Duvernay, Ludger, 3353.
 Duxbury, Mass., 1094, 2165.
 Duyckinck, W. C., 3048.
 Dwelley, Jedediah, 1108, 2172.
 Dwellings, Indian, 267.
 Dwight, E. L., 2407.
 Dyer, A. M., 411.
 Dyer family, 1941.
 Dynes, S. A., 95.
 Eakins, W. G., 3272.
 Earle, A. G., 2891.
 —, G. H., 1591.
 Early, J. W., 1316, 1844, 1965, 2009, 2010.

- Early family, 2009, 2010.
 East Chester, N. Y., 1233.
 Eastham, Mass., 2206.
 Eastman, C. R., 263, 2011, 2101.
 —, J. R., 1201, 2149.
 Eastman family, 2011.
 Eaton, A. W. H., 634, 2143, 3273.
 —, E. B., 1712.
 —, W. P., 3213.
 Eaton family, 2012.
 Eaves, Lucile, 931, 2649.
 Eby, H. H., 785.
 —, S. C., 1436.
 Eckenrode, H. J., 1425, 2883.
 Economic history, 2490-2730; of Delaware, bibliography, 21; of Kentucky, bibliography, 22.
 Economics, bibliography of, 29, 31, 35, 56.
 Ecuador, antiquities of, 328, 329.
 Eden, *Sir* Robert, 595.
 Edes, H. H., 1570, 1910.
 Edison, T. A., 1457.
 Edmands, John, 2873, 2874.
 Edmonds, J. H., 1110.
 Edmundsbury, S. C., 1387.
 Edson, Obed, 1221.
 Education, bibliography of, 57; biography, 1488, 3055-3101; general, 2951-2974; in Bradford, Mass., 2701; in Canada, 3234, 3274, 3381; in North Carolina, 1909; in Ontario, 3309, 3310; in Pennsylvania, 1368; in the South, 904; in Upper Canada, 3309; in Virginia, 17th century, 544; particular institutions, 2989-3054; regional, 2975-2988.
 Edwards, A. S., 1927.
 —, D. M., 376.
 —, Jonathan, 453, 1485.
 Edwards family, 1927.
 Eekhof, A., 519.
 Egerton, H. E., 635, 636.
 Eggen, Th., 2934.
 Eggleston, G. C., 786, 1592.
 Ehrenfeld, C. L., 3004.
 Eiffel, C. C., 964.
 Einstein, D. L., 1593.
 Elder, S. J., 2296.
 Elections, in the South, 2405; of senators, popular, 2388; presidential, 1800, 2382; 1836, 2376; 1876, 875, 2368, 2370; primary, 2389, 2459.
 Electoral commission, 2370.
 Electoral system, presidential, 2374.
 Elgin, J. B., *Six earl* of, 3281.
 Elgin historical and scientific institute, 3275.
 Elgin-Marcy treaty, 2529, 3296.
 Eliot, C. W., 476, 478, 1494, 2896, 3057.
 Elizabeth, Pa., 2850.
 Elizabeth Islands, 1153.
 Elks, Benevolent and protective order of, 2671, 2672.
 Ellett, A. H., 2464.
 Elliot, C. D., 1594-1596, 2013.
 —, S. A., 2889.
 Elliot family, 2013.
 Elliott, C. P., 2254.
 —, E. G., 2344.
 —, R. R., 1597.
 —, T. C., 402, 1298.
 —, W. B., 1853.
 Elliott family, 1944.
 Ellis, C. E., 2671, 2672.
 Ellis, E. S., 198, 413, 414, 1207, 3578.
 —, H. G., 787, 1810.
 —, H. J., 1598.
 —, J. W., 1022a.
 —, L. B., 3181a.
 —, Morton, 2699.
 Ellis co., Kan., 1038, 2744.
 Ellis Landing shellmound, 159.
 El Salto del Agua, 342.
 Elson, H. W., 96, 428.
 Elssler, Ermina, 1553.
 Ely, D. B., 1928.
 —, R. P., 1928.
 —, R. T., 1848, 2492, 2673.
 —, W. S., 1928.
 Ely family, 1928.
 Elzas, B. A., 2159, 2161, 2169, 2205.
 Emerson, E. W., 3173.
 —, F. V., 980.
 —, Joseph, 448.
 —, M. A. H., 1498.
 —, R. W., 3149, 3172-3176.
 Emerton, E., 3070.
 Emery, G. E., 1201.
 —, S. L., 2810.
 —, W. P., 1187.
 Emigrant Gulch, 1190.
 Emigrants from England, 1697-1707, 1919; 1774, 1913.
 Emmitsburg, Md., 2821.
 Endeavor, the schooner, 2325.
 Endicott, John, 494.
 England. *See* Great Britain.
 Engraving, history of, 33.
 Eno, J. N., 2055.
 Enock, C. R., 395.
 Enos, Zimri, 981.
 Episcopalians. *See* Protestant Episcopal church.
 Epitaphs, Missouri, 1181; of Lee, Mass., 1149.
 Erie canal, 910, 2578.
 Erskine, John, 3148.
 Esary, Logan, 1008.
 Eshleman, H. F., 530, 1317, 1318, 1337, 1731, 1908, 2399.
 Eskimo inventions, 380.
 Eskimos, 113, 3253, 3316.
 Esmeraldas, Ecuador, 329.
 Esopus Indians, treaty with, 1664, 526.
 Essayists, American, 3149.
 "Essex," whale ship, 3417.
 Essex co., Mass., 493, 503, 2166, 2583.
 Essex co., N. Y., 2195.
 Estrada y Escovedo, P. de, 3438.
 Ethnology, Canadian, 3230a; of the Mississippi Valley, 254; prehistoric, of Kentucky, 172.
 Etzenhouser, Rudolph, 129.
 Eude, Émile, 3532a.
 Eudes, Jean, 3262.
 Evans, Charles, 12.
 —, G. F., 1599.
 —, Harold, 2524.
 —, J. H., 1444, 1451, 1768, 2853.
 —, L. B., 429.
 —, M. T., 576.
 —, Mary, 3017.
 —, R. D., 1600, 3458.
 Evans family, 2004.

- Evanston, Ill., 1700.
 Evanston historical society, 1700.
 Evansville, Ind., 1010.
 Everett, Edward, 971.
 —, William, 1601, 1602.
 Everhart, Elfrida, 13.
 Ewart, J. S., 2296.
 Ewing, E. W. R., 875.
 —, George, 569.
 —, J. L., 2014.
 —, J. S., 1691.
 Ewing family, 2014.
 Expansion. *See* Territorial expansion.
 Exploration. *See* Discovery and exploration.
 Express companies, 2607.
 Express company, Wells-Fargo, 2580.
 Eyerly, T. L., 130.

 Factory system, in Spanish America, 3423.
 Faillon, E. M., 3287.
 Fairbanks house, 1142.
 Fairchild, H. P., 2732.
 Fairfax co., Va., 545.
 Fairfield, Conn., 2828.
 Fairhaven, Mass., 1102, 1143.
 Falkner, R. P., 2290.
 Falmouth, Me., 1066.
 Faneuil Hall, Boston, 582, 1146.
 Far West, Mo., 2867.
 Farley, J. P., 396.
 Farmers trust company, Lancaster, Pa., 1315.
 Farnam, H. W., 1848.
 Fauquier co., Va., 2167.
 Faure family, 2015.
 Fausett, Tom, 461.
 Faust, A. B., 2954.
 Favored nation clause, 2531.
 Faxon, F. W., 4.
 —, Walter, 1899.
 Fay, C. E., 2674.
 —, C. N., 3215.
 Fayette, N. Y., 1244.
 Fearn, F. H., 788.
 Feather ornaments, 333.
 Federal government. *See* National government
 and administration.
 Federalism, 2378; in North Carolina, 1264, 2394.
 Federalist party, 1257.
 Feeman homestead, 1305.
 Fegley, H. W., 1320.
 Fehlinger, H., 2574.
 Fels, Joseph, 1607.
 Felton, D. H., 1111.
 Fenian raids, 1866, 1870, 3831.
 Fennell, Charles, 2400.
 Fenton, W. D., 2474.
 Fenton family, 2016.
 Ferguson, C. E., 2291.
 —, W. P., 1023a.
 Fernald, C. A., 2017.
 —, M. L., 353.
 Fernald family, 2017.
 Fernández, J., 3427.
 Ferris, I. M., 1035.
 —, O. B., 2466.
 Fess, S. D., 2373.
 Fetterolf, D. W., 1468.

 Feuillo, G., 3232.
 Few, W. P., 3068a.
 Fewkes, J. W., 131-134, 199.
 Ficklen, J. R., 876, 1058.
 Field, A. S., 2650.
 Fielding family, 2018.
 Fifteenth amendment, 2342, 2350, 2356.
 Filibusters, 2262.
 Fillebrown, C. B., 2019.
 Fillebrown family, 2019.
 Finance, public documents relating to, 58. *See also*
 Banks, Currency, and Taxation.
 Financial history, 2608-2646; of Chile, 3541a; of
 Mexico, 3446; of Texas, 1399, 1400; of the Argentine
 Republic, 3516.
 Finch, J. G., 1009.
 Fine arts, biography, 3109-3135; general, 3102-3108.
 Finlay, *Sir* R. B., 2296.
 Finley, R. S., 746.
 —, W. W., 2575.
 Fiore, Pasquale, 3527, 3528, 3552, 3553.
 Firearms, 2272.
 Firth, C. H., 789.
 Fish, C. R., 74, 694, 2811.
 —, Daniel, 1162.
 —, G. T., 2040.
 Fisher, H. L., 1603.
 —, H. N., 637.
 —, Irving, 1848.
 Fisheries, of British North America, 3293.
 Fisheries arbitration, North Atlantic coast, 2284,
 2295-2297, 2305, 2312, 2322, 2323.
 Fisheries award, Hague, 2334.
 Fisheries dispute, North Atlantic coast, 2307.
 Fishery commission, Halifax, 1877, 2286.
 Fitch, J. A., 2651.
 —, Jabez, 458.
 —, K. P., 442.
 —, W. E., 721, 1395.
 Fite, E. D., 790.
 Fitt, A. P., 1112.
 Fitzgerald, James, 2255.
 Fitzhugh family, 2020.
 Fitzpatrick, F. A., 3073.
 Fitzroy, *Sir* A. W., 76, 449.
 Flag, American, 892, 893, 896, 898.
 Flagg, C. A., 14.
 —, E. O., 3012.
 Flagler, H. M., 956.
 Fleming, W. H., 744.
 —, W. L., 1575, 1576, 1825.
 Fletcher, Robert, 2576.
 —, W. I., 3.
 Flexner, Abraham, 2955, 2956.
 Flick, L. F., 2675.
 Flint industry, primitive, 174.
 Flom, G. T., 136.
 Flores y Caamaño, Alfredo, 3544, 3554.
 Florida, banking in, 2643; local history, 956, 957; the
 Seminole of, 264.
 Florida case, 875.
 Flosser Frank, 2256.
 Floyd, Charles, 1604.
 Fogelblad, S., 152.
 Folhaber, Jost, 1360.
 Folk-lore, Indian, 250. *See also* Myths.
 Follett, Oran, 2375.

- Folsom, Benjamin, 1541.
 Foord, John, 2292.
 Foote, A. E., 1469.
 —, Arthur, 3216.
 Forbes, A. H., 3278.
 —, J. H., 2913.
 —, W. E., 3173.
 Forbes' road, 2590.
 Forbes-Lindsay, C. H. A., 3470.
 Forbin-Janson, C. A. M. J. de, 3269.
 Ford, A. C., 2511.
 —, H. J., 2624.
 —, H. P., 2875.
 —, T. L., 932.
 —, Thomas, 1605.
 —, W. C., 15, 16, 485, 488, 566, 638, 701, 1881, 2628, 3279.
 Foreign relations. *See* Diplomatic history.
 Forestry and Land, 2504-2517.
 Forks of the Delaware, 2843.
 Forman, S. E., 430.
 Formby, John, 791.
 Forsyth, L. N., 290.
 Fort Amsterdam, N. Y., 524, 1237.
 Fort Atkinson, Wis., 1450.
 Fort Dobbs, N. C., 1259.
 Fort Dunlap, Indian attack on, 719.
 Fort George, capture of, 619.
 Fort Gower, O., 660.
 Fort Hays, Kan., 1028.
 Fort Jefferson, Fla., 841.
 Fort Loudon, Pa., 463.
 Fort McHenry, 2270.
 Fort Malden, Ont., 3251.
 Fort Mifflin, defense of, 1777, 594.
 Fort Phil. Kearney massacre, 2248.
 Fort St. Stephens, 407.
 Fort Sheridan, Ill., 999.
 Fort Stoddert, 407.
 Fort Sumter, battle of, 756.
 Fort Totten, No. Dak., 1269, 1271, 2252.
 Fort William Henry, 457, 3247.
 Fortin, Pierre, 3312.
 Foster, C. B., 950, 951.
 —, H. S., 3280.
 —, J. W., 2293, 3443.
 Fournet, P. A., 3267.
 Fourteenth amendment, 2356.
 Fourth of July, 950. *See also* Independence day.
 Fowke, Gerard, 137.
 Fowler, C. H., 1470.
 —, L. W., 1142.
 Fox, E. L., 2978.
 —, George, 537.
 —, J. S., 403, 1157.
 —, S. M., 864.
 Fox family, 2021.
 Fox Indians, 1035.
 Foxcroft, Me., 3026.
 France, in the American revolution, 603.
 Francine, A. P., 1605a.
 —, L. R., 1605a.
 Francis, E. T., 1471.
 Franciscans, of New France, 556, 3311.
 Francke, K., 3104.
 Frankland, Henry, 2835.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 1457, 1485, 1606-1609.
 —, Fabian, 3069.
 —, J., 11.
 Franklin, state of, 721, 1395.
 Franklin, Tenn., battle of, 778.
 Franklin co., Kan., 245, 1035.
 Franklin co., Ky., 1051.
 Franklin co., N. Y., 2195.
 Franklin co., O., 1295.
 Franklin savings bank, 2625.
 Fraser, J. E., 3117.
 Frazer, J. G., 201.
 Frazier family, 1934.
 Frederick, J. A., 2813.
 Frederick co., Md., 1086.
 Frederick co., Va., 2168.
 Fredericksburg, Pa., 1321.
 Free soil convention, Buffalo, 1848, 2370a.
 Freeman, D. S., 753.
 —, Edmund, 2022.
 —, James, 2889.
 Freemasonry, in Pennsylvania, 2668; in White Plains, N. Y., 1248; Jews and, 2689.
 Freemasons, 2676, 2677.
 Frelinghuysen, T. J., 1610.
 Fremont, Ia., 2857.
 French, A. C., 982.
 —, C. N., 2024.
 —, D. F., 3118.
 —, J. L., 3115.
 French family, 2023, 2024.
 French, in Acadia, 3273; in America, 255, 3372; in America, 1609-1664, 517; in Canada, 3267, 3285, 3326; in Hudson's Bay, 367, 3357; in the American revolution, 668; in the Illinois country, 557; invasion of Mexico by, 3447; troops in Maryland, 1782, 567.
 French alliance in the Revolution, 109.
 French and Indian war, 255, 456-465, 1441.
 French Canadians, 3320; in New England, 2725.
 French exiles, in New York, 1229.
 French exploration in North America, 349, 390.
 French Guiana, 3547.
 French law, 3363a.
 French pirate, capture of, 1807, 698.
 French spoliation claims, 2324, 2325.
 Fretz, Mrs. C. D., 2100.
 Frič, Alberto, 291.
 Fried, A. H., 3422.
 Friedenber, A. M., 2677.
 Friederici, Georg, 138.
 Friel, M. A., 3281.
 Friends, 2833-2836; in South Carolina, 550.
 Fries, A. L., 1255.
 Frisbie, Levi, 3045, 3045a.
 Fronsac, Viscount de, 3282, 3283.
 Frontier, American, 909, 911. *See also* The West.
 Frontier life, 2492. *See also* Pioneer life and The West.
 Frossard, Édouard, 2626.
 Frost family, 2025.
 Frothingham, P. R., 1601.
 —, Richard, 415.
 Fruit culture, early, 340.
 Frye, Col. James, regiment of, 682.
 Fryenmuth, J. C., 513.
 Fuentesvilla y Freyre, J. M., 877.

- Fürstenwärther, J. N. *frhr.* v., 3444.
 Fugitive slave law, 745.
 Fuld, L. F., 3005.
 Fulham, V. S., 2026.
 Fulham genealogy, 2026.
 Fullenwider family, 1924.
 Fuller, Archelaus, 460.
 —, Graham, 139, 140.
 —, M. W., 1459, 1611-1613.
 —, Margaret, 3177.
 —, T. O., 1614.
 —, W. H., 2027.
 Fuller family, 2027.
 Fullerton, Morton, 3185.
 Fulmore, Z. T., 1643.
 Fulton, Robert, 1457.
 Fulton co., Ind., 1011.
 Fulwider, A. L., 983, 1472.
 Funston, Frederick, 3490-3493.
 Fur trade, 1158, 1270, 1445, 1448, 2522, 2525, 2526, 3357, 3359.
 Furlong, C. W., 3550.
 —, J. R., 1650.
 Furnas co., Neb., 1193.
 Furness, H. H., 3174.
 —, W. H., 3174.
 Furniture, colonial, 2704.
 Fusang, 369.
 Fyrand, A. M., 2854.
 —, Elsie, 2854.
 —, M. A., 2854.
- Gable, F. M., 1615.
 Gage, M. E. M., 2028.
 Gage family, 2028.
 Gagnon, Ernest, 3284, 3285.
 Gallitzin, D. A., 1367.
 Galloway, A. C., 292.
 —, C. B., 1577, 2911.
 Gallup, J. M., 3471.
 Galveston, Tex., 2483, 2484.
 Gamble, H. R., 1183, 2465.
 —, J. L., 2805.
 Gambrell, J. M., 1, 432, 1076.
 Games, 320.
 Gammell family, 1945.
 Gammon, S. R., 3533.
 Ganong, W. F., 354, 3286, 3324.
 Garber, V. A., 1951a.
 García, Genaro, 3442.
 Gardiner, H. F., 1523.
 —, T. L., 2805.
 Gardner, Abbie, 736.
 —, F. A., 494, 639-642, 681-683.
 —, H. A., 2733.
 —, L. M., 2166.
 Garfield, J. A., 1457.
 Garner, J. W., 2374.
 Garnett, J. M., 1426, 2029.
 —, Porter, 939.
 Garnett family, 2029.
 Garnier, Charles, 2893.
 Garreau, Leonard, 2892.
 Garrett, S. B., 2030.
 Garrett family, 2030.
 Garrettson, F., 2912.
 Garver, F. H., 1604.
 Gary, Ind., 2656.
- Gaspé district, Quebec, 363, 3324.
 Gaspeian Indians, 363.
 Gaston, *Judge* William, 1616.
 Gates, S. Y., 2146.
 —, W. E., 293, 294.
 Gauthier, Henri, 3287.
 Gay, F. L., 17.
 Gear, E. G., 2887.
 Geary, Daniel, 1036.
 Gehman, L. H., 2842.
 Gemmingen, Max, *freiherr* von, 3423.
 Genealogical society of Utah, 2678.
 Genealogies in the Library of Congress, 54.
 Genealogy, bibliography of, 49; collected, 1924-1946; general, 1912-1923; Georgia, 959; individual families, 1947-2146; Massachusetts, 1101; of Andover, N. H., 1201; of Canaan, N. H., 1205; of Hanover, Mass., 1108; of Hatfield, Mass., 1147; regional, vital records, etc., 2147-2241.
 'General Armstrong,' the, 2276.
 General land office, 2572.
 Genest, A. T., 3288.
 Gensch, Hugo, 202.
 Genung, J. F., 1702.
 Geographical influences, in Alaska, 923; in the development of Indiana, 1005; in the development of Nebraska, 1194.
 George, W. R., 2715, 2716.
 George junior republic, 2715, 2716, 2720.
 Georgetown, S. C., 2169.
 Georgia, history of, bibliography of, 8; judicial system of, 2446; local history, 958-963.
 Georgia bar association, 2446.
 Germain, *Lord* George, 635.
 German American Bibles, 2776.
 German books on America, 66.
 German immigration in the U. S., 2759.
 German labor union, Phila., 2652.
 German newspapers, in Pennsylvania, 2777; in the U. S., 2770.
 German schoolmaster in American history, 2954.
 German society of Maryland, 2679.
 Germanistic society of America, 2734.
 Germans, in America, 800; in Brazil, 3534; in colonial Pennsylvania, 535; in Illinois, 970, 993; in Iowa, 1020; in New York city, 1235; in Pennsylvania, 1355, 2747, 2755; in Philadelphia, 1327; in Quincy, Ill., 972; in the Mormon wars, 2852; in the settlement of the South, 2766; in the U. S., 964, 1377, 2729, 2734, 2735, 2738-2740, 2754, 2768; of Denverport, Ia., 2377.
 Germantown, Pa., 1377.
 Germantown, battle of, 666.
 Geronimo campaign, 2254.
 Gerry, Elbridge, 570.
 —, M. S., 873.
 Gerson, A. J., 97.
 Gerste, Achille, 295.
 Getchell, E. L., 1113.
 Gettysburg, battle of, 776, 801, 825.
 Gettysburg campaign, 809, 810, 817, 1355.
 Gibbs, J. W., 1476.
 —, O. W., 1617.
 Gibson, John, 586.
 Giesecke, A. A., 2527.
 Giglioli, E. H., 296, 297.
 Gilbert, F. M., 1010.

- Gilbert, H. J. W., 1222.
 —, William, 1915.
 Gilchrist, B. B., 3092.
 Gilder, R. F., 141.
 —, R. W., 1555, 3178-3181.
 Gilfillan, J. A., 203.
 Giliaks, 113.
 Gilkey, M. A., 54, 1923.
 Gill, E. M., 2700.
 —, William, 3494.
 Gillespie, Samuel, 1023.
 Gillett family, 2053.
 Gillette, Speers, 1561.
 Gilliss, Walter, 1639.
 Gilman, D. C., 1476, 3069.
 —, W. C., 3069.
 Gilman family, 2031.
 Gilmore, E. A., 2492.
 Ginn, S. J., 425.
 Girty, George, 671.
 —, James, 671.
 —, Simon, 671.
 Glens Falls, N. Y., 2676.
 Gloucester, Mass., 1096.
 Glover, A. K., 933.
 —, Jose, 2773.
 Glover, Vt., 1412, 1414, 1417.
 Gnadenhütten massacre, 1287.
 Goddard, J. C., 479.
 —, P. E., 204.
 Godfrey, C. E., 684.
 Godley, A. J., 3504.
 Godoy, J. F., 3445.
 Goethius, H. R., 961, 2401.
 Goiffon, Joseph, 2913.
 Goldenweiser, A. A., 205.
 Goldsborough, E. R., 206.
 González Blanco, A., 3423a.
 Gonzalez de la Rosa, Manuel, 298.
 Good, J. I., 2787.
 Goode, G. B., 1476.
 Goodfellow, F. J., 1392.
 Goodloe, G. C., 1829.
 Goodnow, F. J., 2345, 2346.
 Goodrich, William, 2528.
 Goodspeed, A. McL., 1102.
 —, E. J., 3006.
 Goodwin, E. L., 2884.
 —, James, 466.
 Goold, Nathan, 624, 704, 1541.
 Gordon, E. L. K., 1672.
 —, Rev. William, 571.
 Gore, J. H., 1916.
 Gosling, W. G., 3289.
 Gosselin, A. H., 355.
 —, Amédée, 3290.
 Gough, T. B., 3291.
 Gould, G. M., 3204.
 Government, municipal, 2483-2489; national, 2412-2436; of Missouri, 1183; of Virginia, 1427; state and local, 2437-2482; territorial, in the West, 718. *See also* National government and State and local government.
 Governors, of New York, 1232; of South Carolina, 1385.
 Gracey, L. R., 3292.
 Grafton, C. C., 2914.
 Grafton magazine of history and genealogy, 18.
 Grafton press, 1925.
 Graham, W., 3293.
 —, W. A., 1618.
 Grainger, J. C., 2855.
 Gran Chaco, El, 320.
 Grand army of the republic, 792, 1703.
 Grand Portage route, 349.
 Grant, F. D., 1620.
 —, U. S., 783, 824a, 1457, 1470, 1619-1621, 2263.
 —, W. L., 76, 449, 3294.
 Grant co., Wis., 1444, 1451.
 Grantham, N. H., 1202.
 Graves, H. S., 1622.
 Graves family, 1926.
 Gravesend, N. Y., 1220.
 Gray, Asa, 1476.
 —, George, 948.
 —, Robert, 572.
 Grayson, P. W., 1508.
 Great Britain, and her colonies, 1754-1867, 3385a; and the Illinois country, 1763-1774, 625; Committee on trade and plantations, 475; Historical manuscripts commission, 573; interests of, in Texas, 1396; Privy council of, 76, 449; Public record office, 450; treaty with, 1817, 2300; treaty with, 1818, 2307.
 Great Falls, Potomac river, 1428.
 Great Lakes, 2300, 2301, 2525, 2591, 2592.
 Great northern railway, 2555.
 Great Swamp fight, 467, 470, 946.
 Greely, A. W., 377.
 Green, S. A., 448, 495-497, 643, 1623, 1624, 2680, 2967.
 Green Lake co., Wis., 1443, 1451.
 Green Mountain boys, 561.
 Greene, A. R., 1037.
 Greene family, 1037.
 Greenland, 384-385.
 Greenville, Me., 1069.
 Greenwich, N. J., 1206.
 Greenwood, I. J., 3297.
 —, I. J., Jr., 644.
 —, J. M., 1872, 2957, 3074-3076.
 Greever, Garland, 903.
 Gregory, W. D., 3298.
 Gress, E. G., 2771.
 Greusel, Joseph, 1156.
 Gridley, J. N., 984.
 Griffin, A. P. C., 19.
 —, G. G., 20.
 —, Leroy, 546.
 —, M. F., 84.
 —, M. I. J., 607, 1579, 1675, 1792, 2681, 2815-2817, 2979.
 —, W. K., 2008, 2112.
 —, W. L., 142.
 Griffin and Burwell v. Wormeley, 1681, 546.
 Griffith, E. C., 2627.
 Grimes, J. B., 1256, 1262a, 1618.
 Grinfeld, I., 3516.
 Grinnell, G. B., 207-208, 1476.
 Grisanti, C. F., 2328-2330, 2332.
 Griselle, Eugène, 3299.
 Gross, Charles, 1625, 3070.
 Grosvenor, G. H., 381.
 Groton, Mass., 495, 643.
 Grove, W. B., 1257.
 Groveland, Mass., 1132, 1133.

- Grubb, A. B., 2031a.
 Grubb family, 2031a.
 Grumbine, Ezra, 1321.
 Guarayos, 325.
 Guatemala, 3502; antiquities of, 310.
 Guiana, 3546, 3547.
 Guild, Curtis, *jr.*, 645, 646.
 Guilford, Me., 1065.
 Gummere, A. M., 2834.
 Gunston Hall, Va., 1431.
 Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Pedro, 3555.
 Gutmacher, A., 1075.
 Guyot, Yoes, 3446.

 Hacker, H. H., 3007.
 Hackett, F. W., 2294.
 Hadden, James, 461.
 Haddonfield, N. J., 1211.
 Hadley, E. J., 934.
 Hadley, Mass., 1092, 2170.
 Hägermann, Gustav, 2347.
 Hagar, G. J., 1455.
 —, Stansbury, 299.
 Hagood, Johnson, 793.
 Hagood's brigade, 793.
 Hague, Permanent court of arbitration, 2294a-
 2298, 2317-2323, 3566.
 Haida crania, 113.
 Haidel, Kaspar, 1362.
 Haight, T. W., 1473.
 "Hail Columbia," song, 3217.
 Hailey, John, 965.
 Hailmann, W. N., 2951.
 Haines, Lynn, 2462.
 Haiti, 3497, 3498.
 Halbert, H. S., 555.
 Hale, E. E., 2915, 2916.
 —, E. E., *jr.*, 1820.
 —, Robert, 1062, 2788.
 —, W. B., 2257.
 Haliburton, T. C., 3351.
 Halifax, Mass., 2171.
 Halifax, N. S., 587, 3335, 3389.
 Halifax fishery commission, 2286.
 Hall, A. B., 3468.
 —, A. H., 2701, 2980.
 —, C. C., 537.
 —, C. W., 2402, 2958.
 —, E. H., 346, 356, 524, 1214, 1223, 1226, 1237.
 —, T. C., 1569.
 —, W. J., 936.
 Halleck, H. W., 1477.
 Halley family, 1935, 1936.
 Hallock, Charles, 143.
 Halloway, W. W., 2917.
 Halsey, F. W., 1224.
 Halstead, Murat, 361.
 Hamby, W. R., 870.
 Hamilton, A. McL., 1627.
 —, Alexander, 1626, 1627, 2344, 2628.
 —, Emmet, 1821.
 —, Henry, 75, 573.
 —, J. A., 2348.
 —, J. G. de R., 437, 1258.
 —, J. J., 2484.
 —, P. J., 920, 1685.
 —, W. T., 1188.

 Hamlin, L. B., 2375.
 Hammond, Benjamin, 1102.
 —, John, 537.
 Hampton, Va., 1418.
 Hampton Falls, N. H., 2664.
 Hampton institute, 3001.
 Hampton Roads peace conference, 802.
 Hancock, John, 1628.
 Haney, L. H., 2577.
 Hanover, Mass., 1108, 2172.
 Hanser, C. J. O., 2735.
 Hanson, J. C. M., 54, 1923.
 Haraden, *Capt.*, 2276.
 Harcourt, Helen, 2702.
 Hard, William, 985.
 Hardeman, S. H., 1565.
 Hardenbergh patent, 520.
 Hardey, M. A., 2918.
 Hardie, Martin, 3130.
 Hardin, C. B., 2258.
 Hardy, D. H., 1398a.
 Haring, C. H., 357, 3475.
 Harker, O. A., 2448.
 Harlow, William, 2032.
 Harman's station, Ky., 1050.
 Harmar's campaign, 723.
 Harney, W. S., 1475.
 Harrill, F. G., 1259.
 Harriman, E. H., 2573
 Harrington, J. P., 209.
 Harris, J. C., 3181a.
 —, W. T., 2951, 3071-3078.
 Harrisburg, Pa., 1355.
 Harrison, B. N., 2033.
 —, F. B., 2033.
 —, Fairfax, 2033.
 —, J. B., 2033.
 —, J. S., 3176.
 —, Richard, 545.
 —, S. J., 2033.
 —, W. H., 2376.
 —, W. W., 1930.
 Harrison family, 1930, 2033.
 Harrison co., W. Va., 1439.
 Harrison table rock, 1283.
 Harrodsburg, Ky., 1056, 2988.
 Hart, A. B., 98, 99, 416, 433, 904, 3462.
 —, C. H., 3102, 3217.
 —, John, 1452.
 —, Samuel, 1816, 1939.
 Harte, Bret, 3148.
 Hartford, Conn., 941.
 Hartman, C. V., 300.
 Hartmann, Sadakiehi, 3132.
 Hartshorn, W. N., 2736.
 Hartwell, E. M., 2459, 2460.
 Harvard, John, 3079-3081.
 Harvard college library, 3047.
 "Harvard monthly," 2991.
 Harvard university, 2992, 3008-3011, 3018, 3022, 3034.
 Harvesting machine, 2514.
 Harvey, C. M., 378, 878, 1545, 2856.
 Harvie, E. J., 1668.
 Harwich, Mass., 2156.
 Harwood, C. A., 3300.
 Haskell, F. A., 825.
 —, M. W., 3099.

- Haskins family, 2004.
 Hasse, A. R., 21, 22, 729.
 Hastain, E., 210.
 Hastings, Hugh, 521.
 Hatch, D. R., 2444.
 —, I. T., 2578.
 Hatch family, 1933, 1941.
 Hatcher, W. E., 2920.
 —, Mrs. W. E. (V. S. Hatcher), 2109.
 Hatfield, Mass., 1147.
 Hathaway, E. J., 3301, 3302.
 Hatorask, 1253.
 Hatschek, Julius, 2439.
 Hauge Synod's college, 3031.
 Haultain, Arnold, 3337.
 Hauser, J. J., 1322.
 Havana, Cuba, 3494.
 Haverhill, Mass., 2173.
 Haverstraw, N. Y., 1504.
 Hawaiian Islands, 3579-3581; public documents relating to, 65.
 *Hawes, F. M., 1594.
 —, G. E., 464.
 —, G. R., 467.
 —, L. L., 1595.
 Hawks, John, 1629.
 Hawley, Mrs. J. P., 3303.
 —, W. A., 935.
 Hawley family, 1935.
 Haworth, P. L., 1659.
 Hawthorne, Julian, 416a.
 —, Nathaniel, 3148, 3182.
 Hayashi, Count Tadasu, 2299.
 Haydon, A. L., 3304.
 Hayes, C. W., 1063.
 Hayes-Tilden contest, 875, 2368, 2370.
 Hayley, J. W., 2703.
 Haymond, Henry, 1439.
 Haynes, G. H., 1116.
 —, John, 879.
 Hays, H. A., 1077.
 —, H. M., 2071.
 —, W. W., 2626.
 Hayward, W. B., 3482.
 Haywood, M. De L., 2893.
 Hazard, B. E., 647.
 Headlam, Cecil, 77, 450.
 Heard family, 1941, 2045.
 Hearnshaw, F. J. C., 480.
 Hébert-Lambert family, 3265.
 Hebron, Conn., 944.
 Hebron, O., 2174.
 Hecker, E. A., 2494.
 Hedges, Cornelius, 1630.
 —, W. A., 1630.
 Heger, Franz, 144.
 Heiderich, H., 2737.
 Helmbach family, 2034.
 Helbron, J. B. C., 2816.
 Heller, Otto, 3203.
 —, W. J., 2035, 2843.
 Heller family, 2035.
 Hemert-Engert, A. van, 375.
 Henderson, Archibald, 3158.
 —, Leonard, 1631.
 Henius, M., 2550.
 Henkels, S. V., 1632.
 Henley, Barclay, 1874.
 —, L. E., 23, 24.
 Hennepin, Louis, 27, 1165.
 Henni, *Bishop*, 2818.
 Hennighausen, L. P., 1704, 2679.
 Henning, D. C., 1323.
 Henrico co., Va., 2175.
 Henry, Alexander, 2525.
 —, Alexander, Jr., 2522.
 —, Bayard, 2324.
 —, Granville, 2738.
 —, Joseph, 1476.
 "Henry, O." See Porter, Sydney.
 —, Patrick, 1457, 1632.
 —, William, 1633.
 Hensel, W. U., 1324.
 Heraldry, bibliography of, 49.
 Herbein, H. J., 1325.
 Herbermann, C. G., 406.
 Herbert, John, 1634.
 Heriot, George, 3305, 3306.
 —, J. C. A., 3305, 3306.
 Hernández, Pablo, 3549.
 Herndon, W. H., 1705, 1716.
 Herriott, F. I., 1706, 1753, 2377, 2455.
 Herrman, A., 537.
 Hershey, John, 2919.
 Hervé, Georges, 145.
 Hess, Thomas, 2116.
 Hessians, 672.
 Hestermann, P. F., 211.
 Hetherington, Lynn, 3307.
 Heuser, Emil, 531.
 Heverly, C. F., 2021.
 Hewitt, J. H., 2959.
 —, W. C., 2417.
 Hiawatha, 1458.
 Hicks, Elias, 2921.
 —, L. W., 648.
 —, Robert, 2036.
 Hiester, Isaac, 1635.
 Hiester family, 1635.
 Higgins, C. M., 649.
 Higginson, H. L., 2902.
 —, T. W., 2037.
 Higginson family, 2037.
 Highlanders of the South, 916.
 Hildreth, A. B. F., 1636.
 Hilger, David, 397.
 Hilkey, C. J., 498, 2403.
 Hill, B. T., 3011.
 —, F. S., 2259.
 —, F. T., 1882, 1883.
 —, J. W., 1470.
 —, R. T., 905, 2512.
 —, W. H., 1637.
 Hilliard, J. N., 880.
 Hillquit, Morris, 2495.
 Hills, Laura, 3119.
 —, Thomas, 1202.
 Hilton, F. A., 1064.
 Hineckley, M. H., 1144.
 —, Samuel, 2038.
 Hinds, A. C., 2418.
 Hinsdale, B. A., 2951.
 —, E. C., 2960.
 Hinshaw, I. C., 3133.

- Hinton, M. H., 692.
 Hirst, W. A., 3517.
 Historical publications, Canadian, 68, 3409.
 Historiography, 91-109.
 History, Methodology, study and teaching, 91-109;
 sculpture as a factor in, 3108.
 Hitching, F. K., 1917.
 —, S., 1917.
 Hobart, G. A., 1638.
 —, Randal, 2922.
 —, W. W., 2922.
 Hoboken, N. J., 1456.
 Hockett, H. C., 2378.
 Hodge, F. W., 212, 213.
 Hodgins, J. G., 3309, 3310.
 Hodgkin, G. W., 2445.
 Hoe, Robert, 1639.
 Hoeber, Arthur, 3103, 3112.
 Hoes, R. R., 2586.
 Hoffman, Richard, 3218.
 Hog, Peter, 1640.
 Hojeda, A. de, 371.
 Holand, H. R., 146, 152.
 Holden, J. A., 619, 2676.
 Holder, C. F., 1476.
 Holdsworth, J. T., 2628a, 2629.
 Holidays, colonial, 2709.
 Holland land company, 2578.
 Holliday, John, 1352.
 Holliday family, 1352.
 Hollidaysburg, Pa., 1352.
 Hollis, B. P., 2789.
 —, T. B., 496, 3047.
 Holman, F. J., 1299.
 —, F. Van V., 2475.
 —, M. C., 2052.
 Holmes, J. A., 1596, 2682.
 —, J. H., 2717.
 —, J. T., 2039.
 —, O. W., 3183.
 —, W. H., 147, 214.
 Holmes family, 1924, 2039.
 Holzknecht, J. J., 556, 2818, 3311.
 Homans, John, 794.
 Home life insurance company, 2629a.
 Honduras, antiquities of, 276-277.
 Honeyman, A. Van D., 2467.
 Hood's Texas brigade, 870, 871.
 Hooges, A. de, 514.
 Hooker, D. R., 3051a.
 —, Joseph, 1641.
 —, Thomas, 3048a.
 Hoover family, 1931.
 Hopi Indians, 199.
 Hopkins, J. C., 2530, 3313.
 —, R. C., 375.
 Hopkinson, Francis, 1452.
 Hoppe family, 2041.
 Hoppen family, 2041.
 Hopper, H. S., 2041.
 Hopper family, 2040, 2041.
 Hoppin, C. A., 2058, 2059, 2107.
 Hord family, 2045.
 Hornbeck, S. K., 2531.
 Horner, H. H., 893.
 Hornor, W. S., 2426.
 Hosensack, Pa., 2994.
 Hosmer, J. K., 3081.
 Hospitals, of Canada, 3338, 3341.
 Hostetter, A. K., 1337.
 Hostetter family, 2004.
 Hottenstein, M. S., 2532.
 House of representatives, 2418.
 Houser, W. W., 1931.
 Houser family, 1931.
 Houston, Sam, 1475, 1642.
 Hovey, C. E., 991.
 —, Carl, 1756.
 —, H. C., 1117.
 Howard, Bronson, 3184.
 —, F. L., 3314.
 —, V. E., 1643.
 Howay, F. W., 3315.
 Howe, E. F., 936.
 —, F. C., 2496.
 —, J. W., 1644, 1645.
 —, M. A. De W., 722, 1118.
 —, R. H., *Lord*, 559, 638.
 —, *Sir William*, 559, 635, 636, 638.
 Howells, W. D., 3159-3161.
 Howison, G. H., 2961.
 Howland, Robert, 485.
 Hoxie, C. De F., 2468.
 Hoyt, C. O., 2962.
 —, D. W., 1381, 1972, 2007.
 —, E. K., 3436.
 Hrdlička, Aleš, *i. e.*, Alois Ferdinand, 3316.
 Hubbard, G. D., 359, 906.
 —, J. M., 2485.
 —, W. C., 2805.
 Hubbell, G. A., 3093.
 Hubby, R. G., 2063.
 Huch, C. F., 1327, 1677, 1817, 2652, 2683, 2739, 2740,
 2790, 2941.
 Huckel, Oliver, 3197.
 Hudd, A. E., 360.
 Hudson, Henry, 355, 356, 1065.
 Hudson Bay, 367; French on, 3357.
 Hudson Bay region, 3333.
 Hudson-Fulton celebration, 1217, 1226, 1228.
 Hudson river, 355, 396.
 Hudson river valley, 259, 1224.
 Hudson's Bay company, 367, 3357, 3359.
 Hühner, Leon, 2741, 2742.
 Hughes, John, 2923.
 —, S. P., 148.
 —, T. A., 2819.
 Hugolin, R. P., 3317-3319.
 Huguenot pioneers in New York, 1230.
 Huguenots, 2722, 2733, 2837; in Berks co., Pa., 1373.
 Huidekoper, F. L., 1646.
 —, F. W., 1646.
 Hulbert, A. B., 269, 651.
 Hull, Isaac, 2278.
 Hull family, 2042.
 Hull, Que., 3325, 3368.
 Hull house, Chicago, 2712.
 Hulth, J. M., 25.
 Human sacrifices, 124.
 Humboldt, Alexander, 3460.
 Hume, Martin, 3517.
 Hungarians, in the U. S., 2726.
 Hungerford family, 2043.

- Hunt, C. E., 795.
 —, F. A., 881, 1514.
 —, Gaillard, 598, 699, 734, 952, 2420.
 —, H. E., 2300, 2301.
 Hunter, "Bill," 1187.
 Huntington, A. T., 2630.
 —, W. R., 1647.
 Hunting, T. D., 2044.
 Huntting family, 2044.
 Huot, Antonio, 3320.
 Hurd, D. D., 2045.
 —, M. F., 2573.
 Hurd family, 2045.
 Hurlburt, R. F., 3091.
 Hurley, M. K., 1683.
 —, Michael, 2820.
 Hussey family, 2046.
 Hutchinson, Anderson, 1410.
 —, Anne, 1648.
 —, J. R., 1918, 1939.
 —, *Gov.* Thomas, 1104, 1649.
 Hutson, C. W., 3013.
 Hutton, A. J. W., 2404.
 Hyde, C. C., 2302.
- Iberville, P. Le M. d'. *See* Le Moyne d'Iberville, P.
 Icarian community, 2500.
 Idaho, Indian campaign in, 2258; local history, 964-966.
 Idols, 317.
 Ile-aux-Oeufs, 3319.
 Illinois, agricultural organization in, 2508; antiquities of, 174, 182; archaeology of, 127-128; constitution of, 2449; early history of, 26; judicial elections in, 2448; local history, 967-1004; pioneer congregational ministers in, 2831; the pioneer preacher in, 2782; politics and government of, 2447-2451; Supreme court of, 2446.
 Illinois country, 553, 557, 613; Great Britain and, 1763-1774, 625.
 Illinois state normal school, 991.
 Immigration, 2732, 2737, 2756, 2759, 2769; German, in Pennsylvania, 1355; in the South, 904. *See also* Population and race elements.
 Imperial Valley, Cal., 936.
 "The Imperialist," 882.
 Implements, aboriginal, 119, 121-122, 156, 162.
 Improvements, 504.
 Incas of Peru, 3558-3560.
 Income tax, 2352.
 Independence, Mo., 2871.
 Independence day, 724. *See also* Fourth of July.
 Independent treasury, 2633.
 Indian affairs, 1766-1769, 613; in Kentucky, 1812, 1054; in Michigan territory, 1157.
 Indian attack, on Fort Dunlap, 719; on Portland, Me., 1066.
 Indian campaigns of 1864-1865, 783.
 Indian charity school, 3002, 3045-3046a.
 "Indian King," the, 1211.
 Indian languages, 305.
 Indian massacres, at Spirit Lake, Iowa, 736; in Berks co., Pa., 1316. *See also* Gnadenhütten massacre, and Wyoming massacre.
- Indian treaties, 97.
 Indian uprising, in Minnesota, 1862, 1160.
 Indian wars, 880, 881, 885, 886, 1293, 2246, 2253, 2254, 2258, 2262, 2266, 2279, 2280; 1783-1816, 696; in Kansas, 1032; in Massachusetts, 501, 1151; in Mexico, 3457; of New England, 255.
 Indiana, antiquities of, 178; Christian church in, 2827; earliest school journal in, 2977; first Sunday-school convention in, 2784; local history, 1005-1018; local history, bibliography of, 7, 23; public charities and correction in, 2718; public documents of, 79; town and city histories of, 24; underground railroad in, 740.
 Indiana state normal school, 3095.
 Indianapolis, Ind., 1007.
 Indians, 188-269; and the American revolution, 653; at Lapointe Island, Lake Superior, 1855, 732; at Poplar River agency, 1880, 881; campaign against, 1790, 723; captivity among, 1050; commission to, 1783, 623; education of, 2951; in Lehigh co., Pa., 1307; in the Civil war, 748; mission to, 1772-1773, 3045; Mormon mission to, 1830-1831, 2868; Northwest American, 3404; of Brazil, 302, 337; of Central America, 327; of Mexico, 280; of Nantucket, Mass., 1155; of North Dakota, 175; of South America, 315, 3547; of the Canadian Northwest, 3352; of the Rocky Mountains, 399; of Virginia, 1428; Presbyterian mission among, 1195; public documents relating to, 59; relations with the Dutch, prior to 1655, 512; schools among, 3310; treaty with, 1664, 526; treaty with, 1744, 545; Wisconsin, 2818. *See also* Aborigines, and under tribal names.
 Industrial education, 2951.
 Industrial history, 2518-2554; in the North, during Civil war, 790; of the Red River valley, 2521.
 Industrial society, American, 2492.
 Industry, French, in the Illinois country, 557; pioneer, in the West, 558; women in, 67; 2647.
 Ingersoll, R. G., 1650.
 Ingham, S. D., 1651.
 —, W. A., 1651.
 Ingraham, *Professor*, 1066.
 Ingram, J. H., 3198.
 Initiative, in Oregon, 2475.
 Inland waterways, 2574.
 Inquisition, the, 3424; in Mexico, 3438.
 Insurance, life, 2629a.
 Insurance supervision, in New York, 2470.
 Insurgent movement, 2391.
 Intercollegiate peace association, 2973.
 Internal improvements, 2567; in the West, 718. *See also* Public works.
 International law, 2281, 2285, 2301, 2302, 3412.
 Intihuatana, 341.
 Inventors, 1488.
 Iowa, antiquities of, 165, 181; county judge system of, 2454; government and administration, 2452-2456; local history, 1019-1027; republican state convention, 1860, 2455; soldiers in the Civil war, 784, 862; the Union Pacific and its relation to, 2573.
 Iowa, State university of, 3014.
 Ipswich, Mass., 1142, 2176.
 Irish, J. P., 3014.

- Irish, contributions of, to early American history, 2762; in America, 2749; in New Hampshire, 2728; in Protestant denominations, 2758; in Rhode Island, 2731; in St. Louis, Mo., 2750; in the province of New York, 521; in the Revolution, 607, 663; in the U. S., 2761; in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 2752; pioneers, in Springfield, Mass., 1119; share of, in the Hudson-Fulton celebration, 1217.
- Irish regiment, in the battle of Carillon, 456.
- Iron industry, 2518.
- Iroquois Indians, 160, 239, 246, 522.
- Iroquois silversmithing, 161.
- Irvin, Thomas, 723.
- Irvine, A. F., 1652.
- Irving, Leslie, 468.
- , Washington, 398, 3136, 3149.
- Isle aux Oies, Quebec, 3270.
- Isthmian canal, 3462.
- Italian immigration, 2753.
- Ives, L. S., 2893.
- Ivins, A. W., 215, 568.
- Jackman, W. J., 2579.
- Jackson, Andrew, 1458, 1653, 1654, 2344, 2380.
- , C. C., 907.
- , Henry, 1602.
- , Joseph, 216.
- , L. F., 217, 443.
- , "Stonewall," 768, 815, 859, 1655, 1656.
- Jackson co., Ia., 1022a.
- Jackson co., Ill., 988.
- Jacksonborough, S. C., 1387.
- Jacobs, Joseph, 1625.
- Jacobus, M. W., 945.
- Jahr, T. K. T., 1329.
- Jamaica, 3485.
- James, E. J., 1000a, 2779a, 2951, 2963.
- , G. W., 937, 1474.
- , H. G., 2449.
- , Henry, 3185.
- , J. A., 652-655.
- , William, 3082-3090.
- James river, 396.
- Jameson, J. F., 20, 69, 84, 100, 101, 476, 500.
- Jamieson, M., 3321.
- Janeway, W. R., 2047.
- Janeway family, 2047.
- Jansz, Bastiaen, 519.
- Japan, American embassy in Tokyo, 2291; Perry expedition to, 2310, 2333; relations of the U. S. with, 2299.
- Japanese embassy of 1860, 2288.
- Japanese visitors, to Reading, Pa., 1359.
- Jarrell, Myrtis, 3194.
- Jay, Allen, 1657.
- Jayne, H. W., 1653.
- Jeancon, J. A., 149, 218.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 1632, 1659-1661, 2344.
- Jefferson co., Miss., 1172.
- Jefferson co., N. Y., 2195.
- Jefferson co., O., 1281.
- Jemison, Mary, 1662.
- Jenkins, J. H., 3219.
- , Stephen, 1227.
- , W. C., 2533, 2580.
- Jenks, Tudor, 417.
- Jenney family, 1941.
- Jennings, G. B., 1023a.
- , Janet, 796.
- Jersey City, N. J., 1208, 1209, 1456, 2581.
- Jessup, H. H., 2924.
- Jesuits, in North America, 2819; in Paraguay, 3549.
- Jesup, M. K., 1663.
- Jewell, L. R., 863.
- Jewett, H. L., 2048.
- Jewett family, 2048.
- Jews, 2751; and masonry, 2689; in Jamaica, 3485; in Philadelphia, 2763; in the U. S., 2741, 2742; of Baltimore, 1075; of Barbados, 3481; who were grand masters of Masons, 2677.
- John, J. J., 1330.
- "John Brown's body," song, 3214, 3219.
- Johns, Clayton, 3216.
- Johns Hopkins university, 3034.
- Johnson, A. E. H., 1834.
- , Allen, 2631.
- , Amandus, 534.
- , Andrew, 1664.
- , B. N., 1120.
- , E. B., 3015.
- , E. S., 1707.
- , Edward, 500.
- , F. C., 2925.
- , G. M. T., 2049.
- , J. A., 1665, 1666.
- , Jacob, 2925.
- , L. F., 1051.
- , M. C., 1558.
- , M. N., 1667.
- , Merle, 28.
- , R. U., 3181.
- , Rossiter, *i. e.* E. R., 798.
- , Timothy, 1130.
- Johnson family, 2049.
- Johnson co., Kan., 2603.
- Johnson's Wonder-working providence, 500.
- Johnston, Alexander, 2379.
- , C. H. L., 1475.
- , Christopher, 1962, 2043, 2050.
- , G. W., 3049a.
- , Sir H. H., 2743.
- , J., 3209.
- , J. E., 1668.
- , L. A., 2838, 2839.
- , William, 1158.
- Johnstone, George, 581.
- Johnstown, O., 2177, 2178.
- Joliette college, 3349.
- Joline, A. H., 1570.
- Jolly, John, 260.
- Jones, A. S., 1331.
- , B. J., 219.
- , C. H., 730.
- , C. O., 3321a.
- , Henry, 3263.
- , J. G., 730.
- , J. H., 1170.
- , John Paul, 590, 1457, 2269, 3417.
- , R. L., 1332.
- , W. C., 3069.
- , W. E., 1410.
- Jones co., Ia., 1019.
- Jordan, D. S., 1476.
- , Francis, 1633.

- Jordan, J. W., 1506.
 José de Augusta, F., 300a.
 Journalism, Canadian, 3399.
 Joy, E. F. S., 799.
 Joyce Junior, 661.
 Judd, J. W., 1492.
 Judicial control, 2437.
 Judicial review, 2398.
 Judicial system, of Georgia, 2446; of New Jersey, 2466.
 Judiciary, 2345, 2458.
 Judson, K. B., 30.
 Juliá, Joaquín, 3455.
 Jumano Indians, 213.
 Junge, F. E., 2497.
 Junior republic, 2715, 2716, 2720.
 Jury system, of Cook co., Ill., 2450.
 Juvenile court of Chicago, 2488.
- Kain, C. H., 656.
 Kaiser, P. H., 1708.
 Kalaw, T. M., 3582a.
 Kalb, *Maj.-Gen.* Johann, 574.
 Kallen, H. M., 3087.
 Kalorama, Washington, D. C., 951.
 Kansas, antiquities of, 115, 157, 166; cavalry in the Civil war, 863, 864; Indians of, 245; local history, 1028-1048; manufactures in, 2523; Russians in, 2744; the Santa Fe trail in, 2603; school system of, 2981.
 Kansas City, Kan., 1036.
 Kansas City, Mo., 1179.
 Kansas-Nebraska troubles, 1048.
 Kaskaskia, Ill., 980.
 Kaufmann, Wilhelm, 800, 1477.
 "Kearsarge," the, 827.
 Keating, W. H., 1850.
 Kebbe, J. A., 1500.
 Keeling, H. C., 220.
 Kehoe, M. P., 1078.
 Keifer, *Gen.* J. W., 714.
 Keith, C. P., 1333, 2885.
 Keller, A. G., 1847, 1848, 3100.
 Kellogg, L. P., 1446.
 Kelly's Ford, battle of, 760.
 Kelsey, D. M., 361.
 —, R. W., 2303, 3448.
 Kemmerer, E. W., 31.
 Kemper, Jackson, 2887.
 Kennedy, J. S., 1669.
 —, S. R., 3051.
 Kensal, No. Dak., 1274.
 Kensington rune stone, 117, 136, 146, 150a, 152, 180.
 Kent, H. O., 1670.
 Kenton, Simon, 1475.
 Kentucky, antiquities of, 142, 172; banking in, 2627; economic history, bibliography, 22; in fiction, 3144; local history, 1049-1057; prehistoric men of, 187.
 Kerner, R. J., 777.
 Kerr, Hamilton, 1671.
 —, J. M., 1671.
 —, J. W., 2719.
 —, R. F., 1393.
 Kershaw, W. L., 1023a.
 Kessler, D. E., 938.
 Ketchum, E. S., 2582.
 Key, F. S., 731.
- Key family, 2050.
 Keyser, H. A., 2936.
 Kidder, A. V., 150.
 Kilpatrick, *Gen.* J., 779.
 Kimble, June, 801.
 Kindergarten education, 2951.
 King, C. L., 2981.
 —, Charles, 3186.
 —, J. L., 2632.
 —, S. A., 1333a.
 —, W. F., 3091.
 King family, 2051.
 King George co., Va., 2179.
 King Philip's war, 255.
 King's Mountain, battle of, 630, 675.
 Kings co., Nova Scotia, 3273.
 Kings college, 3005.
 Kingsburg, F. J., 469.
 Kingsford, G. E., 301.
 Kingsley, Elbridge, 1092.
 Kinley, David, 2633.
 Kinnaman, J. O., 221.
 Kinsman, *Rt. Rev.* F. J., 948.
 Kinzie, John, 1672.
 Kirchwey, G. W., 3058.
 Kirkland, J. H., 3016.
 Kirkwood, Robert, 575.
 Klamath Lake Indians, 190.
 Kline, J. J., 2844.
 —, M. N., 1673.
 Klondike, Alaska, 922.
 Knapp, E. B., "*Mrs.* S. Knapp," 1674.
 —, H. S., 2304.
 —, S. R., 1580, 1856.
 Knappen, T. M., 1665, 1666.
 Knauff, Ernest, 3128.
 Knight, B. T., 724.
 Knights of Pythias, 2693.
 Knights of St. Crispin, 2653.
 Knowlton, Que., 3280.
 Knowlton academy, 3280.
 Koati Island, 273.
 Kobbé, Gustav, 1228, 3125.
 Koch-Grünberg, Theodor, 302.
 Koebel, W. H., 3518.
 Kollmann, J., 222.
 Kolusches, 113.
 Koons, G. J., 988.
 Kosciuszko, *Gen.* Thaddeus, 1675.
 Kossuth, Louis, 1676.
 Krafft, H. F., 2250.
 Krauss, F. A., 1334.
 Krauth, C. P., 2926.
 Krick, T. H., 1335.
 Kriebel, George 628.
 —, H. W., 2774.
 Kroeber, A. L., 223, 224.
 Kuder, C. F., 2841.
 Künzel, F. W., 1677.
 Kuhns, Oscar, 2180.
 Kundeck, Joseph, 1017.
 Kutztown, Pa., 3003.
- La Balm, A. M. de, 1678.
 Labor, 2647-2659.
 Labor conspiracy cases, 2492.
 Labor movement, 1820-1880, 2492.
 Labor unions, 2657. *See also* Trade unions.

- Labrador, 3289, 3371; aborigines of, 368.
 Lacey, Nannie, 1171.
 Laclède, P. L., 1186.
 Ladrón de Guevara, D., 3437.
 La Farge, John, 3120, 3121.
 Lafayette, *Marquis* de, 574.
 La Follette, R. M., 1467.
 Lafone Quevedo, S. A., 303.
 Laing, F. S., 1038, 2744.
 Lake Champlain. *See* Champlain, Lake.
 Lake co., Cal., 112.
 Lake co., Ind., 1013, 1015.
 Lake Erie, battle of, 706, 714, 715.
 Lake Erie college, 3017.
 Lake George, 912.
 Lake Nipigon, 349.
 Lake Superior, 349.
 Lalement, Charles, 2892.
 —, G., 2892.
 —, Jerome, 2892.
 Lambert, *Father*, 2927.
 Lambton co., Ont., 3263.
 Lamon, J. C., 1679.
 Lamprey, L., 1229.
 Lancaster, Pa., 545, 1315, 1324, 1363.
 Lancaster co., Pa., 1311, 1317, 1318, 1336, 1337, 2180.
 Lancaster co., Va., 2181.
 Lancaster convention of 1776, 633.
 Lancaster county historical society, 1336, 1337.
 Land, 2504-2517; great fortunes from, 2636; Maryland, 536, 538; of Dartmouth, Mass., 1102; of Nantucket, Mass., 1155.
 Land banks, 73, 2612, 2614, 2617, 2619.
 Land grant act of 1862, 2963.
 Land grants, military, 2263, 2264.
 Land system, national, 697.
 Land treaties, Sioux, 217, 443.
 Landis, D. H., 1338.
 Lands, public, 60, 258, 905, 2506, 2511, 2512, 2516, 2572; in Ohio, 441; in Oregon, 1304; in South Carolina, 551; in Texas, 1409; of the West, 718.
 Lane, E. C., 1023a.
 —, Job, 1679a.
 —, W. C., 3018.
 Lang, Christian, 1339.
 —, L. J., 1785.
 Langborn family, 1932.
 Langdon, Samuel, 2664.
 Langford, John, 537.
 Langton, H. H., 68, 3409.
 Language, Yaghan, 288.
 Languages, Indian, 197, 201, 209, 211, 224, 234, 241, 303, 305.
 Langworthy, Edward, 1025.
 —, L. H., 1025.
 —, S. M., 1025.
 Langworthy family, 1025.
 Lanier family, 1929.
 Lansden, J. M., 989.
 Lansing, M. F., 1121, 1750.
 —, Robert, 2305.
 Lapham, J. A., 882.
 Lapp, J. A., 79.
 Laprade, W. T., 2826.
 Lardner, Lynford, 1365.
 Larkin, T. O., 2303.
 Larocque, F. A., 399, 3322.
 La Roncière, C. de, 361a-362.
 Larrabee, W. H., 2951.
 Larsen, K. H. E., 2745.
 La Salle, R. C., *steur* de, 383, 1458.
 Lasch, Richard, 304.
 Latham family, 2052.
 Latin America, 2282, 2311, 3412-3577. *See also* Pan-American movement.
 Laurier, *Sir* Wilfrid, 3323.
 Laurvik, J. N., 3113, 3116, 3123.
 Laux, J. B., 1340, 1501.
 Lavalley, J. A., 3556, 3557.
 Law, C. B., 850.
 Law, 2396-2411; Canadian statute, 3272; French, in Quebec, 3363a; in colonial Massachusetts, 498; in Georgia, 961; in Medford, Mass., 1148; in Virginia, in the 17th century, 544; race distinctions in, 2357.
 Law schools, 3009a, 3014.
 Lawless, J. T., 1755.
 Lawrence, Arthur, 1905.
 —, J. S., 1933.
 Lawrence family, 1926.
 Lawrence co., Miss., 1172.
 Laws, United States, concerning banking, 2630.
See also Legislation.
 Lawson, P. V., 2534.
 Lawyers, of Kentucky, 1453.
 Lay, G. C., 1341, 1415.
 Lea, H. C., 1680.
 —, J. H., 1918.
 Leach, J. G., 1832, 1934.
 —, Orlando, 3047a.
 League of American municipalities, 2486.
 Leake co., Miss., 1171.
 Learned, H. B., 2421.
 —, M. D., 533.
 Leavitt, E. W., 1926, 2115.
 Lebanon, Conn., 3002, 3045-3046a.
 Lebanon, N. H., 1202.
 Lebanon co., Pa., 2777.
 Lechford, *Sir* Richard, 540.
 Le Clercq, Chrétien, 363, 3324.
 Lecompton, Kan., 1041.
 Lee, A. S., 1440.
 —, B. F., 2903.
 —, F. B., 2193.
 —, J. T., 32.
 —, R. E., 1457, 1681-1684, 2263.
 —, R. E., *jr.*, 1887.
 —, T. Z., 1762.
 Lee, Mass., 1149, 2182.
 Lee's corps, 765.
 Leech, Samuel, 710.
 Leeds co., Ont., 3332.
 Lefèvre, Edwin, 956.
 Le Fevre, Ralph, 1230.
 Leffler family, 1924.
 Leffmann, Henry, 657.
 Lefler, Grace, 80.
 Legendre, Napoléon, 3366.
 Legends, colonial, 446; Indian, 253. *See also* Myths.
 Legislation, 2409; commercial, before 1789, 2527; labor, 2648, 2649; 1907-1908, review of, 2440.
 Legislature, of Missouri, 1180.
 Legislatures, state, 2442.

- Lehigh co., Pa., 1307.
 Lehigh river, 2567.
 Lehigh valley, 1374, 1376.
 Lehmann, Walter, 305, 306.
 Lehmann-Nitsche, Robert, 307.
 Leland, W. G., 1052.
 Leland Stanford junior university, 3034.
 Lelievre, A. B., 3325.
 Le Moine de Bienville, J. P., 1685.
 Le Moine d' Iverville, P., 555, 3362.
 L'Enfant, P. C., 1686.
 Leonard, J. C., 1687.
 —, J. W., 1231.
 Leonhardt, V., 1687.
 Lescoghier, D. D., 2653.
 Leslie, P. H., 1688.
 Lester, C. B., 2440.
 Letchworth, W. P., 1689.
 Leupp, F. E., 225, 1793.
 Levasseur, Émile, 3326, 3476.
 Levis, H. C., 33.
 Levy, L. E., 1658.
 Lewes, Delaware, 948.
 Lewis, C. M., 1342.
 —, E. D., 426.
 —, G. H., 2054.
 —, H. M., 2053.
 —, Ida, 1690.
 —, Meriwether, 722, 1475.
 —, V. A., 1441, 1510.
 —, W. B., 2380.
 —, W. D., 3059.
 Lewis family, 1937, 2053, 2054.
 Lewis co., N. Y., 2195.
 Lewis and Clark expedition, 9, 390.
 Lewistown, Pa., 869.
 Lexington, Ky., 407.
 Lexington, Mass., 1131.
 Lexington, battle of, 507, 571, 1131.
 Lhande, Pierre, 3505.
 Libby, O. G., 226.
 Libby prison, 848.
 Liberia, 2290; colonization of negroes in, 746.
 Liberty bell, 1380.
 Libraries, 2660-2666.
 Library of Congress, 1923.
 Lichtenstein, Gaston, 1260.
 Licking co., O., 2183, 2184.
 Life and manners, 2694-2711.
 Lillibridge family, 2055.
 Lima, Oliveira, 3534, 3535.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 45, 802, 984, 996, 998, 1457, 1458,
 1470, 1482, 1691-1729, 2056, 2263, 2344.
 —, C. H., 81, 452.
 —, C. Z., 1232, 2469.
 Lincoln family, 2055.
 Lincoln co., Kan., 1032.
 Lincoln co., N. C., 1262.
 Linder, O. A., 150a.
 Lindley, Harlow, 1551.
 Lindner, Theodor, 418.
 Lindsey, Edward, 2349.
 Lingan, J. M., 1730.
 Lingley, C. R., 1427, 2480.
 Linzee, J. W., 658.
 Lippincott, H. M., 2062a.
 —, Isaac, 557, 558, 2535, 2536
 Lisle, C. A., 1023a.
 Literary biography, 1488.
 Literature, biographical and critical, 3148-3213;
 general, 3136-3143; regional, 3144-3147; Spanish
 American, 3420, 3423a.
 Little, Fobes, 485.
 —, J. R., 1042.
 "Little James," the, 417.
 Livermore, L. E., 2805.
 —, T. L., 803, 1582.
 —, W. R., 804.
 Livingston, E. B., 685, 2057.
 —, N. B., 3477.
 —, R. R., 720.
 Livingston family, 685, 2057.
 Llaima, petroglyphs of the, 324.
 Lloyd, David, 1731, 2399.
 —, James, 2058.
 Loans, U. S. laws concerning, 2630.
 Lobingier, C. S., 3583.
 Local government. *See* State and local govern-
 ment.
 Local history, 900-1451.
 Locke, Francis, 1732.
 Lockwood, L. V., 2704.
 Lodge, G. C., 3187.
 —, H. C., 1733.
 Logan, G. E., 862.
 —, James, 532.
 Logan co., Ky., 1050.
 Logan guards, 869.
 London, Ont., 3237.
 Lonergan, T. S., 364.
 Long, H. C., 34.
 —, H. F., 2513, 2583.
 —, John D., 1734.
 Long Island, battle of, 649.
 Long Pond, Vt., 1412, 1414, 1417.
 Longfellow, H. W., 3188.
 Longley, J. W., 3327.
 Loockermans family, 2004.
 Loomis, E. S., 2059.
 —, W., 990.
 Loomis family, 2059.
 Lord, John, 419.
 —, W. W., jr., 805.
 Lorin, Henri, 3425.
 Lotbinière, M. E. G. A. C. de, 3300.
 Louisburg, siege of, 1745, 445, 448, 452.
 Louisiana, local history, 1058, 1059; reconstruction
 in, 876.
 Louisiana purchase, 390, 720, 1355.
 Louisville, Ky., 1053.
 Louverture, Toussaint, 2306.
 Love, N. B. C., 2899.
 —, W. A., 227, 2584.
 Lovett, R. S., 1735.
 Lovejoy, E. P., 991.
 Lovelace, Francis, 523.
 Lovell, *Brig. Gen.* Solomon, 624.
 Lovewell's war, 255.
 Lowell, A. L., 2992.
 Lowndes, Arthur, 2791.
 —, James, 1736.
 Lowry family, 2060.
 Loyal legion. *See* Military order of the loyal
 legion of the United States.

- Loyalist light dragoons, 684.
 Loyalists, 78, 577, 670; of Massachusetts, 609; of New York, 634; United empire, 72, 3240. *See also* Tories.
 Loyd, W. H., 2476.
 Loynes, H. J., 1272.
 Lucas, Robert, 2452.
 Lucas co., O., 1291.
 Luce, S. B., 2260.
 Lucia, Rose, 365.
 Ludington, Arthur, 2405.
 Ludwick, Christopher, 1737.
 Lumpkin, William, 2061.
 Lupati Guelfi, Cesarina, 3519.
 Luquer, T. T. P., 3136.
 Lusk, W. T., 806.
 Lustig, Hugo, 2585.
 Luther, D. D., 228.
 Luther college, 3040.
 Lutherans, 2838-2845.
 Lutz, J. J., 1343, 2847a.
 Lyman, T. B., 2893.
 Lynch, Annie, 2080.
 —, Charles, 1738.
 Lynching, 904.
 Lynn, Mass., 501, 1120, 1152, 2775, 2786.
 Lyon, Mary, 3092.
- Mable, H. W., 3178.
 McAleer, George, 229, 3328, 3328a.
 MacArthur, R. S., 2928.
 McBride, J., 407.
 —, W. D., 3329.
 McCabe, W. G., 807.
 McCall, S. W., 86, 464.
 McCarty, D. G., 1024, 2441.
 MacChesney, N. W., 1709.
 McClellan, C. S., jr., 1233, 3137.
 —, Elisabeth, 2705.
 McClellan's campaign, 1862, 830.
 McClenahan, P. E., 1212.
 McClennan, Elizabeth, 808.
 Maccleur, David, 3045.
 McClintock, J. N., 1637.
 —, Walter, 230.
 McCloskey, John, 2929.
 McClung, Littell, 957.
 McConnell, J. P., 2746.
 McCorkle, George, 1732.
 McCormick, C. H., 2876.
 —, R. H., 2514.
 —, Robert, 2514.
 —, S. B., 3028.
 McCormick theological seminary of the Presbyterian church, 2876.
 McCourt, R. S., 1161.
 McCue, Mrs. J. H., 908.
 McCulloch, D. A., 1640.
 —, Sam, 1475.
 McCully, George, 623.
 MacCurdy, G. G., 308, 309.
 MacDonald, J. A., 3331.
 Macdonald, J. S., 3330.
 MacDonald, William, 1529.
 McDonald papers, 549.
- McDougal, H. C., 1179, 1739.
 McDougall, Marion, 3332.
 Macdowell, Edward, 3220.
 McDowell, J. M., 1344.
 McDuffie, George, 1740.
 McElfresh, W. K., 992.
 McElroy, Crocket, 732.
 —, John, 1710.
 McEntee, J. S., 2586.
 McFarland, D. Y., 2062.
 —, J. F., 1345.
 —, W. M., 1741.
 McFarland family, 2062.
 McGill, Andrew, 2525.
 —, James, 2525.
 M'Grath, P. T., 2307, 3333.
 Machen, A. W., jr., 2350.
 Machias Liberty, state sloop, 642.
 McIlhaney, A. K., 400, 1346.
 McIlwaine, H. R., 548.
 Mack, Mrs. J. T., 1286.
 —, J. W., 3060.
 McKenney, F. D., 2318-2321.
 McKenney family, 1941.
 McKenzie, M., 2930.
 McKim, R. H., 809-810.
 McKinley, William, 1457, 1458, 1470.
 McKinly, John, 576.
 McKinsey, Folger, 1086.
 McKone, W. J., 2461.
 McLachlan, R. W., 3334.
 McLaughlin, A. C., 735.
 —, James, 231.
 MacLay, E. S., 659, 710, 725, 2261.
 —, William, 725.
 Maclean, J. K., 379.
 McLean co., Ill., 127.
 McLene, James, 1742.
 McLoughlin, John, 1743.
 McMaster, J. B., 102, 733.
 MacMechan, Archibald, 3335.
 M'Neel, J. A., 1684.
 McNeil, S. A., 811.
 Macon, Ga., 3021.
 Macon co., Mo., 1178.
 McPike, E. F., 1935, 1936.
 MacTavish, Newton, 3336.
 Macungie, Pa., 1322.
 McVey, F. Le R., 2587.
 McVicker, Mrs. Robert, 1648.
 Madison, James, 699, 734, 2344.
 Madison, N. J., 2975.
 Madison co., Ill., 182, 976.
 Madison C. H., Va., 2842.
 Maduit, Israel, 559.
 "Maduit pamphlets," 638.
 Magazines, New England, 36.
 Magdalena river, 3506.
 Magee, Hattie, 1172.
 Magie, David, 1638.
 Magruder, C. C., jr., 1478.
 Maguire, J. S., 1347.
 Mahan, A. T., 2308.
 Main, A. E., 2805.

- Maine, aboriginal life in, 179; agricultural experiment station of, 2517; at Louisburg in 1745, 445; at Valley Forge, 673; colonial history, 474; documentary history of, 1766-1779, 563; early days of church and state in, 1062; history of, records relating to, 81a; local history, 1060-1073; Revolutionary soldiers of, 690; Universalism in Piscataquis county, 2891.
- "Maine," the, 877.
- Maize, Iroquois uses of, 239.
- Makemie, F., 2931.
- Malden, Mass., 1140a, 1679a.
- Maler, Teobert, 310.
- Malhot, F. V., 1448, 2537.
- Malloy, W. M., 2327.
- Maltby, A. E., 2422.
- Man, prehistoric, in the Argentine Republic, 312; of Kentucky, 187. *See also* Aboriginal America.
- Manabi, Ecuador, 328.
- Managua, Nicaragua, 317.
- Manceron, Robert, 2633a.
- Manchester, N. H., 1199.
- Mandan Indians, 226.
- Mandenhall, T. C., 2951.
- Mangan, J. J., 2775.
- Manhattan Island, 2845.
- Manila, P. I., 3588.
- Manitoba, Can., 153.
- Mann, C. E., 1121a.
- , Conklin, 2381.
- , G. S., 1744, 1759.
- , Horace, 2962, 3093.
- , M. W., 1122-1125, 1827, 2588, 2589.
- Mannhardt, Emil, 993.
- Manring, B. F., 1843.
- Manson family, 2067.
- Manufactory company, 2612, 2619.
- Manufactures, in Kansas, 2523.
- Manuscripts, 69-90; ancient Mexican, 344.
- Mapes, G. E., 2590.
- Maps, illustrating American history, 416; of America, 352; of New England and New York in 1676, 401; of the New world, 1584, 362; of South America, 351. *See also* Cartography.
- Maible, A. R., 3152.
- Marblehead, Mass., 505.
- Marchand, H., 3520.
- Marcosson, I. F., 3144.
- Mardi-gras, the, 919.
- Marie de l'Incarnation, *mère* 3299.
- Mariner family, 1941.
- Markham, *Sir* C. R., 311, 311a, 316, 3558-3560.
- Markland, H. J., 2309.
- Markley school house, 1319.
- Marlborough, Mass., 1090, 1114.
- Marot, Helen, 67.
- Marquis, A. N., 1489.
- Marriages, in Canaan, N. H., 1205. *See also* Regional genealogy, vital records, etc.
- Marriott, Crittenden, 2423.
- , J. A. R., 2424.
- Mars, state ship, 640.
- Marsan, C. A., 3277.
- Marsh, C. W., 994.
- , O. C., 1476.
- Marshall, John, 2344.
- , L. C., 35.
- Marshfield, Mass., 2185.
- Marsland, Alice, 3204.
- Martin, Chester, 3337.
- , Ephraim, 1745.
- , G. H., 501.
- , G. W., 1039, 1040.
- , H. E., 1287.
- , Homer, 3122.
- , Judge, 615.
- , Lawrence, 923.
- , Luther, 700, 1081.
- , P. F., 3449.
- , S. A., 1598.
- , T. A., 1761.
- Martindale, Thomas, 1673.
- Martinez, A. B., 3521.
- , B., 3426, 3427.
- Martinez, G., 3428.
- Martzolf, C. L., 660, 1290, 3020.
- Marvin, W. T. R., 502.
- Maryland, 662; colonial history, 536-542; education in Caroline county, 2987; French troops in, 1782, 567; genealogy, 2186; General assembly, proceedings, 1715-1716, 539; growth of, 1480; local history, 1074-1086; men of mark in, 1480; troops in the French and Indian war, 459.
- Maryland, German society of, 2679.
- Masefield, John, 481.
- Mason, F. R., 2538.
- , Capt. John, 466.
- , T. W., 1618.
- Mason family, 1431.
- Mason and Dixon's line, 1378.
- Masonry. *See* Freemasonry.
- Massachusetts, and New Hampshire boundary controversy, 508; bibliography, 14; colonial history, 476-511, 1155; Constitutional convention of 1853, 2458; currency, colonial, 490-491; currency controversy, 1720-1740, 2620; delegates in Congress, 1800, 2382; genealogy, 2187; heavy artillery, First, 1752; infantry, first, in the Civil war, 754; local history, 1087-1155; militia, in the Civil war, 864a, 865; Pennsylvania and, 1355; paint shops in, 2552; primary elections in, 2459; public records of, 82, 90; public schools in, 2982; referenda in, 2460; regiments, in the Civil war, 818; Revolutionary soldiers of, 687; salt marshes of, 2513; soldiers in the Civil war, 836.
- Massachusetts, Province of, 16, 502a, 2509. *See also* Massachusetts, colonial history.
- Massachusetts Bay colony, 16, 2459.
- Massachusetts historical society, 1623, 2662, 2680.
- Massachusetts House journals, 15.
- Massé, E., 2892.
- Massey, R. J., 3021.
- Masson, Mary, 3338.
- Mather, Cotton, 2665.
- , Richard, 2665.
- Mather family, 2062a, 2665.
- Mathews, E. W., 3339.
- , L. K., 909, 910, 2578, 2829.
- Matiegka, Heinrich, 151.
- Matlack, Timothy, 1746.

- Matlack family, 1746.
 Matthews, Albert, 16, 36, 451, 661-663, 1067, 3022.
 —, Brander, 3179.
 Maud, C. E., 1645.
 Maudslay, A. P., 3442.
 Maury, M. F., 1747.
 Mawhinney, R. J., 2630.
 Maxwell, *Sir* Herbert, 3340.
 —, Hu, 1428.
 May, J. F., 1748, 1521.
 Maya chronology, 313.
 Maya codices, 339.
 Maya language, 293, 294.
 Maya MSS., 336.
 Maya zodiac, 299.
 Maya-Tzental Perez codex, 293, 294.
 Mayas, 279.
 Mayer, A. G., 1495.
 —, Brantz, 1749.
 Mayes, Edward, 2911.
 "Mayflower," the, 481.
 Mayhew mission, 227.
 Mazatec country, 290.
 Mdewakanton Indians, 257.
 Mead, E. D., 2964.
 —, H. R., 37.
 Mead family, 2063.
 Meade, R. P., 1776.
 —, *Bishop* William, 1435.
 Meade claim, 2294.
 Meader, J. R., 2262.
 Meany, E. A., 2351.
 —, E. S., 812.
 Mechlin, Leila, 3105, 3111, 3126.
 Mecklenburg declaration of independence, 614, 615, 617.
 Medford, Mass., 1088, 1100, 1122-1125, 1148, 1150, 2700, 2789.
 Medical education, 2955, 2956.
 Medicine, in ancient Mexico, 295.
 Meehan, T. F., 406, 2821, 2929.
 Meek, Basil, 1288.
 Meeker, Ezra, 392.
 Meekins, L. R., 1480.
 Meese, W. A., 664, 995.
 Meiklejohn, L. M., 3341.
 Meldrim, P. W., 1536.
 Melish, John, 1750.
 Meloney, W. B., 2498.
 Melvin, A. H., 1751.
 —, J. H., 1751.
 —, Samuel, 1751.
 Mendota, Minn., 1161.
 Mennonites, in North Dakota, 1272; in Pennsylvania, 1343, 2847a.
 Mer, Georges, 2425.
 Mercer university, 3021.
 Mercersburg, Pa., 1344.
 Merchant marine, 2540, 2606; documents relating to, 64.
 Merriam, C. H., 232.
 —, G. S., 2916.
 Merrick, S. N., 1481.
 Merrimack Bible society, 1117.
 Merritt, E. L., 996.
 Mesa Verde, ruins of the, 139, 140.
 Mesilla Valley, New Mexico, 1212.
 Messiah craze, 880.
 Metals, precious, 359, 906.
 Metcalf, H. H., 1515.
 Methodist, in Canada, 3379.
 Methodist Episcopal church, 2846-2850; at Urbana, Ill., 979; in North Carolina, 1909.
 Metzler, C. E., 2064.
 Metzler family, 2064.
 Mewan Indians, 232.
 Mexican war, 737, 738, 1441.
 Mexican Zodiac, 299.
 Mexico, 3438-3460, 3463; aboriginal history, 270-345; ancient manuscripts of, 344; antiquities of, 278, 321, 326a, 333, 342-345; religion in, 326.
 Mexico, city of, 342.
 Meyer, H. I. B., 19, 38, 39.
 —, T. P., 2747.
 Meyer family, 2065.
 Meynell, Alice, 2944.
 Miami Indians, 723, 1293.
 Miami purchase, 1294.
 Miami university, 3022a, 3023.
 Miantonomo, 946.
 Michigan, antiquities of, 129; local history, 1156-1159; state and local government of, 2461.
 Mickley, M. F., 1348.
 Micmac Indians, 236.
 Middleborough, Mass., 2188, 2189.
 Middlesex, Ont., 3355.
 Middlesex canal, 2589.
 Middlesex co., Ont., 3308.
 Middlesex co., Va., 2190.
 Middleton, T. C., 2210.
 Middletown, N. Y., 1242a.
 Miguélez, M. F., 3450.
 Miles, N. A., 1752.
 Military affairs, in Kentucky, 1812, 1054.
 Military forces, Virginia, in 1779, 545.
 Military history, 55, 2242-2280, 2293; of Virginia, 17th century, 544. *See also* Army, Militia, and Regimental histories.
 Military operations, on the Delaware, 1777, 656.
 Military order of the loyal legion of the United States, 792, 1711.
 Military organizations. *See* Army, and Regimental histories.
 Military telegraph, 821.
 Militia, Kansas, 1042; of Pennsylvania, 1312, 1332, 1355, 1361; Pennsylvania, in the Revolution, 666. *See also* Regimental histories, Civil war.
 Milk charities, 2719.
 Mill Creek Hundred, 2872.
 Mill Creek tribe, 219.
 Millard, Bailey, 3145.
 Miller, A. L., 10.
 —, Daniel, 1349, 1350, 1519, 2776, 2777, 2888.
 —, E. T., 1399, 1400.
 —, E. W., 1208.
 —, F. T., 1712.
 —, G. C., 1679.
 —, J. L., 1979.
 —, John, 3561.
 —, M. L., 1011.
 —, R. H., 2932.
 —, S. F., 1753.
 —, S. L., 1068.
 —, W. A., 2426.

- Miller, William, 3561.
 Miller family, 2066.
 Million acre tract, 1072.
 Mills, I. N., 1234.
 —, J. C., 2591, 2592, 3342.
 Milton, Mass., 1104, 1126, 1144.
 Milton college, 2805.
 Milton historical society, 1126.
 Miner, W. H., 894.
 Mining industry and finance, 2644.
 Minneapolis, Minn., 1162, 2998.
 Minnesota, government of, 2463; legislature of 1909, 2462; local history, 1160-1166; Protestant Episcopal church in, 2887; state normal school, Winona, 3032.
 Minns, George, 1920.
 Minot, J. C., 1771.
 Minto, John, 1743.
 Mission Creek, Neb., 1042.
 Missions, foreign, 2783, 2792, 2796, 2804, 2805, 2841, 2881; home, 2805; Indian, 227, 248, 1195, 2818, 3045, 3045a; of Texas, 1401.
 Missisquoi, the place-name, 229, 3328, 3369.
 Missisquoi co., Que., 3328a.
 Mississippi, Choctaws of, 258; early trading post in, 555; government of, 2464; local history, 1167-1176.
 Mississippi river, 390-391, 407, 2392.
 Mississippi Valley, 254, 2604.
 Missouri, admission of, 97; antiquities of, 137; Civil war days in, 816; county press of, 2778; gravestone inscriptions in, 2191; in 1861-1862, 751; local history, 1177-1186; Mormon troubles in, 2863, 2866; provisional government of, 2465; public documents of, 80; state publications of, 46; travels in, 398.
 Missouri colonization society, 746.
 Missouri river, 2565.
 Missouri river valley, 184.
 Mitchell, J. P., 3101.
 —, James, 829.
 —, John, 2593.
 —, M. G., 1142.
 —, W. B., 1713.
 —, W. C., 2634.
 Mitchell family, 1941.
 Mixson, F. M., 813.
 Mobile, Ala., 407, 824, 919, 920.
 Mochi, Aldobrandino, 312.
 Modoc Indians, 190.
 Moffat, D. H., 1754.
 Mohawk trail, 2556.
 Mohawk Valley, N. Y., 1219.
 Mohegan Indians, 255.
 Molly Maguires, the, 1358.
 Monasterio, I., 3562.
 Money, 2608-2646; Canadian card, 3334; in Canada, 3394; paper, 2616. *See also* Currency and Finance.
 Monjas, A., 3540, 3541.
 Monnette, O. E., 2042, 2117.
 Mononganela, battle of the, 464.
 Monongahela Valley, 1378.
 Monroe co., Ind., 1018.
 Monroe co., Miss., 1168, 1174.
 Monroe doctrine, 2336.
 Monson family, 2067.
 Monson, Me., 3041.
 Montague, Mass., 1134.
 Montana, 399; Indian councils in, 238; local history, 1187-1191.
 Montcalm, L. J., *Marquis de*, 456, 457, 3246, 3247.
 Montgomery, D. H., 434.
 —, H. B., 2792.
 —, Henry, 153, 154.
 —, M. L., 666, 814.
 Montgomery co., O., 1282.
 Montgomery co., Pa., 1319.
 Montgomery institute, 3039.
 Montmagny, C. J. H. de, 3395.
 Montreal, Can., 3277.
 Moody, D. L., 2933.
 —, James, 670.
 —, John, 2635.
 Moore, C. B., 155.
 —, E. A., 815.
 —, E. E., 1012.
 —, Ely, *jr.*, 1041.
 —, J. B., 769, 2366.
 —, John, 577.
 —, R. L., 997.
 —, W. W., 2876.
 Moore's Corner battle, 1837, 3321a.
 Moorehead, W. K., 156.
 Moores, C. W., 1714.
 Moosehead Lake, Me., 1069.
 Moran, T. F., 439.
 Moravian church, Bethel, Pa., 1350.
 Moravian mission, 1215.
 Moravians, 2851; in Berks co., Pa., 1349; in North Carolina, 1255.
 Morehouse, G. F., 157.
 —, H. L., 3451.
 Morga, A. de, 3584.
 Morgan, Daniel, 1755.
 —, Forrest, 943.
 —, George, 1539.
 —, J. D., 1686.
 —, J. P., 1756, 2635.
 —, John, 797.
 —, R. P., 1691.
 Morgan co., Ill., 992.
 Morgan raid, 1863, 797.
 Morice, A. G., 233, 234, 3343, 3344.
 Morillo, Pablo, 3542.
 Morison, J. L., 3345.
 Morley, E. W., 1617.
 —, S. G., 158, 313, 314.
 Mormon church, 1244.
 Mormons, 168, 2852-2871.
 Morrill, James S., 1758.
 —, Justin S., 1757, 1758.
 Morrill family, 2068.
 Morrill act, 2963.
 Morris, Charles, 1799.
 —, Gouverneur, 1759.
 —, Robert, 1369, 1760.
 Morrison, A. J., 1814.
 —, G. A., *jr.*, 1669, 2051.
 —, G. B., 2951.
 Morrow, D. W., 2352.
 Morse, Ethel, 1384.
 —, S. F. B., 1458, 1761.
 Morton, Charles, 816.
 —, J. C., 235.
 —, O. F., 1442.
 Morton family, 1929.

- Mosby, J. S., 810, 817.
 Moses, Bernard, 3429, 3430.
 —, M. J., 3146.
 —, W. E., 793.
 Die Mosheimische Gesellschaft, 2683.
 Mosquito Territory, 3461.
 Motley, J. L., 3189.
 Motul de San José, 310.
 Moulton, L. C., 3190.
 Mound Bayou, Miss., 2764.
 Mound builders, 187, 188, 206.
 Mounds, aboriginal, in Illinois, 128; in Indiana, 178;
 in Iowa, 165; in North Carolina, 163; in Wisconsin,
 118.
 Mount Delight, Pa., 1344.
 Mt. Holyoke college, 3092.
 Mount Vernon, Va., 1422, 1430.
 Mount Vernon ladies' association of the Union,
 1422, 1430.
 Mountaineers, Southern, 916.
 Mountz, S. M., 2000.
 Moura, I. B. de, 315.
 Moury, G., 3198.
 Mowat, *Capt. Henry*, 624.
 Mowry, D. E., 2383.
 —, Duane, 998, 1509, 1585, 2384.
 Moyer, M. R., 1833.
 Mozans, H. J., 3506.
 Mudge, James, 2847b.
 Müller, Wilhelm, 2965.
 Mufson, Thomas, 3210.
 Muhlenberg, J. P. G., 578.
 Muhlenberg family, 2069, 2070.
 Muirheid, W. G., 1209.
 Mulholland, St. Clair A., 1762.
 Mumford, J. K., 1591.
 Municipal government, 2483-2489; bibliography of,
 51; in Porto Rico, 3501.
 Munro, James, 76, 449.
 —, W. B., 3346.
 —, W. H., 1382.
 Munsee Indians, 245.
 Munson, L. E., 1763.
 —, E. L., 1763.
 —, M. A., 2067.
 Munson family, 2067.
 Murdoch, John, 380.
 —, V., 1467.
 Muriel, Domingo, 3549.
 Murphy, E. Van D., 999.
 —, H. S., 2748.
 Murray, A. H., 3347.
 —, James, 566.
 —, John, 1764.
 Music, 3214-3220; of the Chippewas, 196; sacred,
 2814; teaching of, in public schools, 2984.
 Musical society, in Philadelphia, 1339.
 Muskingum river, 1296.
 Musser, A. M., 1765.
 Muster rolls, Revolutionary, 684.
 Muus, B. J., 2934.
 Myers, Gustavus, 2636.
 Myers family, 2071.
 Myrand, Ernest, 366.
 Mystic river, 2588.
 Mythology, Mexican, 336; of the Guarayos, 325.
 Myths, of the Hopl Indians, 199; of the Mewan
 Indians, 232; of the Yana Indians, 249. *See also*
 Folk-lore, and Legends.
 Naff, J. H., 1082.
 Names, 360, 1067, 1189; of New Hampshire towns,
 1200; of Oregon counties, 1299; Pennsylvania
 county, 1355; place, in Groveland, Mass., 1132;
 place, in the Thousand Islands, 3405.
 "Nancy," the schooner, 3259.
 Nanticoke manor, 1081.
 Nantucket, Mass., 1142, 1154, 1155.
 Nantucket insurrection, 1673-1680, 1155.
 Napanee, Ont., 3255, 3303.
 Nash, Francis, 1261.
 —, Frank, 1618.
 Nashville, Tenn., 729, 766.
 Nashville, Confederate steamer, 858.
 Nason, G. W., 813, 865.
 Natchez trace, 2602.
 Natick, Mass., 1121a, 2192.
 National bank, 2628.
 National bank currency, 2639.
 National bank of the Northern liberties, Phila.,
 2640.
 National banking system, 2608, 2618, 2641, 2642.
 National banks, 2637.
 National city bank of New York, 2637.
 National government, cost of, 2624; powers of the,
 2358.
 National government and administration, 2412-
 2436.
 National guard of Pennsylvania, 1312.
 National land system, 2511, 2516.
 Nauvoo, Ill., 2500, 2855, 2859, 2860, 2864, 2865, 2869.
 Navaho language, 200.
 Naval campaign of 1898, 890.
 Naval operations, in 1777, 656.
 Naval strategy of the Revolution, 606.
 Navarro, M., 211.
 Navigation, in international law, 2302; of the Mis-
 souri river, 2565; on the Great Lakes, 2591; river,
 2567.
 Navy, history of the, 782, 2242-2280; in the Civil
 war, 852.
 Nazareth Hall, 3007.
 Nead, B. M., 1562, 1742.
 Neal, Elma, 1401.
 —, Frederick, 3348.
 Neale, Walter, 2353.
 Near, I. W., 2386.
 Nebraska, antiquities of, 141, 176; local history,
 1192-1197.
 Nebraska-Kansas troubles, 1048.
 Negroes, 904, 2736, 2743, 2746, 2748, 2764, 2767; colo-
 nization of, 746; education of, 2951; soldiers, in
 U. S. army, 2243; suffrage, 2348. *See also* Race
 problem.
 Neill, A., 1410.
 Nelson, N. C., 159.
 —, T. F., 1429.
 —, William, 2194, 2793.
 Nervo, Amado, 3452.
 Nestler, Julius, 316, 317.
 Neville family, 2672.
 New Bedford, Mass., 1102.

- New Britain, Conn., 941.
 New Brunswick, N. J., 3033.
 New England, antiquities of, 900; churches of, 2378; civil polity of, 2364; colonial history, 466-473; early grammar schools of, 3012; founding of, 481; French Canadians in, 2725; history of, 472, 500; in 1676, 401; Indian wars of, 255; Scotch-Irish in, 2730; Unitarianism in, 2889.
 New England conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, 2847b.
 New England historic genealogical society, 2670, 2686.
 New England magazines, 36.
 New England society of Cleveland and the Western Reserve, 2687.
 New England soldiers, 6.
 New France, 3268, 3285, 3311.
 New Grenada, 3507.
 New Hampshire, and Massachusetts boundary controversy, 508; Irish settlers in, 2728; local history, 1198-1205; province of, administration of justice in, 475; relations with Massachusetts, 1732-1749, 510; Revolutionary archives of, 71; Revolutionary soldiers of, 678.
 New Hampshire's daughters, 1203.
 New Hanover, Pa., 2844.
 New Haven, Conn., 947, 3012.
 New Jersey, 662; biographical cyclopedia of, 1455; campaign in, 1777, 575; child labor policy of, 2650; genealogical history of, 2193, 2194; Indians of, 251; infantry, in the Civil war, 819; judicial system of, 2466; local history, 1206-1211; religious liberty, 2793; Seventh Day Baptists in, 2805; statutes of, 2467.
 New Madrid, Mo., 914.
 New Madrid earthquake, 914.
 New Mexico, antiquities of, 149; local history, 1212, 1213; ruins in, 218; travels in, from 1853 to 1858, 405.
 New Netherland, 525, 529; Dutch records of, 88. *See also* New York (State), colonial history.
 New Paltz, N. Y., 1230.
 New Paltz patent, 527.
 New Spain, 568, 3442.
 New Utrecht, N. Y., 1220.
 New Windsor, N. Y., 650, 674.
 New York (City), 1218, 2581; City hall park, 1214, 1223; colonial history, 524; Franklin savings bank, 2625; Germans in, 1235; history of, 1231; Home life insurance company, 2629a; Lutheran church in, 2845; municipal government of, 2489; rapid transit routes in, 2595.
 New York (State), 662; canal construction in, 2594; colonial history, 88, 512-529; Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies, 1778-1781, 579; counties of, 1247; genealogical history of, 2195; government of, 2468; governors of, 1232, 2469; in 1676, 401; industrial development in, 2544; inland navigation of, 2578; Insurance department of, 2470; laws of, relating to the Civil war, 757; local history, 1214-1252; militia, 2255; politics of, 1830-1833, 2375; public records of, 83; relation of, to historical scholarship, 1238; the safety fund banking system in, 2621.
 New York Bible and Common Prayer Book society, 2791.
 Newark, N. J., 2487.
 Newburgh, Ont., 3225.
 Newbury, Mass., 1107.
 Newburyport and Danvers railroad, 2583.
 Newcomb, F. W. D., 1875.
 —, John, 1481.
 —, Simon, 1481, 1766, 1767.
 Newell family, 2053.
 Newfoundland, 3286, 3403; early voyages to, 354.
 Newmarket, N. H., 2196.
 Newport, R. I., 2197.
 "News from the moon," 11.
 Newspapers, German, in Pennsylvania, 2777; German, in the U. S., 2770; in the library of the State historical society of Missouri, 40; in Pennsylvania, 2779; of Illinois, 2779a; of Lynn, Mass., 2775.
 Newton, J. F., 1715, 1716.
 —, W. W., 2886.
 Newton co., Miss., 1176.
 Nez Perce war, 2279, 2280.
 Niagara, N. Y., 2578.
 Niagara Falls, 408.
 Niagara frontier, 3260.
 Niagara Peninsula, 3243.
 Nicaragua, revolution of, 3464.
 Nicholas, Anna, 2515.
 —, R. C., 2638.
 Nichols, I. C., 1173.
 Nicholson, John, 1768.
 Nicolet, Jean, 373.
 Nicolle, J. N., 390.
 Nicum, John, 2845.
 Nida, W. L., 1000.
 Niebaum, Gustave, 372.
 Niverville, J. B. de, 3393.
 Nixon, Alfred, 1262.
 —, Lewis, 2539, 2540.
 Nixonton, N. C., 1266.
 Nobleboro, Me., 2198.
 Noblesville, Ind., 1009.
 Noel, E. F., 1813.
 Non-importation act, 582, 2545.
 Non-intercourse act, 2545.
 "Nonpareil," log of the, 883.
 Non-suability, of the state, 2432.
 Nordenskiöld, Erland, 318-320.
 Norfolk, Conn., 2199.
 Norfolk co., Mass., 1128.
 Norfolk co., Va., 2200.
 Norris, G. W., 1467.
 —, W. B., 2947.
 Norse discovery of America, 353, 372.
 North, A. W., 3453.
 North, the, during the Civil war, 790.
 North Carolina, 662; bishops of, 2893; colonial and state records, 1265; constitution of, 1616; convention of 1835, 2471; educational affairs in, 1909; Federalism in, 2394; historical activities in, 103; local history, 1253-1266; Methodist church in, 1909; mounds in, 163; wills in, previous to 1760, 2201.
 "North Carolina booklet," 692.
 North Carolina cession of 1784, 695.
 North Dakota, 399; antiquities of, 184; government of, 2473; Indians of, 175; local history, 1267-1277; state constitutional convention of 1889, 2472; Swedes in, 2724.
 North Platte, Neb., 1192.

- Northampton co., Va., 2202, 2203.
 Northern Pacific railway, 2600.
 Northfield, Mass., 1112.
 Northfield, Minn., 2996.
 Northrop, Cyrus, 820, 884, 895, 1482, 1608, 1717, 1885, 3025.
 Northwest, 248, 3322, 3404; Canadian, 3236, 3245, 3304, 3352, 3358, 3359, 3381; in 1779, 655; Indians of, 261; Pacific, 30; Who's who in, 1490.
 Northwest, Old, 1432, 2441. *See also* Illinois country and Ohio country.
 North West fur company, 3307, 3359.
 Northwest mounted police, 3304.
 Norton, C. E., 2688.
 Norwegians, in North Dakota, 1276; in Pennsylvania, 1329; in the U. S., 2765.
 Norwich university, 2573.
 Nouë, A. de, 2892.
 Nova Scotia, 75; Church of England in, 3398; manuscripts relating to, 3295; New York loyalists in, 634.
 Novelists, American, 3148.
 Noyes, A. D., 2639.
 —, C. E., 3211.
 —, J. P., 3349a-3350a.
 Numeration, of the Mayas, 279; of the Zotziles, 286.
 Nun-da-wä-o, 228.
 Nuttall, Zelia, 321.
 Nye, E. W., 3191.
- Oakleaf, J. B., 1718.
 Oakley, H. M., 2069.
 Oberholtzer, E. P., 1552.
 O'Brien, A. H., 3351.
 —, Frank, 1597.
 —, J. E., 821.
 —, John, 1769.
 —, T. J., 1770.
 Oecom, Samson, 2935.
 O'Connor, R. C., 2749.
 O'Donnell, C. L., 2945.
 O'Flynn, Josephine, 42.
 —, T. F., 1129.
 Ofner, J. B., 2263, 2264.
 Ogden, P. S., 402, 1298, 1301.
 Ogdensburg, N. Y., 2812.
 Ogg, F. A., 1621, 2427.
 O'Hara, E. V., 2900.
 Ohio, academy and college in early, 2961; fugitive slave law of, 745; John Morgan raid in, 797; local history, 1278-1296.
 Ohio and Michigan boundary, 1157.
 Ohio country, 696, 913.
 Ohio declaration of independence, 660.
 Ohio lands, 441.
 Ohio river, 111.
 Ohio university, 3020, 3027.
 Ohiyesa, 268.
 Ohler, C. P., 1773.
 Oil industry, 2533.
 Oil regions of Pennsylvania, 1309.
 Ojibway legends, 203.
 O'Keefe, H. E., 2822.
 Oklahoma, history and civics of, 1297.
 O'Laughlin, J. C., 1800.
 Old Point, Me., 1064.
- Old settler and historical association of Lake county, Indiana, 1013.
 "Old Tenor," 485.
 "Old Tunnel," the, 1120, 1152.
 Oleana, 1329.
 O'Leary, C. F., 2750.
 Oliphant, S. G., 2108.
 Oliver, Andrew, 1103.
 —, D. D., 1263.
 Olmstead, Hawley, 3012.
 Omaha, Neb., 1196.
 L'Omnichahuatzli, 284.
 Ona Indians, 3550.
 Onahan, W. J., 668, 1826, 2966.
 Onderdonk, A. J., 2073.
 —, Elmer, 2073.
 Onderdonk family, 2073.
 Oneal, James, 2654.
 Oneida historical society, 2685.
 O'Neill, J. L., 1351, 1352, 1483.
 Ontario, archaeological investigations in, 154; bibliography of, 3229; education in, 3309, 3310; history of, 3257.
 Oppenheim, Samuel, 2689, 3485.
 Orange co., N. C., 1261.
 Orange co., Va., 2204.
 Orangeburg, S. C., 2205.
 Orators and oratory, American, 2400.
 Order books, of Adjutant Samuel Tallmadge, 597; of Capt. J. Putnam, 1779, 585; of Capt. R. Kirkwood, 1777, 575; of Gen. Muhlenberg, 1777, 578.
 Orders in council, 2545.
 Orégon, Catholic history of, 2900; constitution of, 2475; Indians of, 190; local history, 1298-1304; political parties in, 2395; supreme court of, 2474.
 Oregon trail, 392, 2569, 2576.
 Organ, Minnie, 1182, 2778.
 Orinoco river, 3506.
 Orinoco steamship company, 2294a, 2317-2321, 2328-2332.
 Orleans, Mass., 2206.
 Ornaments, prehistoric, 156.
 Orr, J. G., 2596.
 —, Lyndon, 1537.
 Orth, S. P., 1288a.
 Osage co., Kan., 1035.
 Osborn, J. E., 1844a.
 —, N. G., 1484.
 Osborne, Duffield, 1801.
 —, T. M., 2716.
 Osgood, G. L., 3216.
 Ossoli, M. F., 1771.
 Ostrander, DeW. W., 2074.
 Ostrander family, 2074.
 Ostrogorski, M., 2387.
 Otanabee, Ont., 154.
 Otis, James, 580, 581, 1772.
 Ottawa, Can., 3321, 3351a, 3368, 3384, 3392.
 Ottawa, University of, 3397.
 Ottawa valley, 3310, 3314.
 Otter Creek, battle of, 157.
 Outes, F. F., 322, 323.
 Owen, Robert, 3094.
 Oyarzun, A., 323a, 324.
- Pacific Islands, 3578-3588.
 Pacific Northwest, 30.

- Pacifique, *fr.*, 236.
 Page, A. B., 3138.
 —, E. F., 3220.
 —, T. N., 1421, 1430.
 —, W. H., 1783.
 Page co., Ia., 1023a.
 Paget, A. M., 237, 3352.
 —, John, 488.
 Paine, David, 1773.
 —, Thomas, 663, 3192, 3193.
 Painesville, O., 3017.
 Paint shops, 2552.
 Painter, Thomas, 1774.
 Painters, American, 3105.
 Painting, American, 3104.
 Palfrey, J. C., 822-824.
 Palmer, Frederick, 3463.
 Palo Alto co., Ia., 1024.
 Paltsits, V. H., 83, 363, 523, 579, 1238, 2877.
 Pan-American movement, 3422, 3433.
 Panama, 3417, 3465-3471.
 Panama canal, 2304, 3462, 3468, 3470, 3471. *See also*
 Canal Zone.
 Panhuys, J. L. C., 324a.
 Panics, financial, 2611, 2641.
 Pano Indians, 211.
 Paper industry, 2534.
 Papineau, L. J., 3400.
 Paraguay, 3502, 3548-3550.
 Pardee, J. S., 1166.
 Parish, J. C., 1025.
 Parker, A. C., 160, 161, 239.
 —, D. McN., 3354.
 —, E. K., 824a.
 —, H. A., 504, 2136.
 —, H. R., 1775.
 —, J. C. D., 3216.
 —, J. M., 2794.
 —, James, 890, 2265.
 —, L. P., 1114.
 —, Theodore, 2717.
 —, W. F., 3354.
 Parkinson, S. W., 43.
 Parks, B. H. B., 162.
 Parmelee, J. H., 2428.
 Parr, John, 3330.
 Parry family, 1935.
 Parsons, J. R., *jr.*, 2951.
 —, W. E., 3026.
 —, W. W., 3095.
 Partnerships, 2404.
 Party organization, 2373.
 Party system, 2387.
 Passamaquoddy Indians, 191.
 Pastorius, F. D., 747.
 Patrician, the, in Virginia, 1434.
 Pattee, John, 2266.
 Patterson, C. D., 2597.
 Patton, J. H., 419.
 Paujol, A., 3498.
 Paulding, Hiram, 1776.
 Paullin, C. O., 1796, 2267-2269.
 Pawnee flint artifacts, 177.
 Pawnee Indians, 554, 1195.
 Paxinosa, 263.
 Paxson, F. L., 911.
 Paxson, Isaac, 1353.
 Payaguas, 303.
 Payne, D. L., 1475.
 —, J. H., 3136, 3194.
 —, W. M., 3149.
 Payne family, 1924.
 Pea Ridge, battle of, 1862, 783.
 Peabody, Charles, 163, 164.
 —, George, 1457, 1777, 2967.
 Peabody, Mass., 1111.
 Peabody education fund, 2967.
 Peace, 2973.
 Peace conference, the Hague, 2314.
 Peace negotiations at Ghent, 702.
 Pearson, J. C., 1937.
 Peary, R. E., 381.
 Peck, H. T., 3139, 3202.
 —, T. B., 2104.
 Peck family, 2053.
 Peel, Paul, 3223.
 "Peggy Stuart," burning of the, 565.
 Pejepscoot proprietary, 1062.
 Pelham, battle of, 611.
 Pell's Point, battle of, 611.
 Pellegrini, C., 3505.
 Pelletreau, W. S., 1241, 1866.
 Pelzer, Louis, 1026.
 Pemaquid, Me., 1073.
 Pembleton family, 2075.
 Pendleton, E. H., 2075.
 Pendleton family, 2075.
 Pendleton co., W. Va., 1442.
 Peninsular campaign, 1862, 83^o.
 Penn, William, 533, 537, 1458.
 Pennell, O. H., 1719.
 Penniman, G. W., 2736.
 Pennington, A. S., 3522.
 —, Harper, 3134.
 —, J. H., 2598.
 Pennsylvania, 662; aboriginal history, 160; bibliog-
 raphy, 44; Civil war in, 868; colonial history,
 530-535; colonial legislation and jurisprudence in,
 2399; early courts of, 2476; first newspaper in;
 2779; freemasonry in, 2668; genealogy, 2207-2209;
 Germans of, 2747; government of, 2422; industrial
 development in, 2544; infantry, in the Civil war,
 866-869; local history, 1305-1380; Loyalist light
 dragoons of, 1777-1778, 684; military roads of,
 2590; public-school system of, 2985; Seventh Day
 Baptists in, 2805; soldiers in the Civil war, 814;
 state normal schools in, 3003, 3004; Supreme court
 of, 2404.
 Pennsylvania, Historical society of, 2690.
 Pennsylvania Germans, 34, 535, 1468, 2738, 2755.
 Pennypacker, S. W., 1355, 2690.
 Penobscot expedition, 1779, 624.
 Penobscot Indians, 241.
 Pensacola, Fla., 407.
 Pensioners, Revolutionary, 686, 688.
 Pensions, Civil war, 851; military, 2257; New Hamp-
 shire Revolutionary, 561.
 "The People's instructor," 2774.
 Pepperrell, *Sir* William, 452, 1778.
 —, William, 1779.
 Pequot war, 255, 466, 469, 470.
 Perine family, 2076.

- Periodicals, American and English, 3, 4; of Illinois, 1000a.
- Perkins, G. D., 1636.
- Perley, Sidney, 505.
- Perrault, J. B., 403.
- Perrier, Phillipe, 3267.
- Perrin, E. Sainte-Marie, 3182.
- , J. W., 2388.
- Perrine, H. D., 2076.
- Perrine family, 2076.
- Perry, E. D., 2951.
- , J. H., 470.
- , M. G., 2310.
- , O. H., 706, 714, 715.
- , R. B., 3088.
- Perry expedition to Japan, 2310, 2333.
- Perry township, Pa., 1314.
- Persinger, C. E., 435.
- Pershius, Joseph, 3375.
- Peru, 3417, 3502, 3507, 3551-3564; antiquities of, 275, 311; boundary line between Bolivia and, 3552, 3553, 3564; boundary line between Ecuador and, 3551, 3554, 3563; early fruit culture in, 340.
- Peruvian mummy cloths, 135.
- Peruvian textiles, 331, 332.
- Peten, Guatemala, 310.
- Peters, M. C., 2751.
- , Samuel, 583.
- , W. E., 3027.
- Petre, F. L., 3507.
- Petroglyphs, 324, 3580.
- Phelps, W. B., 1590.
- , W. L., 1485, 3164, 3165.
- Philadelphia, Pa., 584, 596, 656-657, 1326, 1328, 1333, 1339, 1369, 2210, 2211, 2489, 2640, 2652, 2668, 2683, 2713, 2763, 2790, 2805, 2814, 2816, 2817, 2820, 2836, 2873, 2874, 2885.
- Philanthropists, 1488.
- Philanthropy, 2712-2721.
- Phillip, E. L., 2389, 2482.
- Philippine Islands, 3579, 3582-3588; public documents relating to, 65.
- Phillips, J. F., 1183, 2465.
- Phillips, D. E., 471, 1764, 1938.
- , I. N., 1691, 1720.
- , J. G., 1851.
- , Josiah, 2411.
- , U. B., 2390, 2492, 2655.
- Phillips family, 1938.
- Phillipsburg, P. Q., 3321a.
- Phips, Sir William, 499.
- Photography, early, 897.
- Phripp, Matthew, 545.
- Pickens, William, 1721.
- Pickett, Martin, 1780.
- Pierce, E. D., 1449, 1451.
- , G. W., 1130.
- Piercy, Frederick, 2859.
- Pierini, Francesco, 325.
- Pierpont, F. H., 1781.
- Pierson, A. T., 2933.
- , F. H., 1240.
- Piggott, Michael, 2752.
- Pike, Albert, 1782.
- , Zebulon, 390.
- Pike co., Pa., 686.
- Pilgrims, 472, 478-481. *See also* Plymouth colony.
- Pillsbury, J. E., 382.
- , Phineas, 2198.
- Pinchot, Amos, 2391.
- , Gifford, 1783.
- Pine Plains, N. Y., 1215.
- Pinkham, F. L., 2077.
- Pinkham family, 2077.
- Pioneer life, 1475; in Kansas, 1042, 1046, 1047; in Montana, 1191; in Ohio, 1290; in Texas, 1405; in the West, 902, 1869, 2573. *See also* Frontier, American.
- Pioneers, Oregon, 1302; of South Dakota, 1394; of the West, 718.
- Piper, F. S., 1131.
- , G. F., 1525.
- Pipestone quarries, prehistoric, 183.
- Pirtle, Alfred, 896, 1053.
- Piscataquis co., Me., 690, 2803, 2891.
- Piso, A. I. de, 3485.
- Pitt, William, 1458.
- Pittsburg, Pa., 1333a, 2651, 2802.
- Pittsburgh, University of, 3028.
- Pizarros, the, 3417.
- Plainfield, N. H., 1202
- Plains Indians, 207.
- Plantation life, 2492.
- Plantation system, 2655.
- Platt, O. H., 1784.
- , T. C., 1785-1787.
- Platts, L. A., 2805.
- Pleasants, J. H., 2078.
- Pleasants family, 2078.
- Plebeian, the, in Virginia, 1434.
- Plumer, William, 1204.
- Plymouth, Mass., 1140, 2212, 2213.
- Plymouth, Miss., 555.
- Plymouth colony, 476-483. *See also* Pilgrims.
- Poe, E. A., 3195-3201.
- , J. P., 3197.
- Poets, colonial, 3142; of the American revolution, 3137, 3143.
- Poindexter, Miles, 1467.
- Pointe-des-Monts, Que., 3370.
- Poirier, Pascal, 506, 3356.
- Polar exploration, 377, 381, 386. *See also* Arctic exploration.
- Pole, North, 381. *See also* Polar exploration.
- Police law, 2439.
- Political history, U. S., 55.
- Political parties, 2367, 2372, 2373, 2387, 2390, 2394, 2395; in Oregon, 1303. *See also* Democratic party and Republican party.
- Political science, 2373.
- Politics, 1893, 2363-2395, 2413; in colonial Pennsylvania, 530; in Illinois, 994; in Michigan, early, 1157; Southern convention of 1850, 729. *See also* Elections.
- Politics, government and law, 2281-2489.
- Polk, J. K., 617, 735.
- , J. M., 826.
- , Col. Thomas, 614.
- Pollard, Elizabeth, 1513.
- Polley, J. B., 871.
- Pollock, O. W., 1897.
- Polo, Marco, 1458.
- Pomeroy, A. A., 2079.

- Pomeroy family, 2079.
 Pontchartrain, Lake, 193.
 Pontiac, life of, 198.
 Pontotoc co., Miss., 1167.
 Poole, M. E., 2142.
 Poor, Enoch, 1788.
 Poore, Alfred, 1132, 1133.
 Pope, C. H., 2082.
 —, Herbert, 2406.
 Poplar River Indian agency, 881.
 Population and race elements, 2722-2769; Jews, of Baltimore, 1075; Swedish, in California, 939a.
See also Immigration and Pennsylvania Germans.
 Port Hudson, La., 823.
 Port Talbot, Can., 3275.
 Porter, Horace, 2314.
 —, L. H., 404.
 —, Sydney, 3202.
 Porter family, 1933.
 Portland, Me., 1060, 1066.
 Porto Rico, 3472, 3499-3501; public documents relating to, 65.
 Portola, Gaspar de, 375.
 Portola's expedition, 1769-1770, 375.
 Portsmouth, N. H., 2214.
 Posadas, G. A. de., 3523.
 Post, M. C. (de Trobriand) "*Mrs. C. A. Post*," 1865.
 —, W. J., 1241.
 Postal service, U. S., 2570, 2607.
 Pothier, A. J., 1789.
 Potomac, U. S. frigate, 2261.
 Potomac canal, 1428.
 Potomac river, 396, 410.
 Potshers, prehistoric, 176.
 Pott, John, 1478.
 Pottawattamie co., Ia., 2454.
 Potter, H. C., 2936.
 Potter family, 2090.
 Pottery, 125, 151.
 Potts, Richard, 1790.
 Pottsville, Pa., 869.
 Pound, J. M., 960.
 Powell, D. F., 1475.
 —, F. W., 2599.
 Power, J. B., 2600.
 Powers, H. C., 165.
 Pratt, F. H., 2803.
 —, G. W., 1791.
 Pratt family, 1941.
 Preacher, the pioneer, 973.
 Preachers, pioneer, 2782, 2831.
 Préfontaine family, 3265.
 Prentice, A. B., 2805.
 —, E. P., 827.
 Presbyterian church, 2872-2881; in Westfield, N. Y., 1252.
 Presbyterian mission, among the Pawnees, 1195.
 Presbyterians, in Indiana, 1018. *See also* Presbyterian church.
 Prescott, De W. C., 2601.
 —, Col. William, 495, 643.
 President, the, 725, 2429, 2430.
 Presidential election, 1800, 2382; 1876, 875.
 Presidential electoral system, 2374.
 Presidential succession, 1840-1844, 2363.
 Presidents, of the U. S., 1460, 1466, 1487.
 Press, liberty of the, 991; of Missouri, 1182, 2778.
See also Printing and publishing.
 Pressey, E. P., 1134.
 Preston family, 2080.
 Preus, H. A., 2937.
 Preuss, K. Th., 240, 326.
 Prévost, J., 3376.
 Preziosi, Giovanni, 2753.
 Price, B. L., 2081.
 —, Richard, 3047, 3049.
 —, W. J., 925.
 Price family, 2081.
 Prices, bibliography of, 39; of American stocks, 2634.
 Priestley, Joseph, 3047.
 Primary elections. *See* Elections.
 Prince, B. F., 1871.
 —, J. D., 241.
 —, J. T., 1135, 2982.
 —, Le B. B., 1213.
 Prince Edward Island, 3235, 3388.
 Prince William co., Va., 2215.
 "Prince's annals," 471.
 Princess Anne, Md., 2875.
 Princeton university, 3034.
 Prine family, 2076.
 Printing, in Somerset, Pa., 2780; the art of, 1920.
 Printing and publishing, 2770-2780. *See also* Magazines and Press.
 Printing press, 2773.
 Prints, books relating to, 33.
 Prior, S. A., 2860.
 Prisoners, in the Civil war, 850.
 Prisons, California state, 932; Civil war, 855; Confederate, 784, 785. *See also* Andersonville prison and Libby prison.
 Privateers, 2276.
 Privilege, growth of, 2496.
 Prize causes, 781.
 Prizes, and recaptures, of the Revolution, 587; of the War of 1812, 711.
 Probate records, Norfolk co., Mass., 1128.
 Procter, A. G., 1043.
 Protector, state ship, 641.
 Protestant Episcopal church, 2862-2887, 2894.
 Proud, Robert, 584.
 Prouty genealogy, 2082.
 Providence, R. I., 2832.
 Provincetown, Mass., 2216.
 Provost, G. L., 2430.
 Prowell, G. R., 1356.
 Prud'homme, L. A., 367, 3357-3359.
 Pryer, Charles, 2083.
 Pryer family, 2083.
 Pryor Mountains, 1188.
 Public documents, of Indiana, 79; United States, 55-65. *See also* State publications.
 Public lands. *See* Lands.
 Public records, of Massachusetts, 82, 90; of New York, 83.
 Public works, 2555-2607. *See also* Internal improvements.
 Publishing, 2770-2780.
 Puckett, E. F., 1174.
 Pueblo Indians, 218.
 Pulaski, Count Casimir, 1792.

- Pulaski co., Ky., 142.
 Punishment, in the New England colonies, 468.
 Puritan government, 2364.
 Puritans, 444, 472, 504.
 Purviance, D., 2879.
 Putman family, 1946.
 Putnam, Beatrice, 2121.
 —, *Gen. Israel*, 1475.
 —, J. J., 3089.
 —, Jeremiah, 585.
 —, Rufus, 637, 651.
 Putzel, Lewis, 1075.
 "Puyé," 149, 158.
 Pyke family, 1935, 1936.
- Quaife, M. M., 735.
 Quakers, 2834. *See also* Friends.
 Quakertown, Pa., 1334.
 Quantrell, W. C., 774.
 Quay, M. S., 1355.
 Quebec, cathedral of, 3396.
 Quebec, Province of, 3346, 3363a; expulsion of
 Protestant farmers of, 3385.
 Quebec campaign, 1759, 465.
 Queen Anne's war, 255.
 Quesada, V. G., 3432.
 Quetzalcoatl, 335.
 Quimby, S. E., 2084.
 Quimby family, 2084.
 Quincy, E. S., 1136.
 Quincy, Ill., 972.
 Quit rent, 536.
- Race elements, 2722-2769.
 Race problem, 421, 744, 2357; in the South, 904.
 See also Negroes.
 Radin, Paul, 242.
 Radisson, P. E., 3268.
 Radnor, S. C., 1387.
 Ragan, R. A., 828.
 Ragland, H. C., 1050.
 Railroads, 2564, 2568, 2573, 2575, 2577, 2579, 2582, 2583,
 2585, 2587, 2600, 2601; as public agents, 2555; great
 fortunes from, 2636; of Brazil, 3536.
 Railway regulation, 2389.
 Rainier, Mount, 1437.
 Ralph, A. M., 1987.
 Ramezay family, 3276.
 Ramsdell, C. W., 1402, 2478.
 Ranchman, reminiscences of a, 2695.
 Randall, E. O., 1886.
 Randle, E. H., 2354.
 Randolph, C. F., 2805.
 —, H. S. F., 2928.
 Randolph, Me., 2217.
 Rankin, J. L., 2487.
 Ransome, Arthur, 3200.
 Rantoul, R. S., 1868, 2714.
 Rapp, E. M., 2983.
 Rappahannock co., Va., 2218.
 Rather, E. Z., 1403.
 Ratterman, H. A., 2754.
 Rau, A. G., 1357.
 Raum, *Gen. G. B.*, 783.
 Ravenelle-Lalime family, 3265.
 Ravenscroft, J. C., 2893.
 Ray, T. B., 2804.
- Raymond, M. D., 669.
 —, W. O., 3360.
 Read, B. M., 737, 3454.
 —, E. G., 3361.
 —, M. A., 1385.
 —, Phillip, 507.
 Reading, Pa., 672, 869, 1342, 1361, 2888.
 Reagan, J. W., 829.
 Reciprocity, bibliography of, 19; with Canada, 2529,
 2530, 2553, 3296, 3313.
 Reconstruction, 874, 887; in Georgia, 961; in Lou-
 isiana, 876; in Mississippi, 1167, 1171-1174, 1176;
 in South Carolina, 1388; in Texas, 1402; problems
 of, 109.
 Red Cross, 2287.
 Red Indians, 3253.
 Red River colony, 261, 3337, 3359, 3404.
 Red River expedition, 794.
 Red River Valley, 1267, 1270, 2521, 2522, 3266.
 Red Wing, Minn., 3031.
 Redfield, E. W., 3123.
 Redway, G. W., 830-832.
 —, J. W., 436, 525.
 Reed, C. B., 3362.
 —, J. A., 867.
 —, T. B., 1793.
 —, W. H., 833.
 Reeder, Albert, 1289.
 —, R. P., 1612.
 Reedy, W. M., 2360.
 Reelfoot Lake, 914.
 Rees, T. H., 2280a.
 Reese, L. W., 3197.
 Reeves, O. T., 1691.
 —, R. N., 1538.
 Referenda, in Massachusetts, 2460.
 Referendum, in colonial New England, 2364.
 Reformed church, 2888; in Macungie, Pa., 1322.
 Reformed Dutch churches, 1220.
 Regimental histories, Civil war, 818, 819, 826, 842,
 861-872.
 Regional genealogy, 2147-2241.
 Regional history, 900-1451.
 Reid, W. M., 912.
 —, Whitelaw, 1722.
 Reinhardt, Victor, 834.
 Reinsch, P. S., 2311, 3433, 3508.
 Reiter, H. G., 1723.
 Religion, in Mexico, 326; in New Netherland, 529;
 of the American Indian, 189; of the Blackfeet Indi-
 ans, 230; Roman Catholic, in colonial Maryland, 541.
 Religious history, biography, 2892-2950; general,
 2781-2798; inventory of unpublished material for,
 69; of Virginia, 17th century, 544; particular de-
 nominations, 2799-2891.
 Religious liberty, 109, 2793.
 Religious societies, 1117; of Hatfield, Mass., 1147.
 Religious spirit of the American Indian, 189.
 Remington, F., 3124.
 Remington family, 2085.
 Rensburg, G. J., 166.
 Rensen, I., 1476.
 Renaud, Stephen, 405.
 Renton, Wood, 3363a.
 Republican party, 2372, 2386, 2393.
 Retana y Gamboa, W. E., 3584-3588.
 Revell family, 1928.

- Revolution, American, Canaan, Me., during the, 1071; French alliance in, 109; general treatises on, 602-610; in Virginia, 1425; papers relating to, 75; poets of, 3137; societies of, 692, 693; soldiers' names, 678-691; soldiery of West Virginia in, 1441; sources and documents, 559-601; special treatises on, 611-677; Virginia soldiers of, in 1779, 545.
- Reynolds, J. H., 926, 3029.
- Rhode Island, Irish in, 2731; local history, 1381-1383; Seventh Day Baptists in, 2805; vital record of, 1636-1850, 2219.
- Rhode Island campaign, 1779, 585.
- Rhode Island historical society, 2691.
- Rhodes, C. H., 1044.
- , J. F., 1358.
- Rhorer family, 1931.
- Rice, C. I., 2984.
- , E. B., 2086, 2087.
- , J. A., 2848.
- , W. N., 1476.
- Rice family, 1924, 2086, 2087.
- Richards, *Sir* Erle, 2312, 3364.
- , F. D., 1794.
- , H. M. M., 462.
- , Louis, 1359-1361, 2056, 2779.
- , O. A., 1362.
- , W. R., 2938.
- Richards family, 2004, 2088.
- Richardson family, 2004.
- Richmond, Va., 2884.
- Richmond co., Va., 2220.
- Richmond township, Pa., 1314, 2221.
- Rickards, C. G., 326a.
- Ricketson, Anna, 1795.
- , Daniel, 1795.
- , Walter, 1795.
- Rickey family, 2004.
- Riddell, W. R., 2355, 3365.
- Riddle, William, 1363.
- Rideing, W. H., 1137, 3150.
- Riera, A., 3519.
- Rigdon, Sidney, 2939.
- Riis, Jacob, 3181.
- Riley, F. L., 437, 1059, 1175, 2392.
- Ringgold light artillery, 869.
- Ringwalt, Roland, 2001.
- Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3535.
- Ríos de Lampérez, B. de los, 3434.
- Ripley, J. A., 3051.
- Rising, Johan, 534.
- Rivard, Adjutor, 3366.
- Rivardi, J. J. U., 2270.
- River Edge, N. J., 2222.
- Roach, Cornelius, 1180.
- , J. V., 885.
- Roads, 2602; military, 2584, 2590; of Schuylkill co., Pa., 1330. *See also* Communication and transportation.
- Roane family, 2089.
- Robert, Jeanne, 2720.
- Roberts, B. H., 2861.
- , C. R., 535, 1364-1366, 2034, 2755.
- , I. S., 1398a.
- , Peter, 2756.
- , W. H., 2878.
- Roberts family, 1941.
- Robertson, J. A., 84.
- Robertson, W. S., 3435.
- Robinson, A. J., 835.
- , Alexander, 3125.
- , B. L., 1431.
- , C. W., 712, 3367.
- , Doane, 243, 244, 713.
- , John, 477.
- Robinson family, 2090-2092.
- Robson, *Sir* W. S., 2296.
- Rochambeau house, the, 1250.
- Rocheleau, W. F., 420.
- Rochester, N. H., 2223.
- Rochester, N. Y., 1239.
- Rochester theological seminary, 3030.
- Rock river, 664.
- Rockbridge artillery, 815.
- Rockefeller, B. F., 2093.
- , C., 2093.
- , H. O., 2093.
- Rockefeller family, 2093.
- Rockingham, *Marquis of*, 590.
- Rockwell, E. A., 3118.
- Rocky Mountain Indians, 399.
- Rodenbough, T. F., 2271.
- Rodrigue, Aristide, 1367.
- Rodriguez Villa, Antonio, 3542, 3567.
- Roe, A. S., 836, 1751.
- , W. J., 693.
- Rogers, J. R., 2879.
- , John, 1796, 2267.
- , Seth, 837.
- , Thomas, 1290.
- , William, 2879.
- Rogers family, 2094.
- Roman Catholic church. *See* Catholic church.
- Romig, Joseph, 245.
- Ronan, *Rev.* Peter, 2810.
- Ronnong, N. N., 3031.
- Roof, K. M., 3114.
- Roosa, De Witt, 1556.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 381, 419, 1457, 1482, 1797-1806, 2344, 3582.
- Root, Elihu, 246, 2296.
- Roper, E. M., 3368.
- Rorison, A. B., 1812.
- Rosenau, William, 1075.
- Ross, Agustin, 3541a.
- , C. A., 2450.
- , E. A., 104.
- , J. A., 2477.
- , James, 1807.
- , R. R., 1724.
- Ross family, 2095.
- Rossiter, W. S., 2757.
- Rouillard, Eugene, 368, 3369-3371.
- Rouse, William, 1808.
- Routes, canoe, 349. *See also* Communication and transportation.
- Rowan, S. C., 1809.
- Rowand family, 1944.
- Rowland, *Mrs.* Dunbar, 2602.
- , H. A., 1476.
- Rowley, Mass., 1107.
- Roy, Camille, 3372.
- , J.-E., 3373.
- , Régis, 3374-3376.
- Royal, Joseph, 3377.

- Royall house, 1125.
 Roz, Firmin, 421, 3140.
 Rubinstein, C. A., 1075.
 Ruen, H. C., 2407.
 Ruffin, Edmund, 1810.
 Ruffin family, 2096.
 Ruffner, W. H., 2978.
 Ruggles, C. O., 2618, 3032.
 Rumford, Count. *See* Thompson, Benjamin.
 Runaway Pond. *See* Long Pond, Vt.
 Runk, E. Ten B., 1953.
 Rush-Bagot treaty, 2300.
 Rushford, N. Y., 1222.
 Russell, C. R., *baron*, 406.
 —, G. W., 1939.
 —, L. E., 45.
 —, *Rev. M.*, 406.
 Russell family, 1939.
 Russian Jews, in Philadelphia, 2763.
 Russians, in Kansas, 1038, 2744.
 Rutgers college, 3033.
 Rutherford, M. L., 960.
 Rutledge, Ann, 1705.
 Ruttenber, E. M., 527.
 Rybot, Francis, 581.
 Ryder, Elisha, 3469.
 —, W. H., 2830.
 Ryner, W. H., 247.
- Sabbath evangelizing and industrial association, 2805.
 Sabbath reform movement, 2805.
 Sac Indians, 1035.
 Sacajaweah, 1811.
 Sachse, J. F., 2668.
 Sacrificios, Island of, 321.
 Sadler, M. E., 3077.
 Sängerbund, the, 1339.
 Sainsbury, W. N., 549.
 St. Ange, *Sieurs de*, 553.
 Saint Anthony, 3317.
 St. Anthony, Minn., 1165.
 St. Castin's war, 255.
 St. Clair, Arthur, 1812.
 St. Clair's campaign, 1791, 1293.
 St. Francis river, 155.
 Saint John, N. B., 3402.
 St. John, Island of, 3388.
 St. John river, 3360.
 St. Lawrence co., N. Y., 2195.
 St. Louis, Mo., 654, 1184-1186, 2489, 2750.
 St. Louis co., Minn., 1166.
 St. Marys, Ga., 962.
 St. Marys county, Md., 2979.
 St. Olaf college, 2996.
 St. Paul, Minn., 2887.
 St. Pierre, capture of, 1793, 3389.
 St. Thomas, Ont., 3363.
 Sainte Anne de la Pocatière, 3270.
 Sakaki, Ryozauro, 369.
 Salem, Mass., 494, 2714.
 Salem Church, battle of, 1863, 773, 819.
 Salem college, 2805.
 Salisbury, Stephen, 3011.
 Salisbury, Pa., 1313.
 Salley, A. S., *jr.*, 551, 552.
 Salmon, P. R., 897.
- Salomon, Michel, 3090.
 Salter, William, 1779.
 Saltonstall, G., 624.
 Samoan Islands, 65.
 Samoset, 256.
 Sampson, F. A., 46, 398, 2663.
 —, W. T., 890.
 Sanborn, F. B., 1530, 2664, 2692, 3155.
 Sanchez Moguel, Antonio, 370.
 Sanders, D. W., 1813.
 —, H. F., 248.
 —, W. E., 1189.
 Sanderson, Camilla, 3378.
 —, J. E., 3379.
 —, John, 3378.
 San Diego, Cal., 933.
 San Domingo, 297.
 Sands, F. E., 3053.
 —, Harold, 3380.
 Sandusky co., O., 1288.
 Sandwich, Ont., 3348.
 Sanford, E. C., 3096.
 San Francisco, Cal., 927, 934, 2632, 3145.
 San Francisco Committee of vigilance, 939.
 San Francisco labor movement, 2649.
 San Hipólito, Mexico, 343.
 San Juan Teotihuacan, 289, 292.
 San Juan Valley, 194.
 Santa Anna, A. L. de, 738, 1404.
 Santa Barbara, Cal., 935.
 Santa Fé trail, 412, 1042, 2558, 2603.
 Santamaria de Paredes, Vicente, 3545, 3563.
 Santee Indians, 257.
 Santleben, August, 1405.
 Sapir, Edward, 249.
 Sapp, J. G., 2097.
 Sapp family, 2097.
 Sapper, Karl, 327.
 Saratoga, surrender of, 636.
 Sargent, D. A., 2968.
 Sarmiento's History of the Incas, 3560.
 Satires, political verse, 2383.
 Saugerties, N. Y., 518.
 Sault-au-Récollet parish, Quebec, 3271a.
 Sausser, M. G., 670.
 Saussy, G. N., 838, 839.
 Savaète, Arthur, 3381, 3382.
 Savage, G. S. F., 2831.
 —, S. P., 453, 560.
 Savary, A. W., 3383.
 Saville, M. H., 328, 329.
 Sawyer, C. W., 2272.
 Sawyer family, 1941.
 Scales, John, 1550.
 Scarborough, Edmond, 542.
 Scarsdale, N. Y., 1251.
 Scattergood, J. H., 2324.
 Scelle, G., 3436.
 Schaeffer, N. C., 1368, 2985.
 Schafer, Joseph, 1302, 2313.
 Schaff, I. J., 2919.
 —, Morris, 840.
 Schaffer, S., 1075.
 Schindel family, 2098.
 Schirmer, R. C., 1369.
 Schlechter, W. F., 2774.
 Schley, W. S., 890.

- Schlüter, Hermann, 2541, 2542.
 Schmauk, T. E., 2926.
 Schmeltz, J. D. E., 330.
 Schmidt, Max, 331, 332.
 Schmitter, Ferdinand, 250.
 Schneeberger, H. W., 1075.
 Schoepf, J. D., 1814.
 Schoff, W. H., 2099.
 Schoff family, 2099.
 Scholl family, 2100.
 School administration, 2962.
 Schoolcraft expedition, 390.
 Schools, in Illinois, 991; in Ontario, 3310; in Pennsylvania, public, 1368. *See also* Educational history.
 Schrabisch, Max, 251.
 Schreiner, L. S., 1450.
 Schultz, Christopher, 1815.
 Schultze, Ernst, 2656.
 Schumacher, Hermann, 2543.
 Schumpeter, Joseph, 2499.
 Schuyler, Montgomery, 3106.
 Schuylkill co., Pa., 1323, 1325.
 Schuylkill Haven, Pa., 1353.
 Schuylkill Indians, 1362.
 Schuylkill river, 2605.
 Schwab, J. C., 1848, 2069.
 Schwarze, W. N., 269.
 Schwenkfelders, 628.
 Science, American men of, 1462, 1476; in America, 894.
 Scientists, American, 1488.
 Seisco, L. D., 371.
 Seomp, H. A., 671.
 Scotch-Irish, in Indiana, 1018; in New England, 2730; pioneers, 2727.
 Scott, Agnes, 3384.
 —, D. C., 237, 3352.
 —, F. W., 1000a, 2779a.
 —, H. W., 1904.
 —, J. B., 2314.
 —, Winfield, 1280.
 Scott co., Ia., 1020, 1021.
 Scouts, famous, 1475.
 Scoville family, 2101.
 Scribner, Harvey, 1291.
 Seroggs, W. O., 2604.
 Scudder, J. W., 953.
 —, Janet, 3126.
 Sculpture, 3108.
 Seal of New Jersey, 1210.
 Sealsfield, Charles, 3203.
 Sears, E. S., 1861.
 Seattle, Wash., 1436.
 Seaver, J. E., 1662.
 —, W. J., 1725.
 Sebec, Me., 1061.
 Sebec Lake, Me., 1063, 1070.
 Seecombe, Thomas, 1150.
 Secession, of Virginia, 787; Virginia's attitude toward, 1423.
 Secession winter, 1860-1861, 750.
 Seckendorff, M. G., 2431.
 Secret service, 657.
 Secret societies, among the Indians, 201.
 Sectionalism, in Virginia, 1420.
 Sedgwick, Robert, 1816.
 Sedgwick, Theodore, 591.
 —, Theodore, jr., 2273.
 Sedgwick co., Kan., 1030.
 Seelig, J. G., 1355.
 Seelye, L. C., 3097.
 —, W. E., 1273, 2274.
 Segarra, José, 3455.
 Ségur, *comte de*, 411.
 Seidensticker, O., 1817.
 Seilhamer, G. O., 463.
 Seitz, D. C., 47.
 Seler, E., 333-336.
 Seligman, I. N., 1593.
 Selkirk, T. D., *5th earl of*, 3359.
 Selkirk settlement, 3266.
 Sellar, Robert, 3385.
 Sellstedt, L. G., 3107.
 Seminole Indians, 264.
 Semmes, R., 1818.
 Semple, E. A., 3117.
 —, Robert, 3266.
 Senate, U. S., 2424, 2435, 2436.
 Senators, from Illinois, 2371; from Iowa, first, 2369; from Missouri, 1180; popular election of, 2388.
 Seneca Indians, 228, 1662.
 Senécal family, 3265.
 Separatists, the, 97.
 Serrano y Sanz, M., 3437.
 Seton, E. A. B., 2821.
 Seventh Day Baptists, 2800, 2805.
 Severance, F. H., 2578.
 Sevier, John, 721, 1395, 1819.
 Sewall, Jonathan, 592.
 —, Samuel, 497.
 Seward, W. H., 1820.
 Sexton, J. L., 2544.
 Seymour, G. D., 2706.
 Shaaber, Andrew, 672, 2986.
 Shadrach, fugitive slave, 743.
 Shambaugh, B. F., 105.
 Sharp, Mrs. A. (G.), 736.
 —, D. L., 3153.
 Sharpe, H. G., 1821.
 Shaw, Albert, 1803.
 —, C. D., 1069, 2102.
 —, Edwin, 2805.
 —, M. G., 2102.
 Shaw family, 2102.
 Shays' rebellion, 2262.
 Shearman, A., 1822.
 Sheeder, Frederick, 1370.
 Sheehan, J. L., 1655.
 Sheepeater campaign, 2258.
 Sheffield scientific school, 3052-3054a.
 "Shekomeko," 1215.
 Shelby, Isaac, 1054.
 Shellmound, the Ellis Landing, 159.
 Shenandoah, Confederate cruiser, 795, 858.
 Shenandoah Valley, Civil war in, 752.
 Shenandoah Valley campaign, 831.
 Shepherdstown, W. Va., 1438.
 Sheppard, Havergal, 2931.
 —, J. H., 2758.
 —, T. J., 1292.
 Sherman, A. M., 1769.
 —, C. C., 3049a.

- Sherman, A. O., 2125, 3192.
 —, F. F., 1822.
 —, S. P., 3166.
 —, W. T., 822, 1823-1825.
 Sherman anti-trust law, 2524, 2532, 2551.
 Sherman's army, 811.
 Sherman's march to the sea, 805.
 Sherrill, C. H., 3050.
 Shickellenny, 262.
 Shields, J. H., 2514.
 —, James, 1826.
 Shiloh, battle of, 834, 845.
 Shiloh valley, Ill., 970.
 Shimer, F. H., 167.
 —, H. W., 167.
 Shimmell, L. S., 1371.
 Shiner, Hannah, 1827.
 Shinn, J. H., 841.
 Shippen house, 1324.
 Shipping, early American, 2539; on the Great Lakes, 2592.
 Shirley, *Gov. W.*, 255.
 Shook, C. A., 168.
 Short, Peyton, 407.
 Shoshone Indians, 265.
 Shotwell, W. G., 1846.
 Shoup, G. L., 1828.
 Shreve, W. P., 842.
 Shufeldt, R. W., 169.
 Shuman, J. C., 1372.
 Shumway, D. B., 2969.
 Sibley, H. H., 1161.
 Sibley house, 1161.
 Sierra Nevada Mountains, 388.
 Sigel, Franz, 1477.
 Silk industry, 2538.
 Silliman, B., 1476.
 Silversmithing, Iroquois, 161.
 Simler family, 1924.
 Simmersbach, Bruno, 2657.
 Simmons, J. F., 1108, 2172.
 Simms, W. G., 3148.
 Simon, L. C., 2640.
 Simpson, Samuel, 2795.
 Singewald, Karl, 2432.
 Sinking Spring, Pa., 2983, 2986.
 Sinnett, C. N., 2103.
 Sinnett family, 2103.
 Sinnott family, 2103.
 Sioussat, St. G. L., 695.
 Sioux Indians, 217, 243, 257.
 Sioux land treaties, 443.
 Sisson, H. D., 3524.
 —, T. U., 2356.
 "Sitting Bull," 244; capture of, 880.
 Skal, G. von, 2759.
 Skarstedt, Ernst, 939a.
 Skelton, E. O., 472.
 Skinner, A. W., 1469.
 —, Alanson, 252.
 —, H. M., 1014.
 Skrainka, Philip, 1185.
 Slade family, 2104.
 Slaughter, *Col. Thomas*, 545.
 Slave trade, in the Spanish colonies, 3436.
 Slavery, 739-747; in Virginia, 1423, 2033; teaching of, 99.
 Slavs, in the U. S., 2723.
 Sleeper, H. C., 253.
 Slicer, T. R., 106.
 Slings, 138.
 Sloan, Robert, 1526.
 Sloane, W. M., 2379.
 Slocum, C. E., 696, 913.
 Slosson, E. E., 1476, 3034-3037.
 Small family, 1941.
 Smart, William, 2545.
 Smillie, E. A., 453a, 3385a.
 Smith, A. E., 1242a.
 —, A. L., 593.
 —, C. A., 3141.
 —, C. F., 2906.
 —, E. A. F., 1243.
 —, E. A. T., 1940.
 —, E. C., 690, 1070.
 —, E. F., 2605.
 —, E. G., 1804.
 —, Fitz-Henry, *jr.*, 1138.
 —, G. C., 1829.
 —, Goldwin, 843, 3227, 3254, 3279, 3294, 3298, 3301, 3336, 3386, 3387, 3399.
 —, H. A. M., 1386, 1387.
 —, H. C., 1244, 2862-2867, 2905, 2939.
 —, H. H., 2908, 2948.
 —, H. I., 170-173.
 —, Henry, 1406, 3388.
 —, Hyrum, 2862.
 —, Inez, 2500, 2868, 2946.
 —, J. H., 1407.
 —, John, 1458.
 —, Jonathan, 508.
 —, Joseph, 2862, 2869, 2940.
 —, Junius, 1830.
 —, L. C., 1071.
 —, M. H., 3038.
 —, Nicholas, 2275.
 —, O. E. 1991.
 —, Samuel, 594, 595, 1102.
 —, T. W., 3389.
 —, Tunstall, 1505.
 —, W. F., 844.
 —, Z. F., 1055.
 Smith family, 2105-2108.
 Smith academy, 1147.
 Smolnikar, A. B., 2941.
 Smyth, E. C., 1831.
 Snake devices, 1754-1776, 451.
 Snake river expeditions, 1826-1829, 402.
 Snape, William, 1274.
 Snead family, 2109.
 Snethlage, E., 337.
 Snorri Sturluson, 372.
 Snow, M. S., 1726.
 Snyder, H. N., 3067.
 —, H. P., 1564.
 —, Henry, 1207.
 —, J. F., 174, 1001, 1002, 1563, 1605.
 —, S. E. P., 3039.
 Snyder family, 1946.
 Social and economic history, 421, 2490-2780; in the North during the Civil war, 790; of Rhode Island, 1383.
 Social classes, of Virginia, 1434.
 Social reform, 2717.
 Socialism, in the U. S., 2495.
 Societies, Revolutionary, 692, 693.
 Societies and institutions, 2667-2693.

- Society for the preservation of New England antiquities, 900.
- Society for the prevention of cruelty to children, 2721.
- Society for the propagation of the gospel, 1263.
- Sociology, public documents relating to, 62.
- Sol, Charles, 2585.
- Soldiers, New England, 6; Revolutionary, 678-691.
- Solheim, O. A., 3040.
- Somerset, Pa., 2780.
- Somerville historical society, 2682.
- "Song of the Vermonters," 1413.
- Sons of the American revolution, Maine society, 673.
- Sotcher, John, 1832.
- Soto, Fernando de, 1458.
- South, the, 860, 904, 918, 2405, 2767; economic history of, 2501; German element in settlement of the, 2766; Highlanders of the, 916; in fiction, 3144; in national politics, 2365; literature of, 3146; railroads of, 2575; travels in, 398.
- South America, 3417, 3502-3577; aboriginal history, 270-345; discovery of the north coast of, 351; Indians of, 201.
- South Carolina, 662; colonial history, 550-552; Friends in, 2833; genealogy, 2224-2226; infantry in the Civil war, 793, 813; local history, 1384-1388; province of, Court of ordinary, 552; Revolutionary war in, 572; writers of, 3147.
- South Charleston, O., 1289.
- South Dakota, civil government of, 2477; local history, 1389-1394.
- Southampton, England, 480.
- Southampton, N. Y., 1241.
- Southern campaign, 1780-1782, 575.
- Southern leadership, 903, 904.
- Southwest, 126, 920.
- Sower, Christopher, 1355.
- Spain, and Chile, 3541; revolt against, in South America, 3507.
- Spanish America. *See* Latin America.
- Spanish-American republics, 421.
- Spanish-American war, 888-890.
- Spanish colonies in South America, 3504.
- Spanish treaty claims commission, 2326.
- Sparrow family, 2110.
- Speaker, the, 2418, 2425, 2433.
- Spears, J. R., 2606.
- , R. S., 914.
- Spedden, E. R., 2658.
- Speed, J. J., 1777.
- , John, 401.
- Spelman family, 2111.
- Spencer, Mrs. B. M., 2068.
- , D. S., 1411.
- , J. W., 408, 3390.
- , R. H., 1976, 1977.
- Spinner, F. E., 1833.
- Spirit Lake, Iowa, massacre, 736.
- Spokane, Wash., 2555.
- Spooner, H. W., 886.
- Spottsylvania, battle of, 819.
- Sprague, H. H., 509.
- , J. F., 1072, 3041, 3191.
- , O. M. W., 2641.
- Sprague family, 509.
- Spring family, 2112.
- Springfield, Ill., 969, 996, 981, 982, 998.
- Springfield, Mass., 1119, 3042.
- Springstead family, 2112.
- Springsteel family, 2112.
- Springsteen family, 2112.
- Stackhouse, A. M., 1746.
- Stacy family, 1928.
- Stadler, X., 1196.
- Stage-coach days, 2559, 2700.
- Stamp act, 608.
- Standish, Miles, 1458.
- Standish family, 2113, 2114.
- Stanley, H. W., 2097.
- Stanley family, 2053.
- Stanton, E. M., 1834.
- , G. S., 915.
- Stanwood, Edward, 1831.
- Staples, H. T. O., 1772.
- Stapleton, Amon, 1373.
- Stark, J. H., 609.
- Starkey family, 1926, 2115.
- Starr, Comfort, 1835.
- , Emmet, 260.
- , Frederick, 1689.
- State and local government, 2422, 2423, 2426, 2437-2482.
- State constitutions. *See* Constitutions, state.
- State libraries, 2663.
- State publications, of Missouri, 46.
- State sovereignty, 2351, 2353.
- Statesmen, American, 1487.
- Statham, E. P., 2276.
- Statistical work, of the government, 2428.
- Statutes, of New Jersey, 2467; U. S., 2407.
- Stealey, O. O., 1486.
- Steam navigation, 1830, 2591.
- Stearns, F. P., 1531.
- Stedman, E. C., 3204, 3205.
- , Laura, 3204, 3205.
- Steel industry, 2549, 2651.
- Steele, J. E., 1023.
- , Z. P., 2987.
- Steelman family, 2116.
- Steigewalt, Charles, 1337.
- Stein, Paul, 3391.
- Steinbrueck, E. R., 175.
- Steinen, K. von den, 211.
- Steiner, B. C., 700, 1084, 1749, 2442.
- , L. H., 1790.
- Steinmetz, E. H., 2890, 2942.
- Stelle family, 2117.
- Stennett, W. H., 2564.
- Stephens, A. H., 1836.
- , J. V., 2880.
- Stephenson, G. T., 2357, 2408.
- , Martha, 2988.
- , W. W., 1056.
- Stephenson co., Ill., 983.
- Stetson family, 1941.
- Steuben, Baron, 621, 1837, 1838.
- Steubenville, O., 1281.
- Stevens, Edward, 2306.
- , J. S., 2760.
- , Thaddeus, 2344.
- , W. A., 3098.
- , W. B., 1184, 1186.
- , W. O., 2250.
- Stevens and Fell c. *The Little James*, 476.
- Stevenson, B. E., 1487, 1488.

- Stevenson, S. C., 1839.
 Steward, L., 1840.
 Stewart, A. T., 1841.
 —, Anthony, 565.
 —, C. W., 852.
 —, Lazarus, 1842.
 —, McLeod, 3392.
 Stillwell, Leander, 845.
 Stilphen, A. C., 2217.
 Stimson, F. J., 1106, 2409.
 Stobo, Robert, 3226.
 Stockman, Lawson, 1843.
 Stocks, American, 2634.
 Stockton, E. B., 1610.
 —, Richard, 1452.
 Stoddard, F. R., *jr.*, 1140.
 Stoever, J. C., 1844.
 Stokes, A. P., 947, 2118, 3043.
 —, J. F. G., 3580.
 Stokes family, 2118.
 Stolbrand, C. J., 1844a.
 Stone, B. W., 2879.
 —, Henry, 846.
 —, Ormond, 1767.
 —, Susanne, 1245.
 —, W., 1476.
 —, W. L., 2578.
 Stone age, 151, 156, 345.
 Stony Point, capture of, 1355.
 Stoudt, J. B., 1374, 2221.
 Stowe, H. B., 3148.
 Straley, W., 176, 177.
 Strand, A. E., 1164.
 Strang, J. J., 2943.
 Strang family, 2119.
 Strathcona and Mount Royal, *Lord*, 3339.
 Street railroads, 2595.
 Streets, in Boston, 1093, 1145.
 Stringham, Irving, 3099.
 Strong, J. C., 1845.
 —, Leonard, 537.
 —, W. E., 2796.
 Stuart, Charles, 566.
 —, J. E. B., 817, 838.
 Stuart's cavalry, 810.
 Studebaker family, 1454.
 Stumpstown, Pa., 1321.
 Sturbridge, Mass., 1116.
 Sturges, E. S., 1676.
 Sturtevant, R. O., 872.
 Stuyvesant, Peter, 1458.
 Suffrage, negro, 2348; woman, 42, 2362.
 Sugar, bibliography of, 38.
 Sugar industry, 2546, 2547.
 Sullivan, James, 2423.
 —, M. F., 2761.
 —, M. X., 2762.
 —, Thomas, 596.
 Sullivan's road, 2590.
 Sully, Thomas, 3102.
 Sultana, (steamboat), loss of, 855.
 Sulte, Benjamin, 373, 3393-3395.
 Sulzberger, David, 2763.
 Sumner, E. A., 1727.
 —, Charles, 1846.
 —, H. L., 2492, 2659.
 —, W. G., 1847, 1848, 3100.
 Sunday-school convention, in Indiana, 2784.
 Sunday schools, 2790; Baptist, 2805.
 Super, C. W., 2970.
 Supreme court, 2340, 2415, 2431, 2524.
 Surface, G. T., 1660, 2546, 2547.
 Surinam, 330.
 Susquehanna and Potomac canal, 2593.
 Susquehanna co., Pa., 686.
 Susquehanna manor, 1083.
 Susquehannock fort, 1338.
 Sutherland, George, 2358, 2434.
 Sutton, W. S., 3078.
 Swan, L. S., 1758.
 Swank, J. M., 747, 1375, 2070.
 Swanson, W. W., 2642.
 Swanton, J. R., 254.
 Swartz, K. C., 1015.
 Swasey, B. F., 2120.
 Swasey family, 2120.
 Swayze family, 2120.
 Swedes, in California, 939a; in Kansas, 1031; in Minnesota, 1164; in North Dakota, 1268, 2724.
 Sweet, M. C., 2707.
 Sweetsburg, Que., 3350a.
 Swem, E. G., 48.
 Swesey family, 2120.
 Swett, H. M., 1246.
 Swift, C. F., 1728.
 —, Lindsay, 1609.
 Swiss, in Omaha, Neb., 1196.
 Sydenham, *Lord*, 3345.
 Syford, Ethel, 3097.
 Sykes, Richard, 453.
 Sylvester, H. M., 255, 256, 473.
 Symbolism, 125.
 Symmes, J. C., 1293, 1294.
 Tabb, *Father* J. B., 2944, 2945.
 Tacoma, Mount, 1437.
 Tadenskund, 262.
 Taft, W. H., 3582.
 Taft family, 2121.
 Talavera, Hernando de, 370.
 Talbot, Silas, 2276.
 —, Thomas, 3257.
 Talbot family, 1941.
 Talbot settlement, Can., 3275.
 Taliaferro family, 1932.
 Tall, L. L., 1.
 Tallmadge, Samuel, 597.
 Talmage, J. E., 2870.
 Tammany, 262.
 Taney, R. B., 731, 1849.
 Tanner, G. C., 2122, 2887.
 —, John, 1850.
 Tanner family, 2122.
 Taos Indians, 3115.
 Tappan, Eugene, 1851.
 Tarascos, 274.
 Tarbell, I. M., 2502, 2708.
 —, Samuel, 1852.
 Tarboro, N. C., 1260.
 Tariff, U. S., 2519, 2538, 2548, 2554; public documents relating to, 63.
 Tatem, *Mrs.* J. F., 1211.
 Tatham, William, 2515.
 Taussig, F. W., 2548.

- Taussig, H. A., 409.
 Tavern club, Boston, 1087.
 Tax, corporation, 2337; income, 2352.
 Taxation, colonial, 447; in Wisconsin, 2389.
 Taylor, Bayard, 3206.
 —, E. L., 383.
 —, E. L., *jr.*, 850.
 —, G. A., 1641.
 —, Hannis, 954.
 —, Harriet, 1921.
 —, R. B., 1853.
 —, W. A., 1295.
 Tazewell family, 2123.
 Teaching, American, 2953, 2957-2959, 2961, 2970.
 See also Educational history.
 Teaching, of history. *See* Historiography, methodology, study, and teaching.
 Teggart, F. J., 107, 375, 388.
 Telegraph, Morse, 1342.
 Telegraphy, in the Civil war, 821; in Utah, 1411.
 Telephone, history of the, 2562, 2563.
 Temperance, 3318.
 Temperley, H. W. V., 2435.
 Ten Eyck, C., 515.
 Tennessee, Burnside's campaign in, 770; in fiction, 3144; local history, 1395.
 Tennessee river valley, 783.
 Tennesseans at Gettysburg, 801.
 Tenney, M. D., 1854.
 Teotihuacan, Mexico, 301.
 Terrell, A. W., 1408.
 Territorial administration, 2441.
 Territorial expansion, 440-443.
 Terry, L. M., 3456.
 Tetard, J. P., 3101.
 Têtu, Henri, 3396.
 Texas, annexation of, 617, 727; Cherokees of, 200; Indian remains in, 130; infantry, in the Civil war, 826, 870, 871; local history, 1396-1410; reconstruction in, 2478.
 Text-books, outlines, etc., 423-439.
 Textile industry, 2549.
 Textiles, ancient Peruvian, 331, 332.
 Thacher, Peter, 1140a.
 Thalbitzer, William, 384.
 Thames, battle of the, 705, 3256.
 Thamesville, Ont., 705, 3256.
 Thanksgiving day, 2702, 2707.
 Thatcher family, 2124.
 Thayendanegea, 1523.
 Thayer, Nathaniel, 2889.
 —, W. R., 1141.
 Third army corps union, 842.
 Thoes, Joseph, 1042.
 Thom, A. P., 2410.
 Thomas, A. C., 1805.
 —, Augustus, 3207.
 —, D. Y., 2643, 3029.
 —, F. M., 2849.
 —, M. C., 2951.
 Thomas family, 2125.
 Thompson, Benjamin (Count Rumford), 75, 1476, 1855, 1856.
 —, D. A., 1950, 2126.
 —, Denman, 1857.
 —, Gilbert, 1858.
 Thompson, H. F., 1085.
 —, H. S., 869.
 —, L. N., 2909.
 —, Roy, 1275.
 —, S. H., 916.
 —, Waddy, 438.
 Thompson family, 2126.
 Thomson, John, 3401.
 Thomson family, 2127.
 Thoreau, H. D., 3149.
 Thorndike, Lynn, 108.
 Thousand Islands, 3405.
 Thrift, W. H., 862.
 Throckmorton family, 1932.
 Thurston, H. W., 2488.
 —, Robert, 1859.
 Thurston family, 2128.
 Thwaites, R. G., 454.
 Thwing, C. F., 2971.
 Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, 298, 311, 316.
 Tichenor, Barcus, 178.
 Ticonderoga, battle of, 1758, 456; expedition against, 1758, 460; expedition of 1775, 619.
 Tilcara, Island of, 287.
 Tilden, S. J., 875.
 Tilghman, William, 1539.
 Tilley, E. M., 2197.
 Tillinghast, C. B., 1860, 1861.
 Tingley, R. M., 2128a.
 Tingley family, 2128a.
 Tinkham family, 2129.
 Tinsley, L. M., 1754.
 Tipple, E. S., 2912.
 Tisbury, Mass., 2228.
 Titicaca Island, 273.
 Titsworth, A. L., 2805.
 Tittle, Walter, 2709.
 Titus, Anson, 1247.
 —, E. K., 179.
 Tiwa language, 209.
 Tobacco, in colonial Virginia, 546; Havana, 3494.
 Toledo, O., 1291.
 Toltecs, 335.
 Tombigbee river, 920.
 Tompkins, W. M. I. N., 1248.
 Tong, Hiram, 2764.
 "Tonquin," the, 3417.
 Toomey, Samuel, 1862.
 Toon o' Maxwel, the, 3263.
 Topsfield, Mass., 1109, 1127.
 Tories, Connecticut, 583. *See also* Loyalists.
 Torrence, W. C., 50.
 Torrey, G. A., 1863.
 Torrijos, *General*, 3561.
 Torvend, C. S., 1276, 2765.
 Totemism, 201, 205.
 Totten, J. R., 1922, 2124.
 Toumey, J. W., 1622.
 Tourtellotte, Jerome, 861.
 Townsend, J. W., 1057, 1507, 1520.
 Tozzer, A. M., 339.
 Trade, in the Mississippi Valley, 2604. *See also* Commerce and industry.
 Trade crosses, 120.
 Trade routes, of Bolivia, 3526.

- Trade unionism, 2653.
 Trade unions, 2541, 2542, 2653, 2658; in Philadelphia, 1848, 2652.
 Traditions of the Indians, 215. *See also* Myths.
 Tramps, 2699.
 Transportation, 2555-2607; early-day, 1042; in Brazil, 3530; in the U. S., 2579; public documents relating to, 64.
 Travis, Irven, 1296.
 Treasury, Independent, of the U. S., 2633.
 Treat, P. J., 697, 2516.
 Treaties, commercial, 2531; U. S., 1776-1909, 2327; U. S. and Great Britain, 2300, 2307.
 Trebitsch, Rudolf, 385.
 Trees, historic, 899.
 Trent, W. P., 3188, 3197, 3201.
 Trescot, W. H., 1388.
 Trexler, B. F., 1376.
 Trinity college, Durham, N. C., 3068a.
 Tripler, Mrs. E. (H.), 1864.
 Tripolitan war, 2289.
 Tript, J., 3547.
 Tripp, J. C., 1143.
 Trobriand, P. R. de, 1865.
 Troxelville, Pa., 1372.
 Trumbo, Frank, 1394.
 Truro, Mass., 2229.
 Trust companies, 2610.
 Trusts, 2532, 2551; Sherman anti-trust act, 2524.
 Trusty, H. C., 1016, 2827.
 Tryon, William, 1866.
 Tsimshian Indians, 113.
 Tucker, N. B., 3044.
 Tunnels, Hudson river, 2581.
 Tupian tribes, 337.
 Turner, C. H. B., 2130.
 —, F. M., 1819.
 —, G. K., 2635.
 —, George, 2296.
 —, H. S., 1664.
 —, J. B., 575, 2963.
 —, W. D., 848.
 Turner family, 2130.
 Tuttle, J. H., 2665.
 Tuttle family, 1939.
 Twain, Mark. *See* Clemens, S. L.
 Tweedy, John, 2393.
 Tweto, Alma, 1277.
 Two penny act, 608.
 Tyler, John, 849, 1867.
 Typography, 2771.
 Tyree, W. R., 2411.
 Tzotzile Indians. *See* Zotzile Indians.
- Uhle, Max, 316, 340, 341.
 Ulster co., N. Y., 522, 1216, 1242.
 Underground railroad, 740.
 Underhill, Mrs. L. A. W., 1941.
 Ungava, Can., 3288.
 Union Pacific railroad, 2568, 2573.
 Unions. *See* Trade unions.
 Unitarian church, in Nantucket, Mass., 1154; of Washington, D. C., 953.
 Unitarians, 2889.
 United empire loyalists, 72.
 United Evangelical church, 2890.
- United States, 1763-1783, 559-693; 1783-1789, 694-697; 1789-1829, 698-725; 1829-1861, 726-747; 1861-1865, 748-872; 1865-1910, 873-890; agriculture, forestry and land, 2504-2517; biographical history, 55; biography, 1452-1911; Civil war in, 748-872; colonial history to 1763, 444-558; commerce and industry, 2518-2554; communication, transportation and public works, 2555-2607; comprehensive, 413-422; constitutional history and discussion, 2337-2362; Continental congress, journals of, 1780, 598; Continental marine committee, 599; description and travel, 387-412; diplomatic history and foreign relations, 55, 2281-2336; economics in, 31, 35; education in, bibliography of, 57; educational history, 2951-3101; financial history, 2608-2646; fine arts and literature, 3102-3213; foreign relations of, 109; genealogy, 1912-2241; German books on, 66; history, 1788-1806, 717; history, 1829-1909, 422; history, 1841-1850, 733; labor in, 2647-2659; law, 2396-2411; life and manners, 2694-2711; military and naval history, 2242-2280; military history, 55; miscellaneous, 891-899; municipal government, 2483-2489; national government and administration, 2412-2436; philanthropy in, 2712-2721; political history, 55; politics, 2363-2395; politics and government, 734, 735; politics, government, and law, 2281-2489; population and race elements, 2722-2769; regimental histories, Civil war, 861-872; regional (local) history, 900-1451; relations with the Spanish-American republics, 421; religious history, 2781-2950; slavery in, 739-747; social and economic history, 2490-2780; Spanish-American war, 888-890; state and local government, 2437-2482; territorial expansion, 440-443; text-books, outlines, etc., 423-439.
 U. S. Bureau of the census, 2797, 2798.
 U. S. Land office, 2572.
 U. S. military academy, 1465.
 U. S. National monetary commission, 2618, 2621, 2628a, 2629, 2630, 2633, 2639, 2641, 3233.
 U. S. Naval war college, 2260.
 U. S. sanitary commission, 833.
 U. S. soldiers' home, 2256.
 Universalist church, 2891.
 Universities, great American, 3034. *See also* Educational institutions.
 University of Arkansas, 3029.
 University of California, 3034.
 University of Chicago, 3006, 3034, 3035.
 University of Illinois, 3034.
 University of Maine, 2999.
 University of Michigan, 3034.
 University of Minnesota, 3015, 3034.
 University of Mississippi, 3024.
 University of Pennsylvania, 1355, 3034.
 University of Wisconsin, 3034.
 Upham, W. P., 1868.
 —, Warren, 180, 410.
 Upper Sandusky, O., 1284.
 Upton, H. T., 917.
 Uran, the, 285.
 Urann family, 1945, 2131.
 Urbana, Ill., 979.
 Ursulines, of Quebec, 3299.
 Uruguay, 3502, 3565.

- Urville, J. S. C. D. d'. See Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C.
- Usher, R. G., 853.
- Utah, antiquities of, 150; telegraphy in, 1411.
- Utah, Genealogical society of, 2678.
- Utes Indians, 886.
- Utopia, an American, 2491.
- Uxmal, Mexico, 314.
- Valbuena, B. de, 3500.
- "Vale, Charles," 3168.
- Valentine, Mrs. D. M., 1869.
- , John, 491.
- Vallandigham, E. N., 918.
- Valley Forge, Pa., 648; in the Revolution, 673.
- Van Aaken family, 2132.
- Van Alstyne, Lawrence, 854.
- Van Antwerp, A. L., 342, 343.
- Van Buren, Martin, 89, 731, 1870.
- Vance, Joseph, 1871.
- Vanderbilt university, 3016.
- Vanderburg co., Ind., 1010.
- Van der Weyde, W. M., 3193.
- Van der Zee, J., 2456.
- Van Deventer, Horace, 1782.
- Van Dyke, H. W., 3545.
- , Henry, 2503, 3181.
- Van Horn, R. T., 1872.
- Van Hynning, T., 181.
- Van Laer, A. J. F., 88.
- Van Liew, T. L., 2133.
- Van Liew family, 2133.
- Van Noe, A. C., 66.
- Vans, Hugh, 491.
- Van Vorst, B., 411.
- Van Vorst family, 1456.
- Varian house, the, 1251.
- Varnall family, 1746.
- Vaughan, Cardinal, 2822.
- Vaulx, Jacques de, 362.
- Veale, G. W., 1045.
- Vedder, Elihu, 3127.
- Vedia y Mitro, M. de, 3525.
- Veech, James, 1378.
- Venezuela, 3507, 3566-3577; antiquities of, 296; exploration in, 350.
- Vergennes, C. G., *comte de*, 1052.
- Vermont, local history, 1412-1417; volunteers, in the Civil war, 872.
- Vermont historical and antiquarian society, 1413.
- Vernon, C. W., 3398.
- , J. S., 412.
- Verrazzano, G. da, 346.
- Verrill, A. E., 1496.
- Vespucci, Amerigo, 361.
- Vespuccius, Americus. See Vespucci, Amerigo.
- Veterans of the Civil war, 757.
- Vicksburg, battlefield of, 772; campaign around, 1862, 804.
- Viereck, G. S., 3180.
- Vigouroux, G. E., 2644.
- Villard, O. G., 1532.
- Villazur expedition, 1720, 554.
- Vincent, G. E., 2951.
- , M. R., 3062.
- , S., 3498a.
- Vincent township, Pa., 1370.
- Virginia, 662; and the Presidential succession, 1840-1844, 2363; artillery, in the Civil war, 815; campaign in, 1861-1863, 768; Civil war in, 752; colonial history, 543-549, 1434; colonial history, bibliography of, 50; colony of, money in, 2638; conventions and constitutions of, 48; genealogy, 2230-2234; General assembly, colonial, 547-548; government and administration of, 2479, 2480; House of burgeses, 547-548; in the Revolution, 608; infantry, in the Civil war, 859; local history, 1418-1435; military forces in, 1779, 545; negroes in, 2746; position of, in February, 1861, 749; Protestant Episcopal church in, 2884; public free school system of, 2978; Revolutionary pensioners of, 688; Revolutionary soldiers of, 691; secession of, 787; slavery in, 741.
- Virtue, G. O., 2463.
- Vital records, 2147-2241.
- Vogelstein, Theodor, 2549.
- Vondel, J. L., 1073.
- Vose, E. F., 1144.
- , Robert, 1144.
- Voyages, of American naval vessels, 2261, 2268. See also Discovery and exploration.
- Wabaunsee, Kan., 1048.
- Wabaunsee co., Kan., 1042.
- Wabaunsee militia company, 1042.
- Wade, J. W., 1688.
- Wadsworth family, 1939.
- Wagner, Jacob, 1074.
- Wagstaff, H. M., 1257, 1264, 2394.
- Wahl, R., 2550.
- Wahpakoota Indians, 257.
- Wait, William, 259.
- Waite family, 1926.
- Waldoboro, Me., 1068, 2840.
- Walker, A. H., 2551.
- , E. D. W., 855.
- , J. B., 1599, 1670.
- , J. L., 855.
- , Thomas, 3297.
- , Col. Timothy, regiment of, 683.
- , William, 1776.
- , Williston, 455.
- Wall, W. E., 2552.
- Wallace, F. H., 3378.
- , J. B., 1205.
- , Lewis, 1873.
- , W. A., 1205.
- , W. S., 3399, 3400.
- , W. T., 1874.
- Waller, Elbert, 1003.
- Walmsley, J. E., 610.
- Walnut Canyon, Ariz., 167.
- Walsh, J. J., 2972.
- , W. H., 1857.
- Walton, William, 3129.
- Wandell, C. W., 2946.
- Wannamaker, W. H., 2766.
- Waples family, 1930.
- War of 1812, 696, 702-716, 1441, 3367.
- Ward, Artemus, 1875.
- , G. K., 2134.
- , J. H., 1249.
- , J. Q. A., 3128, 3129.
- Ward family, 2134.
- Ware, Henry, 2889.

- Waring, E. H., 1027.
 Warner, Alan, 1802.
 —, C. M., 3401.
 —, J. H., 1379.
 Warren, C. B., 2296.
 —, Winslow, 676.
 Warren, Mass., 2235.
 Washburn, Cephas, 260.
 Washington, B. T., 1876, 2767, 2951.
 —, George, 410, 600, 701, 1355, 1457, 1458, 1470, 1877-1889; army under, 588, 632.
 —, Lawrence, 1887.
 Washington (State), government of, 2481; local history, 1436, 1437.
 Washington, D. C., 709, 750, 949-953, 955, 1503, 2256, 2489.
 Washington, Pa., 1345, 1347.
 Washington co., Pa., 1345.
 Washington artillerists, 869.
 Washington's expeditions, 1753-1754, 461.
 Watauga, Tenn., 908.
 Water cure, 783.
 Water supply, of Medford, Mass., 1100.
 Waterman, E. L., 998.
 —, Henry, 1145.
 Waters, J. G., 2457.
 —, W. L., 182.
 Waterways, in New York state, 2594; inland, 64, 2574. *See also* Canals.
 Watkins, Albert, 1197.
 —, Ruth, 1176.
 —, W. K., 1146.
 Watson, A. R., 1942.
 —, D. K., 2359.
 —, J. T., 1943.
 Watson family, 2135.
 Watters, P. M., 2907.
 Watterson, Henry, 3169.
 Watts, John, 511.
 Wauchope, G. A., 3147.
 Wayland, J. W., 1661.
 Wayland, Mass., 2236.
 Wayne, Anthony, 1355.
 Wayne co., Pa., 686.
 Waynesboro, Pa., 2800.
 Wealth, 2544, 2636; concentration of, 2635.
 Weapons, early colonial, 455; prehistoric, 122, 156.
 Weare, Jeremiah, jr., 1891.
 —, Meshech, 2664.
 Weaver, D. B., 1190.
 —, E. P., 3402.
 Webb, H. G., 2693.
 Webber, M. L., 1944.
 Webster, Daniel, 1458, 1892, 2344.
 —, H. A., 3130.
 —, H. S., 2046, 2217.
 —, Noah, 1893.
 —, Timothy, 758.
 Weeden, W. B., 1383.
 Weeks, L. H., 1250, 1251.
 —, S. B., 1265.
 Weems, M. L., 2947.
 Weichselbaum, Theodore, 1046.
 Weinfürtnr, Johannes, 3403.
 Weiser, Conrad, 1894, 1895.
 —, J. C., 2069.
 Weiss, André, 3529, 3564.
 Welch, Deshler, 1004.
 —, William, 1125.
 Welfley, W. H., 2780.
 Welland canal, 3342.
 Welles, E. S., 1939.
 —, Gideon, 887.
 Wellfleet, Mass., 2227, 2237.
 Wells, D. W., 1147.
 —, R. F., 1147.
 Wells, Fargo, & co., 2580.
 Wendell, Barrett, 510.
 Wendte, C. W., 2768.
 Wentworth family, 2136.
 Wertenbaker, T. J., 1434, 2710.
 West, A. F., 2951.
 —, E. H., 89, 856.
 —, G. A., 183.
 —, G. H., 2137.
 —, H. F., 2977.
 —, J. A., 2137.
 —, John, 261, 3404.
 West family, 1934, 1940, 2137.
 West, the, 392, 395, 407, 409, 696, 902, 905, 911, 915, 940, 2512; development of, 2573; Federalism and the, 2378; history of, 26; in the Revolution, 652, 653, 671; independent parties in, 2367; life and manners, 2695; pioneer industry in, 557; pioneers of, 718; settlement of, 906, 910, 1025, 1193, 2578. *See also* Illinois country, Ohio country, and Northwest.
 West Indies, 3472-3501; aboriginal history, 270-345; papers relating to, 1700-1701, 77; papers relating to, 1777-1780, 75; the Buccaneers in, 357.
 West Point, early, 2271. *See also* U. S. military academy.
 West Point cadets, 1095.
 West Virginia, local history, 1438-1442.
 Westchester co., N. Y., 622, 1227, 1240, 1245.
 Western Reserve, 917.
 Western sanitary commission, 853.
 Westervelt, W. D., 3581.
 Westfield, N. Y., 1252.
 Weston, D. H., 1896.
 —, S. F., 2973.
 Westport, Mass., 1102.
 Wettstein, C. T., 1729.
 Weyler y Nicolau, V., *marqués de Tenerife*, 3495.
 Weymouth, Mass., 2239.
 Wharton, Edith 3187.
 —, Thomas, 601.
 Wheat culture, 2507.
 Wheeler, B. I., 2974.
 —, E. P., 1778.
 —, J. F. (W.), 1897.
 —, O. K., 1897.
 —, W. F., 1811.
 Wheelock, Eleazar, 3002, 3045-3046a.
 Whigs, southern, 2390.
 Whipple, G. M., 2714.
 —, Wayne, 898, 955, 1380.
 Whipple house, 1142.
 Whiskey rebellion, 1441, 2262.
 Whistler, J. A. McN., 47, 3131-3134.
 White, *Father* Andrew, 537.
 —, Bouck, 1588.
 —, F. M., 2721, 3170.
 —, J. C., 857, 2277.

- White, J. Z., 2360.
 —, James, 3405.
 —, John, 511.
 —, P. H., 1417.
 —, Peter, 1898.
 —, Mrs. S. B., 1047.
 —, S. E., 3208.
 —, Warren, 3142, 3143.
 White family, 2138, 2139.
 White House, 955.
 White Plains, N. Y., 1248.
 White river, Ark., 155.
 White River agency, 886.
 Whitehall township, Pa., 1335, 1348.
 Whitehead, John, 1788.
 Whitford, O. U., 2805.
 Whiting, Lillian, 3190.
 Whitman, Walt, 3209-3211.
 Whitman Mission massacre, 1301.
 Whitmer, David, 2948.
 Whitney, A. E., 1148.
 —, E. H., 3069.
 —, H. M., 2553.
 —, M. D., 3069.
 Whitsitt, W. H., 1990.
 Whittier, C. C., 1945, 2131.
 Whittle, W. C., 858.
 Who's who in America, 1489.
 Who's who in the Northwest, 1490.
 Whorf, E. H., 1899.
 Wichita, Kan., 1030.
 Wicket, game of, 2706.
 Wickware family, 2140.
 Wiener, Lionel, 3536.
 Wiggin, K. D., 3212.
 Wilbur, H. W., 2921.
 Wilcox, D. F., 2489.
 —, D. M., 1149, 2182.
 Wilder, B. G., 1476.
 Wilderness, battle of the, 824a, 840.
 Wilderness road, 440.
 Wiles, I. R., 3135.
 Wiley, H. W., 1900.
 —, Jennie, 1050.
 —, R. T., 2850.
 Wilhelm, Donald, 1806.
 Wilkes, Charles, 382.
 Wilkes Land, 382.
 Wilkins, F. H., 1778.
 Wilkinson co., Miss., 1170.
 Will, G. F., 184.
 Willard, Joseph, 3047.
 Willcox, R. B., 3052a.
 Willey, D. A., 3457.
 William and Mary college, 3019, 3044.
 Williams, Mrs. C. G., 2930.
 —, C. M., 2949.
 —, Comfort, 2949.
 —, F. W., 2333.
 —, G. H., 1901-1904.
 —, H. F., 2881.
 —, H. M., 3008.
 —, J. H., 1437.
 —, N. B., 2607.
 —, S. W., 2333.
 —, T. C., 565.
 Williams, T. J. C., 1086.
 —, Willoughby, 1642.
 Williams college, 2990.
 Williams family, 2141, 2142.
 Williamson, O. R., 2769.
 Williamsport, O., 2240.
 Willis, H. P., 1586.
 Williston, C. H., 262, 263.
 —, Samuel, 3061.
 Willoughby, C. C., 185.
 —, W. F., 3501.
 —, W. W., 2361.
 Willoughby family, 2143.
 Wills, H. de B., 2201.
 Wills, North Carolina, 1262a.
 Willson, Beckles, 465, 2334, 3406.
 Willson, M. M., 264.
 Wilmington, Kan., 1042.
 Wilmot, Capt., 629.
 Wilson, *Baronesa* de., 186.
 —, Alexander, 1476.
 —, E. N., 265.
 —, G. R., 1017.
 —, J. A., 3458.
 —, J. G., 899, 2278, 3171.
 —, James, 1583, 2344, 2349.
 —, Rev. John, 2950.
 —, Lavalette, 1504.
 —, R. N., 3407.
 —, Robert, 2225.
 —, Woodrow, 422.
 Wilson doctrine, 2349.
 Winchell, N. H., 1165.
 —, S. R., 2451.
 Windham co., Conn., 861.
 "Wineland the good," 353.
 Winger, Otho, 2932.
 Winkler, E. W., 1410.
 Winnebago Indians, 242, 252.
 Winona state normal school, 3032.
 Winston, F. D., 1266.
 —, R. W., 1631.
 Winter, Calvin, 3212.
 —, Sir J. S., 2296.
 —, N. O., 3537.
 —, William, 3213.
 Winter of 1831, 726.
 Winterburn, F. H., 1491.
 Winthrop, Gov. John, 502.
 Winton, G. B., 3459.
 Wirt, William, 1632.
 Wirth, A., 2310.
 Wisconsin, antiquities of, 118-121; discovery of, 1634, 373; fur trade in, 2525, 2526; government of, 2417; local history, 1443-1451; mounds of, 118; paper-making in, 2534; political reform in, 2389.
 Wisconsin Indians, 2818.
 Wise, H. A., 2385.
 —, J. C., 1435.
 Wissler, Clark, 266, 267.
 Wiswall, Ichabod, 3138.
 Witherspoon, John, 1452.
 Withington, Lothrop, 2208, 2209, 2226, 2233.
 Witman, M., 665.
 Wittich, Ernesto, 3460.
 Woerishoffer, Carola, 67.

- Wolcott, Roger, 1905.
 Wolf, C. H., 1048.
 Wolfe, *Gen.* James, 465.
 Wolfson, A. M., 109.
 Wollenweber, L. A., 1906, 1907.
 Wollmar, Leopold, 344.
 Woltereck, K., 268.
 Woman, the American, 2502, 2708.
 Woman suffrage, 42, 2362.
 Woman's club movement, 2711.
 Woman's relief corps, 792.
 Women, education of, 2951; in industry, 67, 2647;
 the work of, 2659.
 Women's rights, 2494.
 Wood, Eric, 374.
 —, Henry, 1150.
 —, J. H., 859.
 —, J. P., 2326.
 —, John, 2752.
 —, M. I., 2711.
 —, S. G., 1151.
 —, William, 3408.
 Woodberry, G. E., 3181.
 Woodbridge, D. E., 1166.
 Woodburn, J. A., 439, 1018.
 Woodbury, C. J., 1534.
 —, C. J. H., 1152.
 Woodford co., Ill., 997.
 Woodruff, C. A., 2279, 2280.
 Woods, H. E., 82, 90, 1852, 2144.
 —, R. W., 677.
 —, S. D., 940.
 Woods family, 2144.
 Woodward, W. C., 1303, 2395.
 Woodwell, W. H., 2145.
 Woodwell family, 2145.
 Woody, F. H., 1191.
 Wool trade and industry, 2554.
 Woolsey, L. H., 2335.
 Worcester, Mass., 1129, 2666.
 Wormeley, Ralph, 546.
 Worth, H. B., 1153-1155.
 Worthington, G. H., 715.
 Wrenshall, *Mrs.* J. C., 3197.
 Wrentham, Mass., 2241.
 Wright, B. C., 2645.
 —, C. W., 2554.
 —, H. B., 3051.
 —, H. S., 386.
 —, H. P., 3012.
 —, I. A., 3496.
 —, John, 1908.
 —, Orville, 1463.
 —, Wright, Wilbur, 1463.
 —, Wright family, 2053.
 —, Wrong, G. M., 68, 3409.
 —, Wyand, E. C., 1946.
 —, Wyandotte constitution, 2457.
 —, Wyandt family, 1946.
 —, Wyer, J. I., 2145a.
 —, Wyer family, 2145a.
 —, Wylly, C. S., 963.
 —, Wyman, Jeffries, 1476.
 —, Wynkoop, Richard, 1954, 2119.
 —, Wyoming massacre, 1778, 1308.
 —, Wyoming Valley, 160, 1341.

 Xochicalco, Mexico, 278.

 Yahgan language, 288.
 Yakima Valley, Washington, 170, 171.
 Yale university, 5, 3025, 3034, 3043, 3047a-3054a.
 Yana Indians, 249.
 Yaqui Indians, 3457.
 Yarmouth, Mass., 2238.
 Yeigh, Frank, 3410.
 Yong, Thomas, 537.
 York, Brantley, 1909.
 York co., Me., 474.
 Yorktown, siege of, 646.
 Yorktown peninsula, 830.
 Yosemite Valley, 901.
 Young, B. H., 187, 860.
 —, C. M., 2832.
 —, E. R., 3292.
 —, F. G., 1304, 2646.
 —, Thomas, 1910.
 Young family, 2146.
 Young Men's Christian association, 2786, 2789.
 Youngberg, G. A., 2280a.
 Yucatan, antiquities of, 334.
 Yukon district, Can., 3252.
 Yukon Territory, 3347, 3411.

 Zaborowski, S., 345.
 Zanesville, O., 1292.
 Zeisberger, David, 269.
 Zelaya, J. S., 3464.
 Zimmerman, T. C., 1895.
 Zodiacs, Maya and Mexican, 299.
 Zollars, Allen, 1911.
 Zolnay, G. J., 3108.
 Zotzile Indians, 286.
 Zuffian pottery, 169.
 Zwierlein, F. J., 529.

GENERAL INDEX.

- Aberdeen, Earl of, private papers on the Oregon question, 61.
- Abolitionists in South (1859), 173.
- Adams, Charles Francis, of Prince Society, 258.
- Adams, E. D., president, Pacific Coast Branch (1910), 57; abstract of address, "Point of view of the British traveler in America," 59.
- Adams, Henry, on West Florida, 26.
- Adams, James H., conference of southern governors (1856), 173.
- Adams, William F., of Connecticut Valley Historical Society, 259.
- Adamus. *Gesta Hammenburgensis ecclesie pontificum*, cited, 73, 74, 76, 77.
- Adler, Cyrus, of American Jewish Historical Society, 261.
- Afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges Minde*, cited, 72.
- Agriculture, Kentucky archives, 356, 357; bibliography of American (1910), 594.
- Ahearn, Mrs. Thomas, of Women's Canadian Historical Society, 264.
- Aitzema [L. van], cited, 114, 117.
- Alabama, secession commissioners (1860), 182; bibliography (1910), 505.
- Alaska. Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology, 256; bibliography (1910), 505.
- Albree, John, of New England Historic Genealogical Society, 258.
- Aldásy, —, of Budapest, 286, 289.
- Aldrich, Charles, and Iowa archives, 304.
- Allbee, Burton L., of Bergen County (N. J.) Historical Society, 260, 265.
- Allison, William H., on collection of materials for religious history by historical societies, 52.
- Alt, W. W., survey of national cemetery, 396.
- Alvord, Clarence W., on Verendrye's discovery of Indians about Lake Winnipeg, 26; paper on restoration of manuscripts, 33, 52, 248; of Hist. MSS. Commission, 44, 265.
- Ambler, C. H., "The cleavage between eastern and western Virginia," cited, 157.
- America, point of view of British travelers (1810-1860), 59; annual bibliography of historical writings (1910), 427-704.
- American Antiquarian Society, report (1910), 259.
- American Fur Co., archives, 369.
- American Historical Association, act of incorporation, 5; constitution, 11; officers elected Dec. 30, 1910, 13-14; terms of office, 17-18; committees (1911), 19; organization and activities, 19; historical prizes, 20-22; PROCEEDINGS OF TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING, 23-54; minutes of business meeting, 42-44; reports of officers and committees, 45-50; program of 26th annual meeting, 51-54; represented in International Congress of Archivists, 271, 272. *See also* Committees; Conferences; Historical Manuscripts Commission; Pacific Coast Branch; Public Archives Commission.
- American Historical Review*, cited, 25, 29, 31, 33, 40; report of editors, 43; editors (1911-1916), 44.
- American Jewish Historical Society, report (1910), 261.
- American Order in Kentucky, journal and proceedings (1855-1856), 352.
- American Political Science Association, committee of five, 65; report of committee on relations of American history and government, 230.
- American Revolution, bibliography (1910), 483-486.
- American yearbook*, cooperation of A. H. A., 42.
- Ames, Herman V., chairman of conference of archivists (1910), 34, 52, 281, 306, 311; chairman Public Archives Commission (1910), 43, 44, 267, 277; committee on publications, 44; committee on manuscript records, Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 277.
- Amidon, Charles T., of State Historical Society of North Dakota, 261.
- Ancient history, conference on, 29, 51; field of, 212, 214, 221, 224; modification desired, 212.
- Anderson, Frank M., on study of European history, 31; committee on nominations (1910), 44.
- Anderson, James Maitland, on Public Record Office, 284.
- Anderson, Richard, military entries (1784-1792), 337.
- Anderson, W. J., of Kansas City Historical Society, 260, 265.
- Andrews, Charles M., on doctoral dissertations in European history, 30, 51; Public Archives Commission, 44, 267, 272, 277; remarks in conference of archivists, 281.
- Andrews, Frank D., of Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, N. J., 260.
- Angell, James B., paper on recollections of a horse-back ride through the South in 1850, 39, 53.
- Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, cited, 74-79.
- Appleton, Francis H., of Essex Institute, 259.
- Appleton's annual cyclopaedia* (1861), 186.
- Archives, conference on, 35-36, 281-314; British, 85, 272, 295, 299, 302; Department of State, 135; REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION, 267-425; Rhode Island, 273; New York, 274; Washington, 274; committee on, of National Association of State Libraries, 275, 311-312; Pennsylvania, 277; Congress of Archivists at Brussels, 282-292; inventories, 284-285; classification of, 285-286; notarial, 286-287; administration of city archives, 287; transfer of, to Library of Congress, 288; parish, 289; preservation of, 291; distinguished from historical manuscripts, 292; centralization of, 293-298; French, 296; in southern States, 297; Dutch, 299; German, 299; Italian, 300; access to, 301-304; Iowa, 304-306; Texas, 306-307; Indiana, 307-309, 310; North Carolina, 309-310; Federal, 312-314; REPORT ON ARCHIVES OF STATE OF INDIANA, 315-330; REPORT ON ARCHIVES OF STATE OF KENTUCKY, 331-364; REPORT ON ARCHIVES OF STATE

- OF NEBRASKA, 365-420; NOTES ON ARCHIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES, 421-425; bibliography (1910), 453-454.
- Arenberg, Duke of, family archives, 289.
- Argentine Republic, bibliography (1910), 652.
- Arizona, admission to Union, 143.
- Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 62.
- Arkansas, Co. H, 3rd Regt. Infy., records, 340; bibliography (1910), 505.
- Art, bibliography of American (1910), 629-630.
- Asbjörn, leader of Danish invasion of England (1069), 76.
- Ashe, William S., Democratic Congressman, N. C., 173.
- Ashmead, H. G., of Delaware County Historical Society, Pa., 262.
- Association of Belgian Archivists and Librarians, 282, 284.
- Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, discussion of teaching of history, 213.
- Astoria, 100th anniversary of founding (1911), 261.
- Astorian expedition, monument at Bellevue, Neb., 260.
- Athelstane of England, 235.
- Athenian history. *See* Greek history.
- Atkins, Mrs. E. C., 53.
- Audit Company of New York, report (1910), 43, 47.
- Audit Office rolls, Great Britain, transcripts for Library of Congress (1910), 272.
- Augustus, Emperor of Rome, *Res gestæ*, 29.
- Aulard, F. A., historian of French Revolution, 38.
- Austria, archives, 284, 285, 295, 299, 301.
- Avery, W. W., Charleston convention (1860), 176.
- Babcock, Kendrick C., of committee on the certification of high school teachers of history (1911), 44.
- Bacon, Thomas R., chairman committee on nominations, P. C. B. (1910), 59, 64.
- Badger, George E., on slavery in the Territories, 170.
- Baensch, Emil, of Manitowoc County (Wis.) Historical Society, 264.
- Bailey, Ebenezer, of Fitchburg (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
- Bailleu, Paul, 283, 284, 287, 289.
- Baker, E. D., on government construction of railroads, 192.
- Baker, George F., on collection of materials on religious history by historical societies, 52.
- Baldwin, James F., abstract of paper, 35; on programme, 52; THE RECORDS OF THE PRIVY SEAL, 83-88.
- Ball's battle ground, O., memorial tablet, 261.
- Baltimore national Democratic convention (1860), 176.
- Baltimore and Ohio railroad, 159.
- Banckaert, Dutch captain, 107.
- Bancroft Library, 205.
- Baptists, bibliography (1910), 610.
- Barker, Eugene C., on Texas Library and Historical Commission, 36, 53, 306; delegate, 266.
- Bartley, J. S., petition for pardon, 372.
- Barroux, Marius, on paper and ink for archives, 290.
- Bascom, Robert O., *Ticonderoga expedition of 1775*, published, 260.
- Bassett, J. S., *Antislavery leaders of N. C.*, cited, 172.
- Bates, Albert C., of Conn. Historical Society, 256.
- Bates, John L., of New England Methodist Historical Society, 258.
- Baton Rouge District (1811), 26.
- Baulne, R. Z., of Société Historique de Montréal, 265.
- Baxter, James Phinney, of New England Historic Genealogical Society, 258.
- "Bay path" (Mass.), marked, 259.
- Becker, Carl L., of committee on Justin Winsor prize, 44.
- Becker, Ernest J., of Society for the History of the Germans in Md., 258.
- Becket, Thomas, 235.
- Bellevue (Neb.), movement to commemorate Astorian expedition, 260.
- Benjamin, Judah P., attorney for Louisiana Tehuantepec Co., 138.
- Bennett, Henry, bill for distribution of public land in West, 173.
- Bentley, William, *Diary*, vol. III, published, 259.
- Bergen County Historical Society (N. J.), report (1910), 260; celebrates 250th anniversary of Bergen, 260; delegate, 265.
- Berkeley (Cal.), meeting Pacific Coast Branch (1910), 57.
- Berry, G. N., delegate, 265.
- Bevering, Hieronymus van, Dutch envoy in England, 110.
- Bibliography, report of committee (1910), 49; committee (1911), 44.
- Bibliography of modern English history, report of committee on (1910), 50.
- Bicknell, Thomas W., of R. I. Citizens Historical Association, 263.
- Bigler, William, on Pacific railroad, 196.
- Billings, Mrs. Bradish, of Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, 264.
- Biography, American, bibliography (1910), 536-559.
- Bismarck, Otto, *fürst von*, 234.
- Black, John, U. S. consul, 145, 148.
- Blackstone, Sir William, *commentaries* cited, 91.
- Blair, F. P., mentions Fremont in 1855, 173.
- Bledsoe, Moses A., issue of taxation in N. C. (1858), 174.
- Blue Grass region, Kentucky, 156.
- Board of Trade. *See* Great Britain.
- Bodleian Library, documents transcribed for Library of Congress (1910), 272.
- Bogardus, Frank S., on qualifications of teachers, 37, 52.
- Bolivia, bibliography (1910), 652.
- Boone, Daniel, survey of land on Boone's Creek, Ky. (1784), 337.
- Booth, Henry A., of Connecticut Valley Historical Society, 259.
- Bossart, Mlle., employed on catalogue of Mississippi Valley material in France, 247.
- Bourbon County (Ky.) land entries (1786-1795), 337.
- Bourne, Henry E., of committee on historical sites and buildings, 42.
- Bovard, G. F., of Historical Society of Southern California, 62.
- Bowen, Clarence W., treasurer (1910), 44; report (1910), 45.
- Bowker, Richard R., 291; *State publications*, 320.
- Bowman, Jacob N., report of proceedings P. C. B. (1910), 55-68; chairman of executive committee Pacific Association of Scientific Societies, 62; treasurer P. C. B. (1910), 62; report on historical societies on Pacific coast, 63; discussion of place of State history in curriculum, 67.

- Boyd County (Neb.) school land cases (1905), 382, 384; Big Sioux Reservation, 399.
- Boyd, William K., 39, 53; NORTH CAROLINA ON THE EVE OF SECESSION, 165-177.
- Boyle, J. T., speech in Jessamine County, Ky. (June 1861), 161.
- Boynton, Mrs. F. H., of Lucas County (Ia.) Historical Society, 257.
- Bradford County (Pa.) Historical Society, 263.
- Bragg, Thomas, conference of Southern governors (1856), 173.
- Brandywine, excursion to battle field, 260; headquarters of Washington and Lafayette marked, 262.
- Brazil, bibliography (1910), 653.
- Breckenridge, John C. candidacy in N. C. (1860), 176; in Ohio Valley, 257.
- Bretz, Julian P., of Historical Manuscripts Commission, 44.
- Brewer, Luther A., of Historical Society of Linn County (Ia.), 257.
- Briggs, L. P., of local committee, P. C. B. (1910), 57.
- Brigham, Clarence S., librarian American Antiquarian Society, 259; of Public Archives Commission (1910), 267, 277.
- British America, bibliography (1910), 635-645.
- British Museum, Thomason collection, 251; documents transcribed for Library of Congress (1910), 272.
- British traveler in America (1810-1860), 59.
- British West Indies, bibliography (1910), 650.
- Brouwers, M., of Belgium, 283.
- Brown, A. G., opposed to Congressional aid to railroads, 191.
- Brown, Benjamin F., delegate, 265.
- Brown, Charles Edward, of Wis. Archaeological Society, 264.
- Brown, Demarchus C., on Indiana archives, 36, 310; chairman of conference on historical publication work in Ohio Valley, 51; delegate, 265.
- Brown, Guy A., state librarian of Nebr., 415; clerk of supreme court, 419, 420.
- Brown, John, Harpers Ferry raid, 173.
- Brown, Margaret W., delegate, 265.
- Brown, Norris, receipts and vouchers, Neb., 383.
- Brulé, Stephen, first white man in Pa. (1615), 263.
- Brussels, International Congress of Archivists and Librarians (1910), 271, 282; archives, 287, 290.
- Buchanan's administration, Mexican policy of Southern leaders, 133.
- Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Society report (1910), 262.
- Buffalo (N. Y.), selected for 1911 meeting A. H. A., 43; local committee, 44.
- Buffalo Historical Society, invites A. H. A. to meet in Buffalo, 43.
- Burgoon, Isadore H., of Sandusky County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Association, 261, 266.
- Burpee, Lawrence J., on program, for discussion of explorations of the de la Verendrye, 51.
- Burr, George L., on relations of history to newer sciences of man, 41, 54; committee on H. B. Adams prize, 44; committee on publications, 44.
- Burton, Clarence M., chairman seventh annual conference of historical societies (1910), 32, 52, 245.
- Busbee, Quentin, editor *National Democrat* of N. C., 177.
- Butler, Pierce, of Louisiana Historical Society, 258.
- Cabot, John, 237.
- Caldwell, George W., on right of secession, 171.
- Calhoun, J. C., theories of, 34; on slavery in the territories, 170.
- Calhoun, —, S. C. commissioner to Ala. (1861), 185.
- Callahan, James Morton, THE MEXICAN POLICY OF SOUTHERN LEADERS UNDER BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION, 31, 52, 133-151.
- Campbell, D. A., clerk of Nebraska Supreme Court, 420.
- Campbell, W. L. of Kansas City Historical Society, 260.
- Canada, memorial of confederation, 264.
- Canals, Indiana archives, 325. *See also* Central and White Water Canal.
- Cannon, H. L., of committee on resolutions P. C. B. (1910), 59, 63; on collection of pioneer records, 64.
- Canning, George, and Oregon question, 31.
- Cantwell, Edward, editor *North Carolina statesman*, 174.
- Canterbury, Simon, archbishop of. *See* Islip, Simon.
- California, archives, report of P. C. B. committee, 61; history, study of, 67, 68; historical activities, 205; bibliography (1910), 506.
- California Historical Society, 63.
- California University, courtesies to P. C. B., 64.
- California, Lower. *See* Lower California.
- Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research, 295.
- Carnochan, Janet, of Niagara Historical Society (Ont.), 264.
- Carrollton (Mo.), Shields monument, 254.
- Carter, C. E. "*Great Britain and the Illinois country*" published, 50.
- Casanova, Eugenio, 284, 286, 289.
- Cass, Lewis, secretary of state, 138, 143, 149.
- Cass County (Ind.), Historical Society report, 257; delegates, 265.
- Catterall, Ralph C. H. ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS, 1654-1660, 38, 53, 101.
- Cavour, *Count*, 234.
- Census. Indiana archives, 325.
- Central America, bibliography (1910), 464-468, 648-649.
- Central and White Water Canal records, 325.
- Chadwick, F. E., on West Florida, 26; *Causes of the civil war*, cited, 186.
- Chadsey, Charles E., of committee on the certification of high school teachers of history (1911), 44.
- Chamberlain, George E., delegate, 266.
- Champlain, Samuel de, monument planned, 264.
- Champlain, Lake, house-boat party on, 261.
- Chapman, William E., of Site and Relic Society of Germantown (Pa.), 262.
- Charities. *See* Defective and delinquent classes.
- Charles I, of England, S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 125.
- Charles II, of England, gives up purveyance, 91.
- Charleston, National Democratic convention (1860), 176.
- Charlemagne, empire of, 225; in history, 234.
- Charlotte (N. C.) observer*, May 3, 1908, cited, 175.
- Cherokee Indian grants (Ky.), 339.
- Cheyenne war (1864), 374.
- Cheyney, Edward P., discussion of English medieval history, 35; chairman committee on bibliography of modern English history, 44, 50.

- Chicago Historical Society, report (1910), 256.
 Chile, bibliography (1910), 653.
 Chisholm v. Georgia, Iredell's opinion, 168.
 Chittenden, H. M., and archives of American Fur Co., 369.
 Christian church, relation to European history, 226.
 Christian church (denomination), bibliography (1910), 611.
 Christie, Francis A., of committee on Justin Winsor prize, 44.
 Church of England and Laud, S. R. Gardiner's opinions, 127.
 Churchill, William M., special agent to Mexico (1859), 142.
 Cincinnati (O.) population (1860), 156.
Cincinnati daily commercial, cited, 157, 160, 161, 162, 164; weekly trade reports, cited, 160.
Cincinnati daily enquirer, cited, 160, 161.
Cincinnati daily gazette, cited, 160, 161, 162, 163.
 Cist, C., *Sketch and statistics of Cincinnati*, cited, 160.
 Cities, Ohio Valley, 156.
 Citizenship, 65.
 Civics in curriculum, North Central History Teachers' Association, 28, 51; separate from history, 65; in connection with history, 212, 215, 230.
 Civil war, development of war spirit in the north, 34; North Carolina at the opening of, 39; north-western States at the opening of, 40; Horton collection of relics, 263; Indiana soldiers, 330; Kentucky records, 340, 353; Kentucky soldiers, 340; Nebraska soldiers, 374, 408; bibliography (1910), 495-502. *See also* Montgomery convention.
 Claiborne, W. C. C., correspondence relating to West Florida, 26.
 Clark, A. Howard, curator, A. H. A. (1910), 44.
 Clark, Dan E., on Iowa archives, 36, 53, 304; paper *Early forts on the Upper Mississippi*, on program, 51; delegate, 265.
 Clark, F. H., abstract of paper on separate instruction in government and history, P. C. B., 65; favors distribution of certain documents to schools, 66.
 Clark, George Rogers, conquers Indiana, 319; commander against Indians (1785-1798), 338.
 Clay, Merton J., of Evanston Historical Society, 257.
 Clemence, J. Edward, of Quinabaug (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
 Clemence, Mary E., of Quinabaug (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
 Clemens, Samuel L., as a Nevada journalist, 203.
 Clingman, T. L., *Speeches and writings*, cited, 170; on slavery in the territories, 170; defends right of secession, 171; leaves Whigs, 172.
 Clinton, DeWitt, letter on Erie canal, 345.
 Clipping bureaus, 255.
 Cnut the great, king of Denmark and England, policy of, respecting his empire, 71.
 Cnut, *Saint*. *See* St. Cnut.
 Cobb, Amasa, death of, 419.
 Cobb, Howell, correspondence, 43.
 Coffey, J. V., of California Historical Society, 63.
 Colby, L. W., on Indian war of 1890-91, 376.
 Cole, Frank T., of Old Northwest Genealogical Society, 261; delegate, 266.
 Coleman, Christopher B., secretary Indianapolis committee, 25.
 Coleman, Lucius C., of Wisconsin State Historical Society, 264.
 Columbia, bibliography (1910), 653.
 Colonial Society of Massachusetts, report (1910), 258; delegates, 265.
 Colonies, English-American, list of commissions and instructions to governors to be prepared, 43.
 Commerce, Dutch attempts to secure freedom of, 103; bibliography of American (1910), 594-596.
 Commercial geography, relation to history, 241.
 Commercial schools, history course for, 241.
 Committee on archives, P. C. B., 61.
 Committee on bibliography, report (1910), 43; membership (1911), 44.
 Committee on bibliography of modern English history, report (1910), 43; membership (1911), 44; meeting (1910), 52.
 Committee on bibliography of travels in America, 43.
 Committee on conference of teachers of history (1911), 37.
 Committee of five on history in secondary schools (1907-1910), THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 43, 209-242.
 Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize (1911), 44.
 Committee on historical sites and buildings (1909), 42.
 Committee on the Justin Winsor prize, report (1910), 43, 48; membership (1911), 44.
 Committee on libraries, P. C. B., 61.
 Committee on national archives building, work of, 36.
 Committee on nominations, report (1910), 44.
 Committee on program for 27th meeting (1911), 44.
 Committee on publications, membership (1911), 44; report (1910), 50.
 Committee on resolutions, P. C. B., report (1910), 59, 63.
 Committee of seven on the study of history in schools (1896-1898), comments on its report, 209-242; relation to committee of five, 211.
 Committee to study and report to the council upon the certification of high-school teachers of history (1911), 44.
 Comonfort, Ignacio, Pres. of Mexico, 138.
 Compromise of 1850, North Carolina's attitude, 171.
 Confederate Army, Kentucky organizations, 340.
 Confederate States of America, policy toward Mexico, 150. *See also* Montgomery convention.
 Conference of teachers of history in teachers' colleges and normal schools (1910), 34, 53.
 Congregationalism, bibliography (1910), 612.
Congressional globe, cited, 192-197.
 Connecticut, bibliography (1910), 506-507.
 Connecticut Historical Society, report (1910), 256.
 Connecticut Valley Historical Society, report (1910), 259.
 Connor, Robert D. W., on the work of the N. C. historical commission, 36, 53, 309; member public archives commission, 44, 267, 277.
 Conrad II, emperor, 71.
 Constantine, empire of, 225.
 Constitutional history, bibliography (1910), 584-585.
 Contraband, definition, 8, 110.
 Convention of history teachers of California, on teaching of history, 213.
 Coolidge, Archibald C., on American work in European history, 30, 52; delegate, 265.
 Cooper, A. A., English commissioner, 110.

- Correspondance Générale, Louisiane, list of documents, 246.
- Corwin, Edward S., abstract of paper on the Dred Scott decision, 33, 52.
- Corwin, Thomas, U. S. minister to Mexico, 151.
- Corydon, capital of Indiana (1813-1824), 320.
- Courts, Indiana archives, 327-329; Kentucky archives, 338, 340.
- Cox, George M., of London and Middlesex Historical Society (Ont.), 264.
- Cox, Isaac J., abstract of article on American intervention in West Florida, 26, 51; of conference of State and local historical societies (19'11), 44; *The Indian as a diplomatic factor in the history of the Old Northwest*, published, 256.
- Cozad, J. L., surveyor, 399.
- Crawford, Esther, assists in report on Nebraska archives, 365, 372.
- Crawford, Medorem, delegate, 266.
- Crepeline, in repair of manuscripts, 291.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 104; S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 127.
- Cross, Arthur L., of committee on a bibliography of modern English history (1911), 44.
- Crothers, George E., report of P. C. B. committee on libraries, 61.
- Cuba, bibliography (1910), 650-651.
- Cuevas, J. M., 140.
- Cumberland River district (Ky.), Anderson's military entries (1784-1792), 337.
- Cumberland Valley, not considered part of Ohio Valley, 155.
- Cummings, Byron, of State Historical Society of Utah, 63.
- Currey, J. Seymour, of Evanston Historical Society (Ill.), 257.
- Currier, Elizabeth B., of Methuen Historical Society (Mass.), 259.
- Cuvellier, Joseph, 283, 288, 289, 290.
- Daae. *Norges Helgener*, cited, 72.
- Dakota Indians. See Sioux war, 1864.
- Danelaw, England, 81.
- Danish invasions of England (1069, 1075), 76, 77.
- Danmarks riges historie*, cited, 80.
- Darwin, George F., of New England Methodist Historical Society, 258.
- Daughters of the American Revolution, marker for Oregon trail placed by, in Nebraska, 260; erection of tablets by, in Ohio, 261.
- Davenport, Thomas, memorial tablet (Vt.), 263.
- Davis, Andrew McFarland, *Colonial currency reprints*, Vol. I, published, 258; *Papers relating to the land bank of Mass.*, published, 258; delegate, 265.
- Davis, H. W. C., *England under the Normans and Angevins*, cited, 76.
- Davis, Jefferson, *Rise and fall of the Confederate Government*, cited, 184.
- Davis, W. W. H., of Bucks County Historical Society (Pa.), 262.
- Dawson, Edgar, abstract of paper on contrast of preparation required of history teachers in U. S. and abroad, 36, 53; of committee on certification of high school teachers of history (1911), 44.
- Dayton (Ohio), population, 1860, 156.
- De Boer, Joseph A., delegate, 266.
- Deemer, Horace E., of Iowa, 304.
- Defective and delinquent classes, Indiana archives, 325, 326, 330; Kentucky archives, 356; Nebraska archives, 373, 385, 388, 390, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398.
- Delaware, bibliography (1910), 507.
- Delaware County Historical Society (Pa.), report (1910), 262.
- Delisle, Leopold, tribute to, 284.
- De Long, S. R., of Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 62.
- Democratic free press* (Wilmington, N. C.), 174.
- Democratic Party, in N. C., 170; Southern Democrats split on distribution of public land, 173; Union and States-rights factions in N. C., 175.
- Denmark, efforts of her kings to recover the English crown after Harthacnut, 37.
- Dennis, F. M., clerical work on catalogue of Mississippi Valley material in France, 247.
- Dent, Thomas, of Chicago Historical Society, 256.
- Deprez, Eugène, 286, 290; *Le seau privé*, noticed, 85.
- De Quille, Don, Nevada Journalist, 203.
- De Ruijter, Dutch admiral, 106.
- Des Marez, G., 283, 290; abstract of paper on city archives, 287.
- Diario de avisos*, cited, 140.
- Dick, Robert P., Douglas leader in N. C., 177.
- Diffenderfer, F. R., of Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 262.
- Diplomatic history, bibliography (1910), 580-584.
- Discoveries, 237.
- District of Columbia, bibliography (1910), 507.
- Dockery, Alfred, denies right of secession, 171.
- Doctors' dissertations in European history, 30.
- Dodd, William E., of committee on program (1911), 44; abstract of paper on the fight for the Northwest in 1860, 40, 53; *Life of Macon*, cited, 169.
- Dodge, M. C., of committee on libraries, P. C. B., 61.
- Door Village (Ind.), old stockade marked, 257.
- Douglas, S. A., on secession, 161; candidacy in N. C. (1860), 176.
- Dover Historical and Natural History Society (Mass.), report (1910), 258.
- Dow, Earle W., chairman of conference on medieval history, 34, 52.
- Dow, George Francis, of Essex Institute, 259.
- Doysié, A., work on catalogue of Mississippi Valley material in France, 246, 247.
- Dred Scott decision, 33.
- Dubois, M., of Amiens, 290.
- Dubois, Naz., delegate, 266.
- Dudley, Edgar S., *Roster of Nebraska Volunteers, 1861-1869*, 374, 376.
- Dunbar, John, manuscript of, 260.
- Dungan, Warren S., of Lucas County Historical Society (Ia.), 257.
- Duniway, C. A., report of committee on archives, P. C. B. (1910), 61.
- Dunn, Arthur W., on local history and the city community (1911), 28, 51.
- Dunn, Jacob P., chairman of auditing committee (1910), 43; of Indiana Historical Society, 257; delegate, 265.
- Dunning William A., of committee on publications, 44; 2d vice-president, 44.
- Durrett, R. T., Kentucky records, 338, 341.
- Dutch East India Company, 107.
- Dyess, G. A. M., delegate, 266.
- East Florida. See Florida.
- Eastern empire, place of in history course, 226.
- Eastern states, historical societies, 201.
- Eckersley, John, of Niagara Historical Society (Ont.), 264.

- Economic history, bibliography of American (1910).
See Social and economic history.
- Economics, relation to history, 241.
- Ecuador, bibliography (1910), 653-654.
- Eddy, Charles H., of R. I. Citizens Historical Association, 263.
- Eddy, Will C., of Medford Historical Society (Mass.), 259.
- Edmund Ironside, of England, 72.
- Education, Germany, Historical significance of the religious problem, 57; Indiana archives, 323, 324, 325, 326, 329, 330; Kentucky archives, 358, 359, 360, 361; Nebraska archives, 390, 391, 392, 399, 400.
- Educational history, bibliography (1910), 619-628.
- Edward the Confessor, 72, 73.
- Edward III of England, 92; Royal purveyance under, 34.
- Edwards, Henry W., of general committee (1911), 44; of local committee, P. C. B. (1910), 57; secretary P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Edwards, W. N., conservative N. C., Democrat, 171. *Eikon Basiliké*, cited by Gardiner, 125.
- Elizabeth of England, constitution under, 128.
- Elliott, T. C., of Inland Empire Historical Society (Wash.), 63
- Ellis, John W., Democratic candidate for governor of N. C. (1858, 1860), 174, 175.
- England, record of the Privy seal, 35, 83-88; efforts of Danish kings to recover crown, 37, 60-81; reign of William the Conqueror, 75; Danish invasions (1060, 1075), 76, 77; rising of the earls (1075), 77; Chancery, 85; Great seal, 85; Privy council, 86; Royal purveyance in 14th century, 89-91, grievances of the peasants under Edward III, 98.
- English history, mediæval, conference, 34; committee on bibliography, 44, 50; criticisms of S. R. Gardiner, 123-132; study and teaching, 236-240. *See also Anglo-Saxon chronicle*; Hundred Years' War. *See also* Edmund Ironsides; Edward the Confessor; Edward III; Elizabeth; Harold-IIare-foot; Harold II; Harthacnut; Henry VIII; Richard II; Sweyn; William the Conqueror; Great Britain.
- English nation, S. R. Gardiner's use of term, 132.
- Erie railroad, in Ohio Valley, 159.
- Eshleman, H. Frank, delegate, 266; of committee on MS. records, Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 277.
- Essex County (Mass.) court records to be published, 259.
- Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.) report, (1910), 259.
- Estrich, daughter of King Sweyn, 73.
- Ethelsige, abbot of St. Augustine's, ambassador to Denmark, 76.
- European history, conference on (1910), 30, 51; session on (1910), 37, 53; list of 2,500 collections in, 49; in connection with English history, 236.
- Evanston Historical Society, report (1910), 257.
- Evertsen, Cornelius, Dutch captain, 106.
- Expositions, records relative to participation of Nebraska in, 373.
- Express companies, Indiana archives, 325.
- Falconnet, —, Tehuantepec franchise, 136.
- Farrand, Max, chairman of committee on bibliography of travels in America, 43; remarks on relation of history to the new sciences of mankind, 54.
- Fayette County (Ky.) land entries (1782-1817), 337; vote on constitutional convention (1875), 342.
- Fayetteville (N. C.) observer*, October 18, 1856, cited, 172.
- Ferguson, William S., of committee on program (1911), 44.
- Ficklen, John R., *History of reconstruction in Louisiana*, published, 258.
- Field, Edward D., of Vermont Historical Society, 263.
- Finance, Indiana archives, 324, 325, 326, 329; Kentucky archives, 353, 354, 355; Nebraska archives, 365-420; bibliography of American (1910), 599-602.
- Fish, Carl Russell, THE DECISION OF THE OHIO VALLEY, 30, 52, 153-164; of public archives commission (1910), 267, 277.
- Fisk, Clinton B., report of Fisk investigating committee (1865), 363.
- Fitchburg, History of the meeting house in*, published, 259.
- Fitchburg Historical Society (Mass.), report (1910), 259; delegate, 265.
- Fite, E. D., *Social and economic conditions during the Civil War*, cited, 159, 162.
- Flanders, Count of, aids Cnut against England, 79.
- Fleming, Walter L., of general committee (1911), 44.
- Fletcher, Allen M., delegate, 266.
- Fling, Fred M., discussion of European history as a field for American students, 31, 52; of executive council (1911), 44.
- Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, cited, 73, 77.
- Florence, archives, 285.
- Florida, archives of Spanish period in Library of Congress, 423; bibliography (1910), 507. *See also* West Florida.
- Foght, Harold W., on educational requirements of teachers, 37, 52.
- Ford, Guy S., chairman of conference on modern European history (1910), 30, 51; of committee on H. B. Adams prize (1911), 44.
- Ford, Worthington C., chairman historical manuscripts commission (1910), 43; (1911), 44; of committee on consolidated index (1910), 42; of committee on publications (1911), 44; paper on Cotton and border politics (1850-1860), on program, 1910, 52; of committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments (1910), 247; *Bibliography of Mass. House Journals*, published, 258; *Bibliography of Laws of Mass. Bay*, published, 258; of special commission on archives (1910), 271; remarks on Philippine archives (printed in *Annual Report*, 1904), 423.
- Forestry, bibliography of American (1910), 594.
- Forsyth, John, papers of, 135; envoy to Mexico, 137.
- Fort McPherson national cemetery (Neb.), 396.
- Fortier, Alcée, of Louisiana Historical Society, 253.
- Foster, Herbert D., of historical manuscripts commission (1911), 44.
- Fowle, Harriet A., of Medfield Historical Society (Mass.), 259.
- Fox, Irving P., of Lexington Historical Society (Mass.), 259.
- France, early explorations of Missouri valley, 26; search of archives for documents on Mississippi valley, 32, 245, 246; Alexis de Tocqueville and Republic of 1848, 38; treaty with England (1655), 115; proposed intervention in Mexico (1860), 149, 150; archives, 286, 290, 296, 299, 300, 301; Comité des Travaux Historiques, 286. *See also* French Revolution; Hundred Years' War.

- Frankford (Pa.) Historical Society, 262.
- Fraser, Alexander W., of London and Middlesex (Ont.) Historical Society, 264.
- Frederick Barbarossa, 234.
- Freedmen's bureau, Fisk investigating committee, Ky., 363.
- Freeman, E. A., *Norman conquest*, cited, 71, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79.
- Freemasonry, publications on Jews in, 261.
- Fremont, J. C., mentioned as Democratic candidate in 1855, 173.
- Fremont campaign, *See* Presidential campaign of 1856.
- French, Charles E., of Montgomery County (N. Y.) Historical Society, 260.
- French and Indian War, bibliography (1910), 477.
- French Revolution, historiography of, 38.
- Friedenberg, Albert M., of American Jewish Historical Society, 261.
- Friends, bibliography (1910), 612.
- Fruin, Robert, archivist of Middleburg, 283, 286, 287.
- Fuente, J. A. de, Mexican minister of relations, 145.
- Fuller, Georg S. T., of Medford (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
- Fuller, II. B., on West Florida, 26.
- Furnas, Robert W., rescues Indian documents, 369; custodian of Nebraska Horticultural Society records, 413.
- Gabrieac, M. de, French minister to Mexico, 141.
- Gadsden, James, 135, 136.
- Gadsden purchase, 135.
- Gaillard, A., archivist of Belgium, 283.
- Gaither, B. S., denies right of secession, 171.
- Galbreath, A. Finney, of Historical Society of Harford County (Md.), 258.
- Garay, —, Tehuantepec grant (1842), 136.
- Gardiner, S. R., some critical notes on the works of, 38, 123; *History of England from the accession of James I*, cited, 125-131; *History of the commonwealth and protectorate*, cited, 127-131; *History of the great civil war*, cited, 125-131.
- Gaslin, William, resolutions on death of, 420.
- Gauden, John, *Eikon Basiliké*, 126.
- Gaviller, M., of Huron Institute, 264.
- Gay, Edwin F., of committee on H. B. Adams prize (1911), 44.
- Genealogy, bibliography of American (1910), 560-576. *See also* Biography.
- General history, insufficiency of a one-year course, 214.
- Geography. *See* Commercial geography.
- Georgia, secession commissioners (1861), 182; bibliography (1910), 507-508.
- Georgia Convention Journal*, cited, 182, 185.
- Germanic invasions, in relation to European history, 226.
- Germantown (Pa.). Site and Relic Society, 262; delegate, 266.
- Germans in Maryland, Society for the History of the, 258.
- Germany, archives, 290. *See also* Lorraine; Prussia.
- Gerson, Armand J., THE INCEPTION OF THE MONTGOMERY CONVENTION, 40, 53, 179-198.
- Gilbert, William M., of Vineland (N. J.) Historical and Antiquarian Society, 260.
- Gilfrey, H. II., delegate, 266.
- Gillis, J. L., of committee on public archives, National Association of State Libraries, 276.
- Gladstone, W. E., 235.
- Gloucester County (N. J.) Historical Society report (1910), 260.
- Godwin, Earl, 2.
- Goldsmith, Ada, of committee on resolutions, P. C. B. (1910), 59, 64.
- Goodman, J. T., Nevada journalist, 203.
- Goodwin, C. C., Nevada journalist, 203.
- Goodwin, Frank P., on local history in Cincinnati schools, 28, 51.
- Government, national, bibliography of American (1910), 588-589; State and local, 589-592; municipal, 592. *See also* Civics.
- Grand Army of the Republic, Kansas, to share building with Kansas State Historical Society, 257; archives in Nebraska, 376.
- Grant County (Ind.) Historical Society report (1910), 257; delegate, 265.
- Great Britain, relations with the Netherlands (1654-1660), 38, 101-121; Board of Trade, 43; Oregon question, 61; navigation acts, 103; commercial policy under the Commonwealth, 104; Parliament, S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 130; and Mexico (1860), 149; archives, 272, 284, 295, 299, 301, 302, 303 [*see also* Public Record Office]; historical manuscripts commission, 286. *See also* names of sovereigns; England; English history.
- Greece, teaching of history of, 221, 223. *See also* Eastern Empire.
- Greene, Everts B., of programme committee, 25; of executive council, 44; of committee on cooperation of historical societies, 247.
- Greve, Charles T., of Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 261; delegate, 266.
- Griffin, Grace G., *Writings on American history*, 42.
- Grumbine, E., of Lebanon County (Pa.) Historical Society, 262.
- Guiana, bibliography (1910), 654.
- Guian, J. M., of Historical Society of Southern California, 62.
- Gunn, H. G., *The beginnings of the free trade movement in the Canadian northwest*, on program (1910), 51.
- Guzman, Sr. —, of Philippine archives, 424.
- Gwin, W. M., on Pacific railroad, 193.
- Györy von Nádudvar, Arpod, on Austrian archives, 284, 285, 290.
- Hailey, John, of State Historical Society of Idaho, 63.
- Hakon, Earl, regent of Norway, 71.
- Hale, Albert, on relations with Latin America, 32.
- Hall, Clayton C., *Narratives of early Maryland*, published, 48.
- Hall, Daniel, of N. H. Historical Society, 260.
- Hall of records. *See* Washington, D. C., Archive building.
- Hamilton County (O.), foreign population (1860) 155.
- Hancock-Clarke house (Lexington, Mass.), 259.
- Hannan, W. E., assists in report on Nebraska archives, 365, 372.
- Harford County (Md.), Historical Society of, 258.
- Hargous, —, Tehuantepec franchise, 136.
- Harold II, of England, 75.
- Harold Hardroda, of Norway, 74.
- Harold Harefoot, of England, 71.

- Harpers Ferry, John Brown raid, 173.
- Harrison Table Rock (O.), memorial tablet, 261.
- Hart, Albert Bushnell, of committee on consolidated index, 42; representative on *American year-book*, 42; on program, 51.
- Hart, Samuel, of Conn. Historical Society, 256.
- Hartbaeunt, 69.
- Hartley, Robert M., of Montgomery County (N. Y.) Historical Society, 260.
- Haskins, Charles H., of committee on publications (1911), 44; secretary of council (1911), 44; on program, 52; joint author, *THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS*, 209-242.
- Hasse, A. R. *Index of economic material in documents of the state of Kentucky*, cited, 353, 355.
- Haiti, bibliography (1910), 651.
- Hauviller, Ernest, director of archives of Lorraine, 288.
- Hawaiian Islands, bibliography (1910), 657.
- Hawley, W. C., delegate, 266.
- Hayden, Horace E., of Wyoming (Pa.) Historical and Geological Society, 263.
- Haywood, Ed. G., N. C. elector (1860), 176.
- Hazen, Charles D., abstract of paper on Alexis de Toqueville, 38; of committee on H. B. Adams prize (1911), 44; on program, 53.
- Headmasters' Association, asks changes in report of committee of seven on teaching of history, 212.
- Hedrick, Benjamin, in campaign of 1856, 172.
- Heilman, S. P., of Lebanon County (Pa.) Historical Society, 262; of Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 262.
- Helper, Hinton R., *Impending crisis*, in campaign of 1860, 173.
- Henderson, T. F., article on Mary, queen of Scots, in *Scottish Historical Review*, 58.
- Hennighausen, L. P., editor of *History of the German element in Md.*, 258.
- Henry III, emperor, 71.
- Henry IV, emperor, 79.
- Henry VIII, of England, S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 129.
- Henry, W. E., *Catalogue State Library of Indiana*, 32.
- Henry the Navigator, 237.
- Henry County (Ind.) Historical Society, report (1910), 257.
- Herbert Baxter Adams prize, committee on (1911), 44.
- Herkimer County (N. Y.) Historical Society, report (1910), 261; delegate of, 265.
- Higgins, Mrs. Sarah A., of Dover (Mass.) Historical and Natural History Society, 258.
- High schools. *See* Secondary schools.
- Hill, E. E., on preparation for teaching history in the grades, 53.
- Hill, Henry W., of Buffalo local committee (1911), 44.
- Himes, George H., on unity of Pacific coast, 208; of Oregon Historical Society, 261.
- Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, report (1910), 261; delegate, 266.
- Historical manuscripts commission, report (1910), 43; members (1911), 44.
- Historical sites and buildings, committee on, 42.
- Historical societies, seventh annual conference (1910), 32, 243-266; report on European, considered, 43; committee on conference of, 44; of Pacific coast, 62; committee of P. C. B. on, 64; western, 199; types of State societies, 201; preservation of historical sources a function of, 250; means of adding to collections, 251; reports of activities (1910), 256. *See also* names of societies.
- Historical Society of Bradford County (Pa.), report (1910), 263.
- Historical Society of Frankford (Pa.), report (1910), 262.
- Historical Society of Harford County (Md.), report (1910), 258.
- Historical Society of Linn County (Ia.), report (1910), 257.
- Historical Society of Southern California, report (1910), 62.
- Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, report (1910), 263; delegates, 266.
- Historical sources, collection and preservation by historical societies, 250.
- History, study and teaching in schools, 28, 65-68; preparation of teachers, 36-37; and newer sciences of mankind, 41; committee on certification of high-school teachers, 44; *REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON STUDY OF HISTORY IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS*, 209-242; bibliography (1910), 455. *See also* Ancient history; English history. General history; Greece; History teachers; Mediaeval history; Modern history; Roman history; United States.
- History teachers' associations, North Central, 28, 51, 213; California, 213; Middle States and Maryland, 213; New England, 213.
- History teacher's magazine*, mentioned, 28, 30, 37.
- Hodder, Frank H., of committee on nominations (1910), 44.
- Hodgkin, W. H., report on Nebraska archives, 365, 372.
- Hoffman, J. Leonard, of Society for the History of the Germans in Md., 258.
- Holden, James A., *Ticonderoga expedition of 1775*, published, 260.
- Holden, William W., Democratic leader in N. C., 175.
- Holland. *See* Netherlands.
- Holmes, David, correspondence relating to West Florida, 26.
- Holman, Frederick V., of Oregon Historical Society, 63, 261.
- Holt, Joseph, *To the people of Kentucky*, cited, 161, 163.
- Hoover, Thomas N., defects of present history teachers, 36, 53.
- Horack, F. E., of State Historical Society of Iowa, 257.
- Horton, J. H., collection of Civil War relics, 263.
- Hotchkiss, C. D., of Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Society, 262.
- Howard, B. E., on permanency of American political institutions, 60.
- Howe, Agnes E., of Santa Clara County (Cal.) Historical Society, 63; on separate instruction in government and history, 65.
- Howe, Daniel Wait, on development of war spirit in the North, 34, 52; of Indiana Historical Society, 257; *Descriptive catalogue of the official publications of the Territory and State of Indiana*, 320.
- Howe, Joseph S., of Methuen (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.

- Hudson, Miss Mary E., of Lexington (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
- Hudson County (N. J.) Historical Society, 250th anniversary of Bergen, 260.
- Hughes, J. B., on separate instruction in government and history, 66.
- Huguenots, bibliography (1910), 612.
- Hulbert, Archer B., on steamboat navigation on the Ohio, 27, 51.
- Hull, Charles H., chairman committee on Justin Winsor prize, 43, 48; committee on program (1911), 44; local committee (1911), 44; executive council, 44.
- Hull, William I., program (1910), 52.
- "Humble petition and advice" (1657), 119.
- Hundred Years' War, 92.
- Hunt, Gaillard, on national archives, 36, 298-301; on Public Archives Commission, 44; on program, 53; at international congress of archivists, Brussels, 271, 272, 282, 283, 288, 291, 292.
- Hunt, R. D., address of greeting, P. C. B. (1910), 60; on teaching of California history, 67.
- Hunt-Poole *Political history of England*, cited, 73.
- Huron Institute (Collingwood, Ont.), report (1900), 264; delegate, 266.
- Huse, Isaac, of Manchester (N. H.) Historic Association, 260.
- Huss, John, 237.
- Idaho, bibliography (1910), 508.
- Idaho State Historical Society, 63.
- Illinois, Indiana boundary survey, 326; bibliography (1910), 508-510.
- Illinois State Historical Library, delegates, 265.
- Indiana, archives, 36, 308, 310, 315-330; adjutant general, 330; auditor of state, 324; board of State charities, 330; Illinois boundary survey, 326; governor's office, 322; judicial, 322, 323, 324, 327; legislative, 325; maps, 325; military, 322, 323, 325, 326, 330; miscellaneous, 322-326; naturalization records, 329; secretary of state, 322; State library, 330; publication, 319, 320; superintendent of public instruction, 329; supreme court, 327; territorial, 324; treasurer, 329; bibliography (1910), 510-511.
- Indiana Historical Society, 247, 257, 265.
- Indiana State Library, 310, 319, 320.
- Indianapolis, meeting of American Historical Association (1910), 25; capital of Indiana (1824), 320; land records, 325.
- Indians, of Lake Winnipeg, 26; archives of Nebraska relating to, 376, 388, 398, 399; bibliography (1910), 400-404.
- Industrial schools, history course for, 241.
- Industry, bibliography of American (1910), 594-596.
- Inland Empire Historical Society, 63.
- Innocent III, 234.
- Institut International de Bibliographie, Brussels, 285.
- Institut Solvay (Brussels), 289.
- Insurance, Indiana archives, 325; Kentucky archives, 354; Nebraska archives, 388, 389.
- Internal improvements, distribution of public land for, 173. *See also* Pacific railroads.
- International Conference of Archivists and Librarians (1910), report, 35, 281.
- International maritime law, 17th century, 103.
- Interparliamentary Congress (1910), 289.
- Intervention. *See* West Florida.
- Iowa, archives, 36, 304; Nebraska boundary, 372; bibliography (1910), 511.
- Iowa journal of history and politics*, 257.
- Iowa State Historical Society, 257, 265.
- Ipswich (Mass.), *Vital records* published, 259.
- Iredell, James, opinion in *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 168.
- Ireton, Henry, 131.
- Iriarte, Manuel de, 423.
- Irving, Washington, and archives of American Fur Co., 369.
- Islip, Simon, *Speculum Regis*, 89.
- Italy, archives, 284, 300, 301. *See also* Vatican Library.
- Italy. Department of the Interior *Ordinamento delle Corti degli archivi di Stato Italiani*, 284.
- Ithaca (N. Y.), selected for concluding session of 1911 meeting, 43.
- Jackson, Andrew, adherents in Ky., 158.
- Jackson, Sheldon, collection of ethnological specimens, 256.
- "Jackson purchase" Ky., surveys, 339.
- James, Clark W., delegate, 266.
- James, James A., chairman of conference (1910), 31, 52.
- James Sprunt historical publication*, Jan., 1911, cited, 172.
- Jameson, J. Franklin; ex-president, A. H. A., 14, 17; report on Federal archive depot, 36, 313; on index of publications of A. H. A., 42; acting secretary, A. H. A., 42, 44; report on *Original Narratives*, 43, 48; committee on publications, 44; on program, 51; on fund for search of French archives, 247; delegate in conference of historical societies, 265.
- Janes, H. G., *Preamble and boundary clause of Ill. constitution*, published, 256.
- Japander*, Dutch man-of-war, 107.
- Jenkins, Charles Francis, of Site and Relic Society of Germantown (Pa.), 262.
- Jenkins [Charles J.], 173.
- Jewett, W. O. L., of State Historical Society of Mo., 259.
- Jewish Historical Society, American, 261.
- John of Gaunt, 237.
- John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, reception, 52.
- Johnson, Allen, *Douglas*, cited, 161.
- Johnson, Andrew, adherents in Ky., 158.
- Johnson, E. A., of Historical Society of New Mexico, 63.
- Johnson, Edward, *Wonder-working Providence*, reprinted, 48.
- Johnson, Henry, of committee on conference of history teachers, 37.
- Johnson, Sir William, mansion of, 260.
- Johnston, W. Dawson, of committee on bibliography, 44.
- Jones, De Witt C., of Old Northwest Genealogical Society, 267.
- Jordan, John W., of Historical Society of Pa., 262.
- Juarez, Benito, President of Mexico, 140.
- Judah, Theodore, eastern agent of Pacific Railroad, 194.
- Justin Winsor prize, conditions of competition, 20-21; awards since 1896, 22; award (1910), 43, 48; committee on, 44.
- Kankakee land records (Ind.), 325.

- Kansas, bibliography (1910), 511-512.
 Kansas City (Mo.), *Biographical record of citizens in preparation*, 260.
 Kansas City Historical Society, report (1910), 259; delegate, 265.
 Kansas State Historical Society, report (1910), 257.
 Kaskaskia manuscripts (Ill.), 248.
 Kearney (Nebr.), Oregon trail marker, 260.
 Keen, Thomas W., N. C. elector (1860), 176.
 Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus*, cited, 73.
 Kendall, Calvin, chairman Indianapolis local committee, 25.
 Kentucky, attitude toward secession, 155-164; character of population, 155, 156; agricultural condition, 156; slavery, 157, 158; election of 1860, 162, 163.
 Kentucky archives, report on, 331-364; adjutant general's office, 340; agricultural experiment station, 357; attorney general's office, 356; auditor's office, 353; board of control of charitable institutions, 356; board of equalization, 354; board of prison commissioners, 356; census records (1847), 351; Confederate troops in Civil War, 340; court of appeals, 340; department of agriculture, archives, 356; governors' executive journals, minutes, letter books, etc., 342; governor's office, archives, 341; insurance commissioner's office, 354; judicial records, 338, 340, 364; land office, 337, 339; land records, 337, 339, 340, 341; legislative, 347-351, 362-364; military, 337, 338, 337-340, 346, 347, 351, 353; miscellaneous, 351-362; pre-State records, 337-338; railroad commissioners, 355; secretary of state, 341; State inspector and examiner's office, 358; State library, 361; superintendent of public instruction, 358; supreme court, 338; treasurer's office, 355; Union troops in Civil War, 340; war record office, 338, 340.
 Kentucky, bibliography (1910), 512-513.
 Kimball, Henry A., of N. H. Historical Society, 260.
 King, Julia C., of committee on conference of history teachers, 37.
 Kline, Allen Marshall, *THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS TOWARD THE PACIFIC RAILWAY 1856-1862*, 189-198.
 Knight, George W., on the relation of history to the newer sciences of man, 41, 54.
 Knighton, Henry. *Chronicon*, cited, 75.
 Knut. *See* Cnut.
 Krehbiel, E. B., *The Interdict*, sales of, 50; of council P. C. B. (1911), 64.
 Labor, bibliography of American (1910), 602.
 Lafontaine, *Sir Louis Hypolite*, papers of, 265.
 Lafayette, visit to Kentucky (1825), 345.
 Lake, E. R., delegate, 266.
 Lake Champlain. *See* Champlain, Lake.
 Lake George Park, 261.
 Lake Winnipeg. *See* Winnipeg, Lake.
 Lamb, Fred W., of Manchester Historic Association (N. H.), 260.
 Land. *See* Public lands.
 Tang, Andrew, article on Mary, Queen of Scots, in *Scottish Historical Review*, 58.
 La Porte County Historical Society (Ind.) report (1910), 257.
 Lappenberg, J. M., cited, 77.
 La Reintrie, —, special U. S. agent in Mexico, 150.
 Larson, Laurence M., *THE EFFORTS OF THE DANISH KINGS TO RECOVER THE ENGLISH CROWN AFTER THE DEATH OF HARTHACNUT*, 37, 53, 69-81.
 La Sère, Emile, of Louisiana Tehuantepec Co., 138.
 Latané, John H., of committee on Justin Winsor prize (1911), 44.
 Latham, M. S., on Government construction of railroads, 192, 194.
 Latin America, school for historical studies suggested, 32; U. S. relations with, 32; proposed alliance against United States (1855), 137; bibliography (1910), 646-656.
 Laud, William, S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 127.
 Law, bibliography of American (1910), 587-588.
 Law, Gov. Jonathan, *correspondence* published, 256.
 Lawyers, Kentucky roster, 341.
 Leak, W. F., independent Democratic candidate in N. C. (1853), 173.
 Lebanon County (Pa.) Historical Society report (1910), 262.
 Lee, Henry, deed of Kentucky land to George Washington (1798), 340.
 Lefavour, Henry, of Colonial Society of Mass., 258.
 Leland, Waldo G., *REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 26TH ANNUAL MEETING A. H. A.*, 1910, 23-54; of committee on publications (1911), 44; of general committee (1911), 44; secretary A. H. A. (1911), 44; secretary of conference of historical societies (1910), 248; (1911), 44; report of the committee on publications (1910), 50; report on catalogue of material from French archives relating to Mississippi Valley (1910), 246, 247; at international conference of archivists (Brussels, 1910), 271, 272, 282, 283, 284, 290.
 Leonard, J. S., surveyor, 399.
 Lerdo de Tejada, Miguel, 138, 141.
 Leuticia, indeterminate region, 76.
 Lewis, A. M., Democratic candidate, N. C. (1853), 174.
 Lewis, Virgil A., delegate, 266.
 Lewis and Clark literature, C. H. Conover collection of, 256.
 Lexington (Mass.) Historical Society report (1910), 259.
 Lexington (Mass.), history in preparation, 259.
 Libby, Orin G., on explorations of the Verendrye, 26, 51; of State Historical Society of North Dakota, 261; delegate, 265.
 Librarians, International Conference of Archivists and, 282.
 Libraries, cooperation with historical students, 44; P. C. B. committee on (1910), 61; bibliography of American (1910), 603-604. *See also* State libraries.
 Library Commissions. *See* Texas.
 Library of Congress, treatment and restoration of manuscripts, 248; report on transcription of documents in British archives for (1910), 272; principles that should govern transfer of records of governmental departments to, 272, 288; manuscripts division, 295; East Florida and New Mexico archives in, 423.
 Lifing, *Bishop*, 73.
 Lincoln, Abraham, Southern purpose to defeat (1860), 177; land warrant (1780), 337. *See also* Presidential election of 1860.
 Lincoln, Waldo, of American Antiquarian Society, 259.

- Lindley, Harlow, on material to be included in State archives, 36, 53, 307; delegate, 265; REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF INDIANA, 315-330.
- Linn County (Ia.) Historical Society report (1910), 257.
- Lippitt, C. W., address on Rhode Island Independence day (May 4, 1776), 263.
- Lisa, Manuel, establishes trading posts in Neb., 369.
- Literature, bibliography of American (1910), 630-634.
- Littell's *Statutes* (Ky.), 363, 364.
- Livermore, Thomas L., of Military Historical Society of Mass., 258.
- Local government, to be taught in secondary schools, 232.
- Local history, teaching of, in the public schools, 28.
- Loflin, W. C., independent Democratic candidate (N. C.), 174.
- Logan, Benjamin, commander against Indians (1785-1798), 338.
- London and Middlesex (Ont.) Historical Society, report (1910), 264.
- Lorraine, archives, 288.
- Los Angeles, Historical Society of Southern California, 62.
- Louderback, George D., of executive committee Pacific Association of Scientific Societies, 62.
- Louisiana, secession commissioners (1861), 182; documents from French archives (1763-1783), 246; bibliography (1910), 513. *See also* West Florida.
- Louisiana Convention journal*, cited, 182, 183, 185.
- Louisiana Historical Society, report (1910), 258.
- Louisiana Tehauntepec Co., 138.
- Louisville (Ky.), foreign population (1860), 155; population (1860), 156.
- Louisville and Nashville railroad, 160.
- Louisville Courier-journal*, Feb. 16, 1900, cited, 353.
- Lower California, conditions in (1854), 136; attempts to purchase for U. S., 136-151.
- Lucas County (Ia.), Historical Society, report (1910), 257; delegates, 265.
- Lutherans, bibliography (1910), 612-613.
- Lyons collection of manuscripts, to be published, 261.
- Macauley, T. B., uses Thomason collection, 251.
- McCabe, W. Gordon, of Va. Historical Society, 263.
- McCook, Henry C., of Presbyterian Historical Society, 262.
- McCoy, Isaac, surveyor, 399.
- McCrea, S. P., of committee on nominations P. C. B. (1910), 59, 64.
- MacDonald, William, of committee on Justin Winsor prize (1911), 44; *Select documents of United States history*, cited, 186.
- McIlvaine, Caroline M., of Chicago Historical Society, 256.
- McIlwain, C. H., on English medieval history, 35.
- McIlwaine, H. R., of committee on public archives, National Association of State Libraries, 276.
- McKinley, Albert E., of general committee (1911), 44; delegate, 266.
- McLane, Robert M., papers of, 135; envoy to Mexico, 142.
- McLaughlin, Andrew C., on teaching of government in the schools, 28; on doctrine of State sovereignty and secession, 33, 52; editor *American Historical Review* (1911-1916), 44; joint author, THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 209-242.
- McLean, J. R., N. C. elector (1860), 176.
- McMaster, John B., West Florida, 26; of Historical Society of Pa., 262; of committee on national archives building, 313.
- Macon, Nathaniel, on right of secession, 169.
- McRae, Duncan, independent Democratic candidate, N. C. (1853), 173; consul to Paris, 173; independent candidate for governor (1858), 174.
- McTavish, Douglas C., of Society of Alaskan Natural History, 256.
- Magna Charta*, cited, 91.
- Magnus, the Good, 72.
- Magnus, son of Harold Hardrada, 75.
- Mahan, A. T., of committee on national archives building, 313.
- Maine, bibliography (1910), 513-514.
- Malcolm, of Scotland, 79.
- Manchester (N. H.), *Early records 1817-1828* published, 260; centennial of naming city, 260.
- Manchester Historic Association (N. H.) report (1910), 260.
- Manitius, *Deutsche geschichte unter den sächsischen und sächsischen Kaisern*, cited, 71.
- Manitowoc County (Wis.) Historical Society, report (1910), 264.
- Mann, Charles W., deceased, 211.
- Manufactures, the Ohio Valley, 157.
- Manuscripts, restoration and treatment of, 248; repair of, 291. *See also* Archives; Historical manuscripts commission; Lyons collection; Menard manuscripts; Public archives commission.
- Marshall, T. M., of auditing committee, P. C. B. (1910), 59, 62.
- Marshall, Thomas R., address of welcome to A. H. A., 33, 52.
- Martin, George W., of Kansas State Historical Society, 257.
- Martin, Henri, of Paris, president international congress of archivists, 283.
- Martin, Martha, first wife of S. A. Douglas, 176.
- Mary, queen of Scots, recent historical investigation, 58.
- Maryland, bibliography (1910), 514-515.
- Maryland, Society for the History of the Germans in, 258.
- Mason, —, on financial aid to Pacific railroad, 195.
- Masonry. *See* Freemasonry.
- Massachusetts, war records to be published, 274; bibliography (1910), 515-519.
- Massachusetts, Colonial Society of. *See* Colonial Society of Massachusetts.
- Massachusetts, Military Historical Society of. *See* Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.
- Massey, William J., of Muskingum County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Society, 261.
- Matteson, David M., indexer, 42.
- Matthews, Albert, of Prince Society, 258; *Bibliography of laws of Mass. Bay*, published, 258.
- Mathews, L. K. *Expansion of New England* cited, 156, 157.
- Maurer, Robert A., of committee on the certification of high-school teachers of history (1911), 44.
- Mead, George H., on the relation between history and the newer sciences of man, 42, 54.

- Meany, Edmond S., of committee on historical sites and buildings, 42.
- Medfield (Mass.) Historical Society report (1910), 259.
- Medford (Mass.) Historical Society report (1910), 259.
- Medieval history, 34, 212, 237.
- Meek, Basil, of Sandusky County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Association, 261; delegate, 266.
- Memory, in historical study, 212, 216, 228.
- Memphis Weekly Avalanche*, cited, 160.
- Menard manuscripts, 248.
- Meredith, William H., of New England Methodist Historical Society, 258.
- Merriman, Roger B., of committee on a bibliography of modern English history (1911), 44.
- Methodism, bibliography (1910), 613.
- Methuen (Mass.) Historical Society report (1910), 259.
- Mexican policy of Southern leaders (1857-1861), 133.
- Mexican War, Indiana soldiers, 330; Kentucky records published, 340; bibliography (1910), 494.
- Mexico, relations with United States (1857-1861), 31, 133-151; European intervention, 135; relations with Confederate States, 151; bibliography (1910), 464-468, 647-648.
- Miami Indians, treaties, 325.
- Michigan, bibliography (1910), 519.
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 245.
- Middlesex (Ont.). *See* London and Middlesex Historical Society.
- Mighels, H. R., Nevada journalist, 203.
- Military Historical Society of Mass., report (1910), 258.
- Military history, bibliography (1910), 577-579.
- Military reservations (Neb.), 399.
- Miller, E. I., on appointment of committee on California history in the schools, 68.
- Miller, F. W., surveyor, 399.
- Miller, Henry, N. C. elector (1860), 176.
- Miller, I. M., of Grant County (Ind.), Historical Society, 257.
- Minnesota, bibliography (1910), 519.
- Miramon, Miguel, 148.
- Mississippi, *Laws of Mississippi*, cited, 182; secession commissioners (1860), 182; secession convention (1861), 186; department of archives and history, 247, 265; archives, 297; bibliography (1910), 520.
- Mississippi convention journal*, cited, 182, 185, 186.
- Mississippi Valley, report on calendar of documents in French archives, 32, 246; Mississippi Valley, not a sectional unit, 155; historical societies, 201.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Indianapolis meeting (Dec., 1910), 25, 51; *Proceedings*, mentioned, 26, 27; proposed union with Ohio Valley Historical Association, 245.
- Missouri, Nebraska boundary, 372, 395; bibliography (1910), 520.
- Missouri Historical Society, contributor to Mississippi Valley fund, 247.
- Missouri State Historical Society, contributor to Mississippi Valley fund, 246; work of, 254; report (1910), 259; delegate, 265.
- Missouri River "cut-off," 394, 396.
- Mobile Daily Register*, edited by John Forsyth, 142; issues of May, 1859, cited; 142.
- Modern history, in secondary schools, 212, 234; course outlined by committee of five, 239.
- Mohammedan power, rise of, 238.
- Moisant, Joseph, *De speculo Regis Edwardi III.*, 93.
- Monroe doctrine (1860), 149; bibliography (1910), 584.
- Montana, bibliography (1910), 521.
- Montana State Historical and Miscellaneous Library, 63.
- Montana State Historical Society, 63.
- Montgomery Convention (1861), 40, 179.
- Montgomery, T. L., of committee on public archives, National Association of State Libraries, 276.
- Montgomery (Va.), surveyor's office, 337.
- Montgomery County (N. Y.), Historical Society report (1910), 260.
- Moravians, bibliography (1910), 613.
- Mormans, bibliography (1910), 613-614.
- Morning Star* (Dutch ship), 105.
- Morrison, Robert, records of impeachment (1808), 324.
- Morton, Oliver P., telegrams and dispatches (1861-1863), 330.
- Moses, Bernard, president, P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Muller, S., of Utrecht, 283, 285, 286, 289, 290.
- Munch, P. A., *Det Norske Folks Historie*, cited, 74, 75, 77.
- Munro, Dana C., of committee on certification of high-school teachers of history (1911), 44.
- Music, bibliography of American (1910), 634.
- Muskingum County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Society, report (1910), 261.
- Myers, Albert Cook, of Pennsylvania History Club, 262; of committee on manuscript records, Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 277.
- Myers, Irene T., *REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY*, 331-364.
- Myers, Quincy A., delegate, 265.
- Nantucket (Mass.), cemeteries in, 259.
- Nantucket (Mass.), Historical Society, report (1910), 259; delegate, 265.
- Napoleon I, 234.
- National Association of State Libraries, committee on public archives, 275, 311.
- National Democrat*, Douglas organ in N. C. (1860), 177.
- National intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1860, cited, 149.
- Naturalization, Indiana archives, 329.
- Naval History, bibliography (1910), 577-579.
- Navigation. *See* Steam navigation.
- Navigation acts. *See* Great Britain.
- Nevada, history, 201.
- Nebraska*, battleship, 372.
- Nebraska, history, 260; laws, cited, 370; *Senate journal*, 1869, cited, 370; boundaries, 372, 394, 402; bibliography (1910), 521.
- Nebraska archives, report on, 365-420; adjutant general, 374; attorney general, 380, 385; auditor, 384; banking board, 411; board of agriculture, 411; board of charities and corrections, 412; board of health, 412; board of irrigation, 412; board of pharmacy, 413; inspector of oils, 414; board of public lands and buildings, 393; bureau of labor census and industrial statistics, 403; dairy, food and drug commission, 403; game and fish commission, archives, 403; governor, 372; judicial, 382, 383, 385;

- maps, 396; military, 373, 374, 376, 379, 380, 408; miscellaneous, 372-420; public library commission, 404; secretary of state, 404; State library, 414, 415; State railway commission, 416; State veterinarian, 418; superintendent of public instruction, 418; supreme court, archives, 419; surveyor general, 401; surveys, 401; treasurer, 416.
- Nebraska, State Historical Society report (1910), 260; delegate, 265; custodian of Horticultural Society records, 413.
- Nebraska State Horticultural Society, archives, 413.
- Nebraska University, 393.
- Negro soldiers, Kentucky, 340.
- Nélis, H., of Belgium, 283, 284, 290.
- Nelson County (Ky.), land entries (1785-1820), 337.
- Netherlands, relations with Enland (1654-1660), 38, 101-121; commerce, 17th century, 103; archives, cited, 103-121.
- Neutrals, rights of, 103.
- Nevada Historical Society, 63; work of, 199.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society, report (1910), 258.
- New England History Teachers' Association, discussion of teaching of history, 213.
- New England Methodist Historical Society, report (1910), 258.
- New England Teachers' Association, 216.
- New Englanders in the Ohio Valley, 157.
- New Hampshire, bibliography (1910), 521-522.
- New Hampshire Historical Society, report (1910), 260.
- New Jersey, war record to be published, 274; bibliography (1910), 522.
- New Mexico, archives of Spanish period in Library of Congress, 423; bibliography (1910), 522.
- New Mexico, Historical Society, 63.
- New Netherland, records to be translated and published, 274.
- New Orleans, population (1860), 160.
- New York, Dutch records to be published, 274; failure to obtain new legislation respecting archives, 275; bibliography (1910), 522-524.
- New York Herald*, July 27, 1854, cited, 136.
- New York State Historical Association, report (1910), 260.
- Newbury (Mass.), *vital records* published, 259.
- Newburyport (Mass.), *vital records* published, 259.
- Newspapers, collection by historical societies, 254, 255. *See also* Clipping bureaus.
- Niagara (Ont.), Historical Society, report (1910), 264.
- Nicaragua, bibliography (1910), 649.
- Nicholas, H. *Proceedings and orders of the Privy council*, cited, 87.
- Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln*, cited, 186.
- Niebuhr, B. G., abstract of paper by H. A. Sill, 29.
- Nieuport, Willem, 104.
- Niles, William, La Porte County (Ind.) Historical Society, 257.
- Normal schools, conference of teachers of history in (1910), 34, 36.
- North Carolina, historical commission, 36, 309; on the eve of secession, 39, 165; political history, 163; *House journal*, 1848, cited, 170; *laws* (1848-49), cited 170; *House documents* (1850-51), cited, 171; *Senate documents* (1850-51), cited, 171; *House journal* (1853-54), cited, 172; political issues (1850-1860), 173; taxation, inequalities of, an issue (1860), 174; delegates to the Baltimore convention (1860), 176; delegation to the Charleston convention (1860), 176; election of delegates to convention on federal relations (1861), 177; vote in 1860, 177; Whig campaign (1860), 177; archives, 309; bibliography (1910), 524-525.
- North Carolina statesmen* (Raleigh), 174.
- North Central History Teachers' Association, Indianapolis meeting (Dec., 1910), 25, 28; discussion of teaching of history, 213.
- North Dakota, bibliography (1910), 525-526.
- North Dakota State Historical Society, report (1910), 261; delegate, 265.
- Northwest, explorations in. *See* Verendrye.
- Northwest boundary, abstract of Schafer's paper on George Canning's policy, 31.
- Northwestern States, struggle for control in 1860, 40.
- Notarial records, France, 286.
- Notestein, Wallace, a history of English witchcraft, to be published, 50.
- Nottawasago, Fort (Ont.), 264.
- Norway, kings. *See* Cnut the Great; Hakon, regent of Norway; Harold Hardrade; Magnus the Good; Magnus, son of Harold; Olaf, of Norway; Olaf the Quiet; Sweyn; Sweyn Forkbeard.
- Nullification, attitude of North Carolina, 169.
- Ocampo, Melchor, Mexican minister of relations, 143, 146.
- Odo, *Bishop*, 79.
- Ogg, Frederic A., on American intervention in West Florida, 27, 51.
- Ohio. *Message and reports to the General Assembly and Governor, 1860*, cited, 159; *Executive documents* (1862), cited, 159, 160, 161; bibliography (1910), 526-527.
- Ohio, Historical and Philosophical Society. *See* Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
- Ohio River, steamboat navigation on, 27; navigable tributaries, 158.
- Ohio Valley, C. R. Fish on the decision in (1861) 33, 153-164; conference on historical publication work, 51; population, 156; products, 156; manufactures, 157; commerce, 159.
- Ohio Valley Historical Association, Indianapolis meeting (Dec. 1910), 25, 51; centennial of launching of the *Orleans*, 27; proposed union with Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 245.
- Oklahoma, bibliography (1910), 527.
- Oliphant, Alexander, surveyor, 399.
- Olaf, of Norway, 71, 79.
- Olaf the Quiet, of Norway, 75.
- Old Northwest Genealogical Society report (1910), 261; delegate, 266.
- Olsen, Ernst W., of Swedish Historical Society, 256.
- Omaha, records relating to riot at (1882), 379.
- Omaha, Indians, 399.
- Oman, C. W. C., *England before the Norman conquest*, cited, 74.
- Ontario Historical Society, delegate, 266.
- Ordericus Vitalis. *Historiæ ecclesiasticæ libri tredecim*, cited, 76, 77.
- Oregon, bibliography (1910), 527. *See also* Northwest boundary.
- Oregon Historical Society, report (1910), 63, 261; delegates, 266.
- Oregon question, 61.

- Oregon trail, marker at Kearney (Neb.), 260.
Original narratives of early American history, report of editor (1910), 43, 48.
Orleans, first steamboat on the Ohio, 27.
 Osollo, Mexican statesman, 141.
 Ôtteill, H. S., of Historical society of Harford County (Md.), 258.
 Overton (Pa.), centennial, 263.
 Owen, Thomas M., of committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments, 247; on program (1910), 53.
 Pacific Association of Scientific Societies, organized 1910, 62.
 Pacific Coast Branch, report, 43; PROCEEDINGS, 55-68; function of, 208.
 Pacific Coast, history, 60; pioneer records, 64; historical societies, 201; Bancroft library, 205.
 Pacific railroads, Gadsden secures Mexican territory for, 135; attitude of Congress toward (1856-1862), 189; government control, 196.
 Page, Edward C., of committee on conference of history teachers, 37.
 Pagliai, Luigi, of Florence, 283, 285.
 Paine, Clarence S., of general committee (1911), 44; Nebraska State Historical Society, 260; delegate, 265.
 Palmer, Charles, of Delaware County (Pa.), Historical Society, 262.
 Palmerston, Lord, 235.
 Paltsits, Victor Hugo, of public archives commission (1910), 267, 277; (1911), 44; efforts to procure new legislation for publication of records, 275.
 Panama, bibliography (1910), 649.
 Paraguay, bibliography (1910), 654.
 Parish, John C., *Guide to administrative departments of Iowa*, 304, 305.
 Park, Charles E., of Colonial Society of Mass., 258.
 Parker, J. E., of Gloucester County (N. J.), Historical Society, 260.
 Parks, Harris B., of Society of Alaskan Natural history, 256.
 Pasquier, F., on notarial archives, 285, 286, 287.
 Paste for manuscript work, formula, 248.
 Patterson, Burd Shippen, of Historical Society of Western Pa., 263; delegate, 266.
 Paul, George H., papers of, 264.
 Pawnee half-breed Indian reservation (Nebr.), 399.
 Pawnee Indian campaign (1859), 386.
 Paxson, Frederic L., on usage in foreign archives, especially as to open-closed papers, 36, 53, 301; of general committee (1911), 44; on program (1910) 54.
 Paz, Julian, 283, 286.
 Pennsylvania, report on county archives in preparation, 277; bibliography (1910), 527-531.
 Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, report (1910), 262; report of committee on county archives of Pa. (printed in acts and proceedings of the federation 1911), 277.
 Pennsylvania, Historical Society, report (1910), 262.
 Pennsylvania history, committee on European background of, 262.
 Pennsylvania History Club, report (1910), 262; delegate, 266.
Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, 262.
 Pennsylvania railroad, in Ohio Valley, 159.
 Pennypacker, Samuel W., of Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 262.
 Perrin, W. H., *History of Fayette County (Ky.)*, cited, 157.
 Peru, bibliography (1910), 654-655.
 Peter the Hermit, 234.
 Philanthropy, bibliography of American (1910), 605-606.
 Philippine Islands, archives, 421-425; bibliography (1910), 657.
 Philippine insurrection. *See* Spanish-American War.
 Phillips, Ulrich B., of historical manuscripts commission (1910), 43; (1911), 44; on program (1910), 53.
 Pickett, —, Confederate envoy to Mexico, 151.
 Pike County (Ky.), troubles (1888), 363.
 Piper, Fred S., of Lexington (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
 Pitt, William, 234.
 Pittsburgh, centennial of the launching of the *Orleans* (1811), 27; history, 263.
 Plumb, R. C., of Manitowoc County (Wis.) Historical Society, 264.
 Political party organization, to be taught in secondary schools, 232.
 Political science in schools. *See* Civics.
Political science quarterly, cited, 39.
 Politics, bibliography (1910), 585-587.
 Polk, James K., diary published, 256.
 Pollen, J. H., article on Mary, queen of Scots in *Scottish Historical Review*, 58.
 Ponce Indian reservation (Neb.), 399.
 Poole, W. F., editor of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* (1867), 48.
 Population, bibliography of American (1910), 606-608.
 Porter, Charles H., of Military Historical Society of Mass., 258.
 Porto Rico, bibliography (1910), 651.
 Pottawatomie Indians, records, 326.
 Powell, John Z., of Cass County (Ind.) Historical Society, 257; delegate, 265.
 Powers, J. L., pay roll of company commanded by (1900), 341.
 Prag, Mrs., on separate instruction in government and history, 67.
 Preparatory schools, eastern and western contrasted, 214.
 Presbyterian Historical Society, report (1910), 262.
 Presbyterianism, bibliography (1910), 614-615.
 Presidential campaign of 1856, attitude of south Atlantic states, 172; North Carolina's attitude, 172.
 Presidential elections of 1860, the lower South in, 39.
 Prince, L. B., Historical Society of New Mexico, 63.
 Prince Society, report (1910), 258.
 Primmer, J. A., State Historical Society of Idaho, 63.
 Printing, bibliography of American (1910), 608.
 Prisons. *See* Defective and delinquent classes.
 Pritchett, Pres., on Nevada University, 207.
 Privy Council. *See* England, Privy council.
 Privy seal, records of, 83.
 Protestant Episcopal Church, bibliography (1910), 615.
 Prothero, G. W., of Royal Historical Society, 50.
 Prussia, archives, 299.
 Public archives commission, membership (1911), 44; report (1910), 267-425; the work of, 295.
 Public lands, issue in N. C. (1850-60), 173; grants to railroads, 194; Indiana archives, 323, 325, 326; Ken-

- tucky archives, 337, 339, 340, 341; bibliography of American (1910), 594. *See also* Torrens system.
- Public Record Office, documents transcribed for Library of Congress (1910), 272.
- Public works, bibliography of American (1910), 596-599.
- Publications, committee on (1910), 50; (1911), 44.
- Publishing, bibliography of American (1910), 608.
- Pugh, G. E., on Pacific railroad, 193.
- Purveyance in England. *See* England.
- Putnam, Herbert S., of Historical Society of Bradford County (Pa.), 263.
- Putnam, Mary B., on preparation for teaching history in the grades, 53.
- Pye, Timothy, seizure of Zealand ships (1655), 104.
- Pym, John, 126.
- Quebec, Indiana part of province, 319.
- Quinabaug Historical Society (Southbridge, Mass.), report (1910), 259.
- Quintero, mission of, 151.
- Railroads, Ohio Valley, 159; Indiana archives, 326; Kentucky archives, 355; Nebraska, 373, 391, 398. *See also* Pacific railroads.
- Raleigh Register*, cited, 170, 177; advises N. C. Whigs to support McRae in 1858, 174.
- Raleigh Standard*, cited, 170, 171, 172, 174, 176, 177; attitude toward national questions (1854-56), 172; attitude in campaign of 1860, 176.
- Raleigh Workingmen's Association, 174.
- Rammelkamp, Charles H., delegate, 265.
- Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, cited, 76.
- Ramsdell, Charles W., of Texas State Historical Association, 263; delegate, 266.
- Reasoning faculty, in history, 212.
- Reavis, D. D., surveyor, 399.
- Reed, *Prof.*, on separate instruction in government and history, 66.
- Reeves, Jesse S., of committee on program (1911), 44.
- Reid, Isaac E., investigation of Kentucky archives, 337.
- Reformation, 237.
- Reformed Church, bibliography (1910), 615.
- Religious education, Germany, 57.
- Religious history, bibliography of American (1910), 609-618.
- Renaissance, study of, 237.
- Republican Party, attitude toward Pacific Railroad, 194.
- Rhode Island, archives, act transferring duties of state record commissioner to state librarian, 273; war records to be published, 274; bibliography (1910), 531.
- Rhode Island Citizens Historical Association, report (1910), 263.
- Richard Coeur de Lion, 238.
- Richard II, of England, 87.
- Richards, Frederick B., of New York State Historical Association, 260.
- Richards, J. E., of Santa Clara County (Cal.) Historical Society, 63.
- Richardson, Ernest C., chairman of committee on bibliography (1910), 49; (1911), 44; of committee on a bibliography of modern English history (1911), 44; of committee on publications (1911), 44.
- Richardson, John M., of Medfield (Mass.) Historical Society, 259.
- Richardson, O. H., on Mary, Queen of Scots, 58; address of greeting, P. C. B. (1910), 60.
- Riggs, Sarah M., on preparation of history teachers in the grades, 37, 52.
- Riley, Franklin L., of executive council, 44.
- Roads, Indiana archives, 326.
- Roane, *Judge*, theories of, 34.
- Roberts, James A., of New York State Historical Association, 260.
- Robertson, James Alexander, NOTES ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES, 421-425.
- Robertson, William S., on relations with Latin America, 52.
- Robinson, Chalfant, ROYAL PURVEYANCE IN 14TH CENTURY ENGLAND IN THE LIGHT OF SIMON ISLIP'S SPECULUM REGIS, 34, 52, 89-99.
- Robinson, James H., on the relation of history to the newer sciences of man, 40, 54; THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE, 209-242.
- Rodgers, Thomas L., of Historical Society of Western Pa., 263.
- Rogers, Adolph, of Henry County Historical Society, 257.
- Rogers, Robert W., abstract of paper on the western campaigns of Sennacherib, 29, 51.
- Rogers, Sion H., Whig congressman, N. C., 174.
- Rolls series*, cited, 74, 75, 76.
- Roman Catholics, bibliography (1910), 610-611.
- Roman constitutional history, not favored in history course, 223.
- Roman Empire, rulers. *See* Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV.
- Roman history, abstract of R. F. Scholz's paper on Roman imperialism, 29; not advocated as separate course, 221.
- Roman legends, place in history course, 224.
- Roosevelt, N. J., captain of the *Orleans* (1811), 27.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 1st vice president (1911), 44.
- Rowan County (Ky.), 363.
- Rowland, Dunbar, on American intervention in West Florida, 27, 51; report of committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments, 32, 52, 245, 247; THE CONCENTRATION OF STATE AND NATIONAL ARCHIVES, 35, 53, 272, 290, 293-298; of public archives commission (1910), 267, 277; (1911), 44; delegate of Miss. Department of Archives, 265; delegate of A. H. A. at international congress of archivists (1910), 272, 282.
- Royal proclamations concerning America, in preparation, 259.
- Ruffin, Thomas, defends right of secession, 171; Democratic congressman from N. C., 174.
- Russell, Albert N., of Herkimer County Historical Society, 261.
- Sac and Fox Indian reservation (Neb.), 399.
- St. Alban, relics taken by Danes, 78.
- St. Cnut, expedition to England (1075), 77, king of Denmark, 78; designs on England (1084), 79, 80; assassinated, 81.
- St. John de Crève Coeur. *Letters from an American farmer*, cited, 338.
- St. Olaf, cult of, 72.
- St. Oswald, his bones captured by Danes, 78.
- Salisbury (N. C.), Whig mass meeting (1860), 177.
- Salmon, Lucy M., on the evolution of the teacher, 28, 51; of general committee (1911), 44.

- Sampson, F. A., PUBLICITY AS A MEANS OF ADDING TO COLLECTIONS, 32, 52, 251-254; of State Historical Society of Mo., 259; delegate, 265.
- Sanders, Euclid, of State Historical Society of Iowa, 257.
- Sandusky County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Association, report (1910), 261; delegates, 266.
- Sanford, Albert H., chairman of conference of teachers of history, 34, 53.
- San Francisco, earthquake (1906), Nebraska's relief contribution, 373, 379.
- San Juan de Ulva, occupation by U. S. recommended, 144.
- Santa Anna, president of Mexico, Tehuantepec grant (1842), 136.
- Santa Clara County Historical Society (Cal.), 63.
- Santee Sioux Indian reservation (Neb.), 399.
- Sargent [Aaron A.], on Pacific railroad, 197.
- Sawin memorial building (Dover, Mass.), 258.
- Saxony, archives, 299, 301.
- Scales, A. M., N. C. elector (1860), 176.
- Schafer, Joseph, on George Canning's policy respecting the Oregon boundary, 31, 52; address of greeting, P. C. B. (1910), 60; abstract of paper on "Oregon pioneers and American diplomacy," 61; vice president P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Schevill, Ferdinand, of committee on program (1911), 44.
- Schjapkin, archivist, of St. Petersburg, 286.
- Schlitter, Hans, of Vienna, 283, 284, 286, 289.
- Schoengen, M., on use of zapon in repairing manuscripts, 291.
- Scholz, R. F., on Roman imperialism, 29, 51; of Berkeley local committee, P. C. B., 55.
- Schools. *See* Preparatory schools; Secondary schools.
- Scioto Valley (O.), 156.
- Scotland. *See* Malcolm; Mary, queen of Scots.
- Scott, Mrs. E. H., of La Porte County (Ind.) Historical Society, 257.
- Scott, Dred. *See* Dred Scott decision.
- Scriptores rerum danicarum*, cited, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80.
- Search, right of, 103.
- Sears, Joseph H., on relations with Latin America, 32, 52.
- Secession, 50th anniversary, 33, 53; effect on Mexican relations, 150; in North Carolina, 171, 177; of southern States, 179; conventions in southern States (1860-61), 183.
- Secondary schools, study of history in, 209. *See also* Preparatory schools.
- Semple, Ellen C., on the South in 1860, 53.
- Sennacherib, western campaigns of, 29.
- Severance, Frank H., of committee on historical sites and buildings, 42; of Buffalo local committee on annual meeting (1911), 44.
- Seward, W. H., policy toward Mexico (1861), 150; on Pacific railroad, 196.
- Shaler, N. S., *Kentucky*, cited, 157, 162.
- Shambaugh, Benjamin F., on program, 51; of committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments, 247; of State Historical Society of Iowa, 257; delegate, 265; recommends legislation in Ia., 304.
- Sharpless, Isaac, of Pennsylvania History Club, 262.
- Shawnee Indians, military service against, 338.
- Sheldon, Addison E., REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, 365-420; *Nebraska constitutional conventions*, cited, 371.
- Shields, Gen., monument to, 254.
- Show, A. B., on historical significance of the religious problem in the German schools, 57.
- Shriver, J. Alexis, of Historical Society of Harford County (Md.), 258.
- Scotte, S. W., of Société Historique de Montréal, 265.
- Sill, Henry A., on Niebuhr (1810-1910), 29, 51.
- Simeon of Durham, *Opera omnia*, cited, 76.
- Simmons, Senator, on government construction of railroads, 192.
- Sindercombe's plot, 119.
- Sioussat, St. George L., of general committee (1911), 44; acting secretary of conference of historical societies, 248.
- Sioux County (Neb.), Goedde and Fisher claims for escheated lands, 405.
- Sioux War (1864), 374.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown (Pa.), report (1910), 262.
- Siward the Strong, *Earl*, 77.
- Slavery in Kentucky, 157; bibliography (1910), 494-495. *See also* Dred Scott decision.
- Slaves, taxation of, in N. C. an issue (1860), 174.
- Sloan, J. A. *North Carolina in the war between the States*, cited, 168.
- Sloane, William M., president, 44.
- Sloo, A. G., Tehuantepec franchise, 136.
- Smedley, Franklin, of Historical Society of Frankford (Pa.), 262.
- Smith, A. Lewis, of Delaware County (Pa.), Historical Society, 262.
- Smith, Arthur T., Herkimer County (N. Y.), Historical Society, 261; delegate, 265.
- Smith, Don E., plea for a school of Latin-American historical studies, 32, 52; of council P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Smith, Frank, of Dover (Mass.), Historical and Natural History Society, 258.
- Smith, Justin H., on needs of private investigation among archives, 36; on classification of archives, 312.
- Smith, W. R., *Debates in the Alabama Convention* (1861), cited, 182, 183, 184, 185.
- Snorre, *Heimskringla*, cited, 72-75.
- Snow, A. B., favors committee on historical societies, 64.
- Snyder County (Pa.), Historical Society report, (1910), 262.
- Social and economic history, bibliography of American (1910), 593-608.
- Société Historique de Montréal, report (1910), 265; delegate, 266.
- Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology, report (1910), 256.
- Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, report (1910), 258.
- Sonora, conditions in (1854), 136.
- Sons of Veterans (Neb.), 379.
- Soulé, agent of Tehuantepec Co., 139.
- South America, bibliography (1910), 464-468, 651-656.
- South Carolina, secession commissioners (1860), 182; proposes southern confederacy (1860), 184; bibliography (1910), 531.

- South Carolina Convention journal, cited, 182, 183, 184, 185.
- South Dakota, Nebraska boundary, 394; bibliography (1910), 532.
- Southbridge (Mass.). See Quinabaug Historical Society.
- Southern California Historical Society. See Historical Society of Southern California.
- Southern political leaders, Mexican policy of (1857-1861), 133.
- Southern States, lower South in the election of 1860, 39; recollections of a horseback ride through, in 1850, 39. See also Montgomery convention, Feb., 1861.
- Spain, proposed interference in Mexico (1860), 149.
- Spanish America. See Latin America.
- Spanish-American War, Indiana soldiers, 330; Kentucky archives, 353; records published, 340; Nebraska archives, 373, 379; bibliography (1910), 503.
- Sparks, Edwin E., of committee on historical sites and buildings, 42; of executive council (1911), 44.
- Speculum Regis* of Simon Islip, 34, 89.
- Sprakaleg family, of Denmark, 78.
- Stahle, E. F., boundary survey, Wyoming-Nebraska, 395.
- Stainier, Louis, 283.
- Stanard, W. G., of Va. Historical Society, 263.
- Stanley, Edward, denies right of secession, 171.
- Stanwood collection of colonial and provincial MSS., 260.
- Starbuck, Alexander, of Nantucket Historical Association, 258; *Century of freemasonry in Nantucket*, 259; delegate, 265.
- State constitutional history to be taught in secondary schools, 232.
- State sovereignty, doctrine of, 33.
- States' rights, involved in Pacific railroad question, 193.
- Steam navigation on the Ohio River, 27.
- Stearns, Ezra S., of Fitchburg (Mass.), Historical Society, 259.
- Stearns, Irving A., of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 263.
- Steele, W. L., on slavery in the Territories, 170.
- Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, cited, 78.
- Stein, Henri, of Paris, 283, 284, 286, 289, 290.
- Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, cited, 76, 81.
- Stephens, Alexander H., correspondence of, 43.
- Stephens, H. Morse, on historiography of the French Revolution, 38, 53; report, 43; toastmaster annual dinner P. C. B. (1910), 59; delegate to council from P. C. B. (1910), 64; on separate instruction in government and history, 66.
- Stephens, Maud, of council P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Stevens, *Catalogue-index*, list of documents relating to La., from, 246.
- Stickney, William W., of Vt. Historical Society, 263.
- Stiles, C. C., in charge of Iowa archives, 305.
- Stokes, Anna, of Muskingum County (O.) Pioneer and Historical Society, 261.
- Strafford, Earl of, S. R. Gardiner's opinions of, 127, 128.
- Strickland, English commissioner (1657), 110.
- Stuart, Charles H., of Cass County (Ind.) Historical Society, 257.
- Stubbs, W., *Constitutional history*, cited, 92.
- Sullivan, James, *THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS*, 209-242.
- Sullivan, John, Indian expedition, 131st anniversary, 263.
- Supreme court, 415.
- Surveys, Nebraska, 401.
- Swan, Flora, method of teaching civics, 28, 51.
- Swedish Historical Society of America, report (1910), 256.
- Swedish M. E. Theological Seminary, library of Swedish Historical Society, 256.
- Sweyn Forkbeard, 71.
- Sweyn, of Norway, 71.
- Sweyn, son of Ulf, 73.
- Swigart, Frank, delegate, 265.
- Talbot, G. F., of Nevada Historical Society, 63.
- Talmage, J. E., of State Historical Society of Utah, 63.
- Taxation, North Carolina, inequalities of, 174.
- Taxes. See Finance.
- Taylor, John, theories of, 34.
- Technical schools, history course for, 241.
- Teggart, Frederick J., of committee on bibliography (1911), 44; of nominating committee P. C. B. (1910), 59, 64.
- Tehuantepec, foreign interests in, 136.
- Tellico grants (1803-1863), 339.
- Tennessee, infantry, 33d independent company, records, 340; bibliography (1910), 532.
- Tennessee Valley, not part of Ohio Valley, 155.
- Terrell, A. W., of Texas State Historical Association, 263.
- Territorial enterprise* (Virginia City, Nev.), 203.
- Texas, archives, 307; bibliography (1910), 532-533.
- Texas Library and Historical Commission, 36, 307.
- Texas State Historical Association, report (1910), 263; delegates, 266.
- Thirty Years' War, 238.
- Thomas, David Y., on the lower South in the election of 1860, 39, 53.
- Thomson collection, Brit. Mus., 251.
- Thompson, James W., of committee on modern European history, 31; on European history as a field for American students, 31, 52; of committee on H. B. Adams prize (1911), 44.
- Thorgils Sprakaleg, 77.
- Thornburgh, John, of Henry County (Ind.), Historical Society, 257.
- Thurloe, British diplomatist, 105; *State papers*, cited, 104-121.
- Thurston, S. H. *Pittsburgh as it is*, cited, 160, 161.
- Thurston, Samuel R., diary and letters, 261.
- Thwaites, Reuben G., of committee on historical sites and buildings, 42; abstract of remarks on the collection and preservation of historical sources, manuscript and printed, as a function of historical societies, 52, 250; on archives, 53; of committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments, 247; newspapers and clipping bureaus, 255; of Wis. State Historical Society, 264; delegate, 266.
- Tilton, Asa C., relations between state archives and state libraries, 36, 311; of committee on public archives of National Association of State Libraries, 276, 311.
- Tischener & Green, report on salt manufacture (1869-70), 391.

- Tobacco production in Ohio Valley, 156.
 Toombs, Robert, correspondence of, 43.
 Toqueville, Alexis de, on the Republic of 1848, 38.
 Torrens system, 374.
 Tournour, Victor, archivist, 283.
 Townsend, John Wilson, on steamboat navigation on the Ohio (1910), 51.
 Trade schools, history course for, 241.
 Transportation, bibliography of American (1910), 596-599. *See also* Railroads.
 Travels in America, bibliography of, 43.
Tribune almanac, cited, 162, 163.
 Trinity College Historical Society, *Papers*, cited, 173, 175, 176.
 Turner, Edward Raymond, wins Justin Winsor prize (1910), 43, 48.
 Turner, Frederick J., on social forces in American history, 33, 52; *Rise of the new West*, cited, 156; delegate, 265.
 Twain, Mark. *See* Clemens, Samuel L.
 Ulf, Earl, 73.
 Union County, Ky., history of, cited, 158.
 Unitarianism, bibliography (1910), 615.
 United Evangelical Church, bibliography (1910) 615.
 United States, diplomatic history, 31, 52; determination of powers, 34; archives, 36, 293, 300, 301, 313; British travelers in (1810-1860), 59; political institutions, 60; Oregon question, 61; relations with Mexico, 133-151; *Census, 1860*, cited, 159, 160, 161; history, 212, 215, 221, 230; bibliography (1910), 472-503.
 Universalists, bibliography (1910), 615.
 University Club (Indianapolis), smoker at, 53.
 University of California. *See* California University.
 Uruguay, bibliography (1910), 655.
 Usher, Roland G., SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON THE WORKS OF S. R. GARDNER, 38, 53, 123-132.
 Utah, bibliography (1910), 533.
 Utah State Historical Society, 63.
 Vance, Zebulon B., on slaveholding in N. C., 168; Whig leader in 1860, 177.
 Vane, Sir Henry, S. R. Gardner's opinions of, 129.
 Van Geldern, Otto, of executive committee Pacific Association of Scientific Societies, 62.
 Van den Gheyn, J., of Royal Library of Belgium, 283, 291.
 Van den Haute, of Belgium, 283.
 Van Laer, A. J. F., THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHIVISTS AND LIBRARIANS AT BRUSSELS, AUG. 28-31, 1910, 35, 52, 289-292; delegate at International Congress of Archivists (1910), 272, 282; to publish Dutch records of N. Y., 274.
 Vannérus, of Belgium, 283, 289.
 Vatican Library, 300.
 Van Tyne, Claude H., of committee on Justin Winsor prize (1911), 44; of committee on publications (1911), 44.
 Venable, A. W., Democratic candidate, N. C. (1853), 174.
 Verendrye, de la, explorations, 26.
 Venezuela, bibliography (1910), 655-656.
 Vermont, bibliography (1910), 533.
 Vermont Historical Society, report (1910), 263; delegates, 266.
 Verriest, of Belgium, 283.
 Victoria, Queen of England, 129.
 Victoria disaster (Ont., 1881), site of, 264.
 Viles, Jonas, of public archives commission (1911), 44.
 Vincennes, capital of Indiana till 1813, 320.
 Vincent, John M., of committee on modern European history, 31; on European history as a field for American students, 31, 52; on English medieval history, 35; of committee on nominations (1910), 44.
 Vineland (N. J.), bibliography of, in preparation, 260; Historical and Antiquarian Society report (1910), 260.
 Virginia, and Kentucky resolutions, 34; source of Kentucky population, 157; John Brown raid (1859), 173; *Minutes of Council and General Court, 1623-1632*, to be published, 264; military records, Kentucky district, 337, 339; bibliography (1910), 533-534.
 Virginia Historical Society, report (1910), 263.
 Visigoths, study of, in history course, 226.
Vital records of Mass. towns, published, 258, 259.
 Wabash and Erie canal records, 324, 325.
 Wabash Indians, military service against, 338.
 Wagenseller, George W., of Snyder County (Pa.) Historical Society, 262.
 Wagstaff, H. M. *State rights and political parties in N. C.*, cited, 168, 169, 175.
 Walker, Williston, of committee on a bibliography of modern English history (1911), 44.
 Wallenius, C. G., of Swedish Historical Society, 256. *Walthof, Earl*, 77.
 War of 1812, records, published, 340; Kentucky archives, 346-347; bibliography (1910), 492.
 Ward, C. L., special messenger to Mr. Gadsden, 136.
 Warren, A. E., assists in report on Nebraska archives, 365, 372.
 Washington, George, retreat from Fort Lee, 260; Henry Lee's deed of Kentucky land to, 340.
 Washington (D. C.), archive building, 36, 43, 298, 313.
 Washington (State) public archives commission established, 274; bibliography (1910), 534.
 Washington State Historical Society, 63.
 Washington State University Historical Society, 63.
 Washoe country, 205.
 Watkins, Lucy R., of auditing committee P. C. B. (1910), 59, 62.
 Watson, Charles R., of Presbyterian Historical Society, 262.
 Waumegesako, Indian chief, monument to, 264.
 Way, R. B., on steam navigation on the Ohio, 27, 51.
 Webster, John L., of Nebraska State Historical Society, 260.
 Weiser, Jay G., of Snyder County (Pa.) Historical Society, 262.
 Weller, John B., envoy to Mexico (1860), 150.
 Wenz, Arthur, of Wis. Archaeological Society, 264.
 West, Benjamin, manuscripts, 262.
 Westergaard, W. C., of committee on resolutions, P. C. B. (1910), 59, 64.
 Westermann, W. L., on the monument of Ancyra, 29, 51.
 West Florida, American intervention in, 26-27.
 West Indies, bibliography (1910), 464-468, 649.
 West Virginia, bibliography (1910), 535.
 West Virginia department of archives, delegate, 266.
 Whig party, in North Carolina, 169; advocates distribution of public land, 173.

- Whitall, John G., of Gloucester County (N. J.) Historical Society, 260.
- White, *Congressman*, on financial aid to Pacific railroad, 195, 197.
- White River (Ind.), exploration, 325.
- Whiting, Abbe B., of Kansas State Historical Society, 257.
- Whitson, R. L., of Grant County (Ind.) Historical Society, 257; delegate, 265.
- Wick, B. L., of Historical Society of Linn County (Ia.), 257.
- Wier, Jeanne E., address of greeting, P. C. B. (1910), 60; of Nevada Historical Society, 63; THE WORK OF THE WESTERN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS ILLUSTRATED BY NEVADA, 60, 199-208.
- Wiersum, E., of Rotterdam, 285.
- Wilby, Joseph, of Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 261.
- Wilhover, George, accidental killing of (1891), 380.
- William the Conqueror, 75.
- William III, of England, monarchy of, 129.
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta rerum*, cited, 73, 79.
- Williams, David, of Huron Institute, 264; delegate, 266.
- Wilmington Journal*, Jan. 22, 1858, cited, 174.
- Wilmot proviso, 170.
- Wilson, Henry, on Pacific railroad, 195, 196.
- Wilt, J. Andrew, of Historical Society of Bradford County (Pa.), 263.
- Winnabago Indian Reservation (Neb.), 399.
- Winnipeg Lake, 26.
- Winship, George Parker, of committee on bibliography (1911), 44; of American Antiquarian Society, 259.
- Wisconsin, bibliography (1910), 535.
- Wisconsin Archæological Society, report (1910), 264.
- Wisconsin Historical Society, contribution to Mississippi Valley fund, 247; collection of newspapers, 255; report (1910), 264; delegate, 266.
- Wisconsin History Commission, 264.
- Wise, H. A., conference of southern governors (1856), 173.
- Witan, 73.
- Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, report (1910), 264.
- Woods, Henry E., at Brussels congress of archivists, 271.
- Woodburn, James A., chairman, North Central History Teachers' Association (1910), 28, 51; of executive council (1911), 44; toastmaster at luncheon, 53; *The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Ind.*, published, 257.
- Wright, Eleanor E., of Historical Society of Frankford (Pa.), 262.
- Wright, Henry B., chairman of conference on ancient history (1910), 29, 51.
- Writings on American History* to be published in *Annual Report*, 42.
- Wrong, George M. committee on program (1911), 44.
- Wyclif, 237.
- Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (Pa.), report (1910), 263.
- Wyoming, Nebraska boundary, 395.
- Wyoming State Historical Society, 63.
- Young, Frederick G., of historical manuscripts commission (1911), 44; of Oregon State Historical Society, 63, 261.
- Young, Levi E., on Utah pioneers, 58; address of greeting P. C. B. (1910), 60; of council P. C. B. (1911), 64.
- Zabriskie, Everett L., of Bergen County (N. J.) Historical Society, 260.
- Zapon, in repair of manuscripts, 291.
- Zarco, Mexican minister of relations, 150.
- Zuloaga, President of Mexico, 140.

